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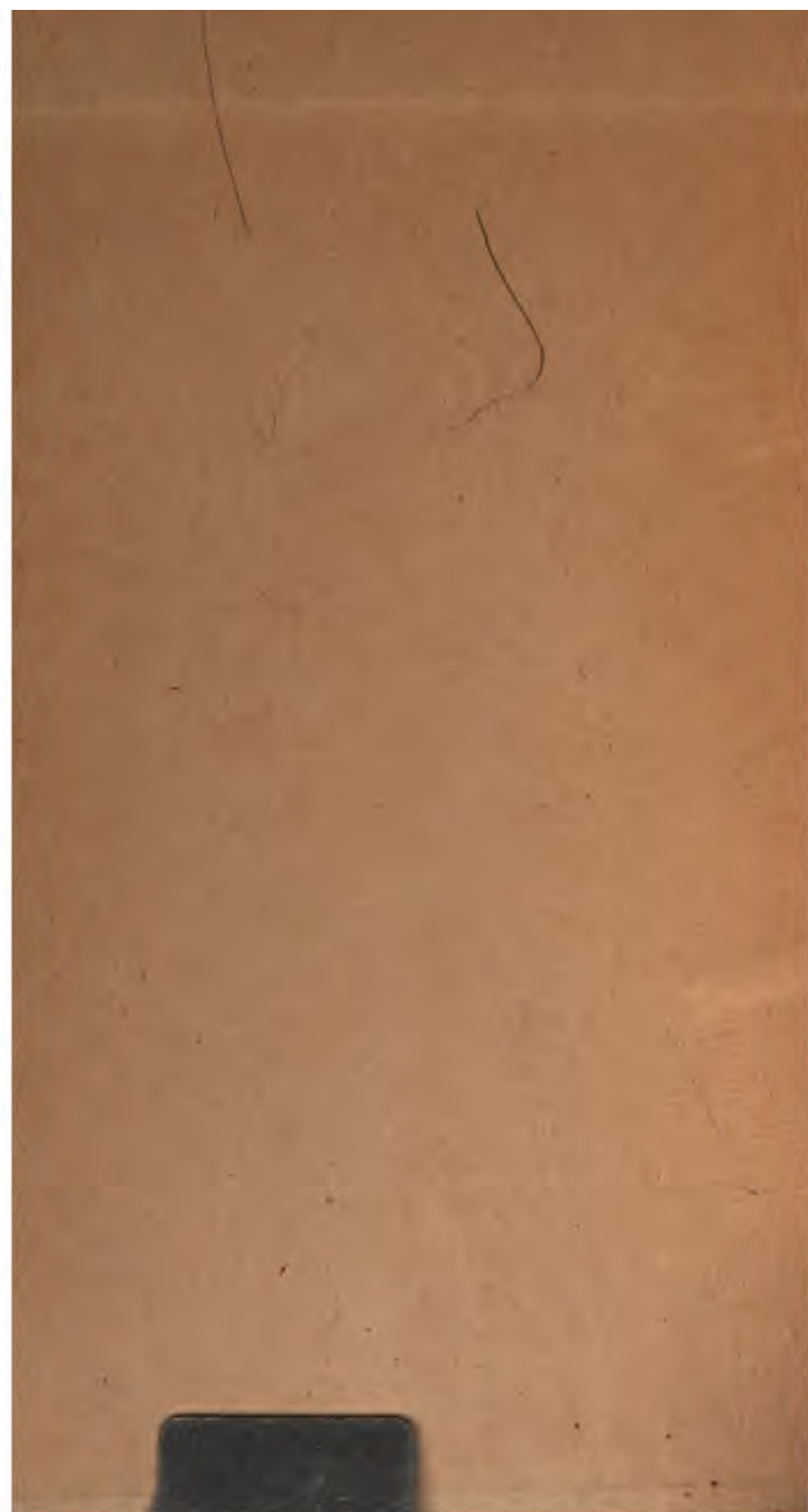
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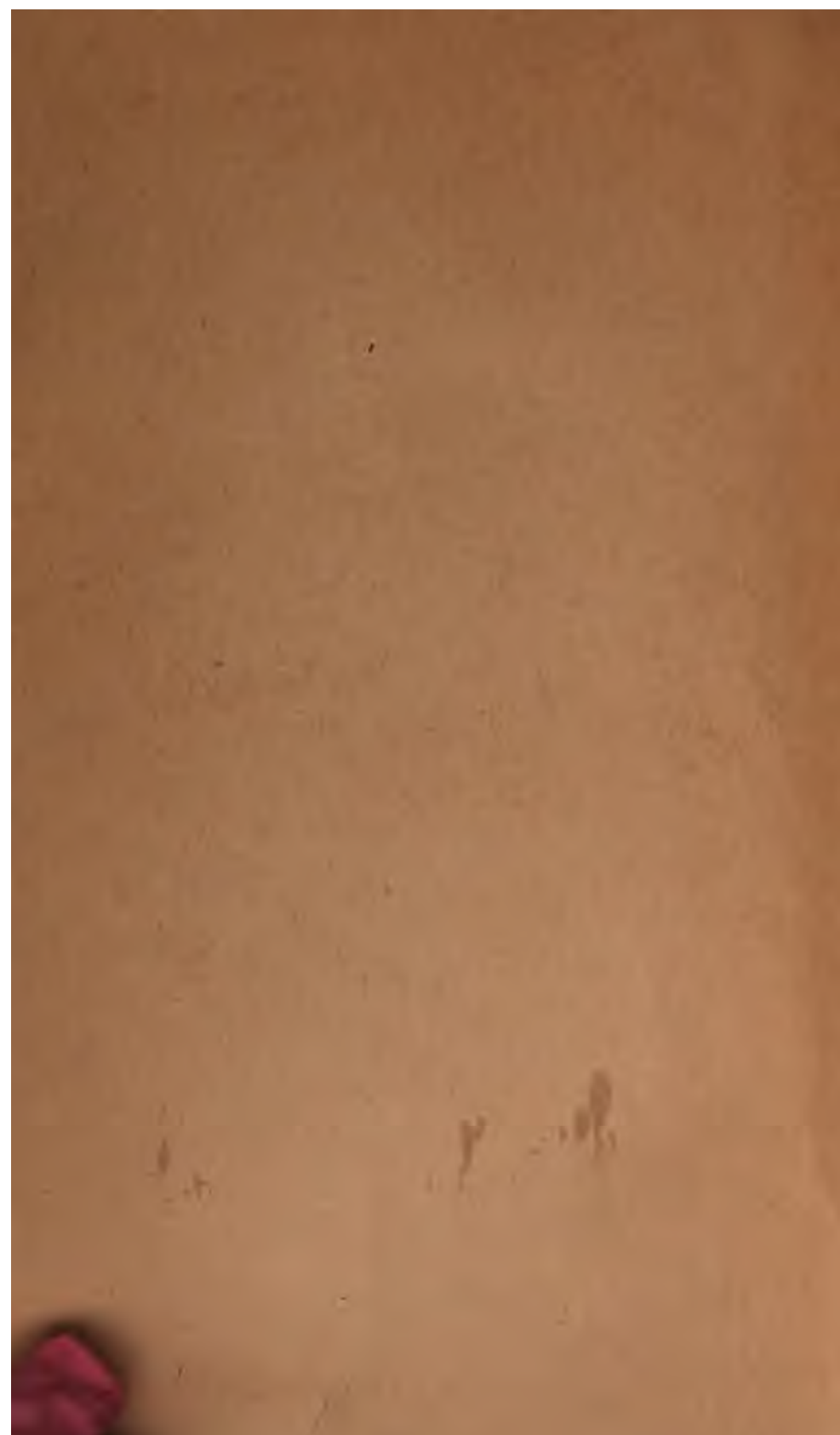


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UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN STUDIES
IN LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE
NUMBER 3

CLASSICAL STUDIES

IN HONOR OF
CHARLES FORSTER SMITH

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EX PONTO

(ad C F S)

*"Strange fits of passion have I known:
And I will dare to tell—
But in the Lover's ear alone—
What once to me befell."*

*Friend, you recall how we lingered above the bluffs of Wisconsin,
Talking of Roman and Greek, there by the Indian stream,
Under a sun of September, apart from the camp in the dingle,
Once on a wonderful noon, nearly a decade ago?—
Minded of that, I am minded to give you a lyrical secret:
How, in the breast of a lad, love of the Muses began.*

Fresh from a starry sleep, on a school-boy morning of April
(Over the meadows a mist, oriole out in the elm),
Fresh from my dreams of the Marvelous Book I had opened at bed-time
(Pictures of altar and urn, Sibyl, Silenus, and lyre),
There, in the homestead at Hilton, I sat by the window with Vergil:
Under the morning-star, words like woods to explore.
Tityre, tu patulae O eery quest in the silence!
Magic of dawn on the earth, magic of dawn in the boy!
Thrilling from letter to letter and every word an enchantment. . . .
Silvestrem tenui even ere meaning was known!
Eager, how eager my fingers divided the glossary's pages,
Finding me key after key, golden tho printed in black!
Proudly, how proudly my spirit deployed its strength over grammar,
Linking the noun to its kin, binding the verb to its man.
Then, as the words became phrases and phrases grew into verses
(Change as subtle and vast, even as cell into flow'r),
O can I tell you the soul of the beautiful poignant Adventure
(Sun just over the hill, oriole out in the elm),
There in the quiet of morning, with sleepers three in the homestead
(Father who'd bought me the Book, mother and sister who knew),
Where, with the mist on the meadow, I sat by the window with Vergil:
Sat with the soul of the dead—living again in mine own!—

Back by the Mantuan uplands, Mincius stream, and Cremona
 (Far, how far from the mill, down by the Quarry and cave);
 Seeing, as never before, tho often I'd wandered the hillsides
 (After the dog-wood in spring, after persimmons in fall),
 Feeling, as never before, tho often I'd wandered the valleys
 (Summer and winter away—off to the orchards and oaks),
 Seeing, and feeling, and hearing the Tree as a Being of nature
 ('Tityrus under the beech, oriole out in the elm)
Tityre, tu patulae recubans sub tegmine fagi:
Tegmine fagi . . . the Tree! *Tegmine fagi* . . . the Bird!
 Out of that Tree, as I fancy, have budded all blossoms and creatures,
 Flowed all rivers I know, whispered all winds I have heard. 4
Tityre, lentus in umbra . . . Man's mystical union with Nature,
 Man in his sorrow and joy, came to me there "in the shade."
Dulcia linguimus arva . . . the love of the acres we've planted,
 Love that is pain when we go, wanderers ever on earth.
Nos patriam fugimus . . . and home and country were dearer
 (Tho we had carolled at school "Country, my country of thee").
Formosam resonare doces Amaryllida silvas
 (Bessie with ribbon and braid, oriole out in the elm) . . .
Formosam resonare . . . and sylvan Muse and the reed-pipe!
 Magic of dawn on the earth, magic of dawn in the boy!

Friend, sometime on a walk in the willows west of Mendota
 (Sunset Point if you will—Wingra or Oregon Road),
Let us unravel, in sportive discourse and deft analytic,
Purport and cause of the spell, here recorded for you:
For, of a truth, you have guarded the Gift, have guarded and given,
Loving the Greek in man's soul—quickened today in how few.

WILLIAM ELLERY LEONARD.

March 22-23, 1918.
 Madison, Wisconsin.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

Most of us who claim the title of "old graduates" know that our bachelor's diploma ended our official connection with the classics; and as to later personal relations, we are lucky if today we can quote *parcus cultor et infrequens* to express them. None the less our hearts respond to the note which Mr. Leonard's poem strikes. We, too, look back to the classics with gratitude for enlightenment—for a message differing with the temper and capacity of the man, and with the fortune of opportunity. A new light shone upon me when in the course of a summer vacation's reading I came upon the lines:

ὦ δῖος αἰθὴρ καὶ ταχύπτεροι πνοαὶ
ποταμῶν τε πηγαί . . .

The revelation from the words of Prometheus was very different from that which Meliboeus might have brought me. It was not the translation of letters into the terms of life, not the half-caught truth that life and letters are somehow one. It was rather the first vision of the paradise of letters itself, and "my heart leaped up" when I so beheld it; not a paradise in the sky but on earth; not at the foot of the rainbow either, but one whither I might resort if I would for refreshment and delight. Fortunately for me there are more ways than one into that paradise; ways, too, open for those who live in fields remote from letters. But the paradise itself and the way thither were first shown to me by the classics and I shall never lose the memory of that moment of illumination.

Do I not then in some sense represent that great majority of college men who left college studies when they left college; who look back to both with a gratitude deep, even if only half analysed; who recall the classics with an affection not smaller because it is not based on the "solid benefits" derived from them? We surely did not give to the classics so much of our eight years' education in order that we might use the English dictionary more readily or know without book the derivation of scientific terms. Ours was an act of faith, unconscious like

most such acts—a faith inspired by our teachers, that if we thus gave labor we should gain life; and the years have justified that faith, both theirs and ours.

In a relation so defined I speak for myself and for the college as I join in dedicating these studies. Our department of classics has never permitted science to obscure letters. As witness of its spirit and temper in past as well as present, we have Professor Kerr, still inspired with “the unconquerable hope” as a half-century of life with us rounds to its fullness. The present is more nearly represented by Professor Smith—a present that reaches back over his almost twenty-five years of active service here. On its completion his colleagues and his former students inscribe this series of studies to him, in recognition of all that has given him his place among scholars, in recognition of learning, of scholarship, of a personality saturated with Greek literature, and of a taste and feeling moulded by it. But we who are foreign to classical learning, in whose knowledge the Greek view of life is as vaguely adumbrated as is the mediaeval mind—when we take part in this dedication it is on grounds less professional and of wider significance. We recognize in him one who lives among us the life of letters, who has made literature—not only Greek but all great literature—a vital influence for us as well as for his students; and who, so living and so doing, has helped the university to maintain and strengthen those forces which at once unite and raise the common life of man.

E. A. BIRGE

THE HERACLES MYTH AND ITS TREATMENT BY EURIPIDES

G. L. HENDRICKSON

MY DEAR SMITH:

It is hard to believe that you have reached the magic age which releases us pedagogues from the bondage of hours and a daily programme and bestows that freedom, not so much *from* work, as *for* work, which is the construction of *vacare* which I fancy you will choose. May you still have many years in which to enjoy and to use that leisure which a life of devoted labor has earned for you! How vividly I recall the time when you joined me as colleague at Madison, and there began between us that friendship and fellowship of studies and literary enthusiasms which, though now long interrupted by separation and infrequent communication, is still I feel unbroken. It ranged from Homer through your Thucydides and Euripides, and my Lucretius and Horace, down even to Kipling and Stephen Phillips, who were the newest stars in the poetical firmament. Too bad that we could not have shared together the discovery of John Masefield! Wherever you were the study of poetry raised its head and revived, and in those about you you found recruits and lieutenants for its cause whose valor before had been unsuspected.

The then recent edition of the *Hippolytus* by Wilamowitz was probably the immediate occasion of your selection of that play to present to a group of us, who had organized under your leadership. You read it to us in an English made directly from the Greek text, unembellished, and perhaps not without the inevitable roughness which is incident to such a rendering. But by some magic, whether of understanding or feeling or voice, you conveyed to us a sense of communion with the poet himself. It was one of the rarest literary sensations I have ever enjoyed. With no sense of emulation, but merely in compliance with the rules of our simple organization, which imposed upon each one a contribution, I undertook to do something of the same sort

with the *Heracles*. It is to that circumstance that my first acquaintance with this play goes back, and if under the influence of a pleasant memory of our common study I have erred in essaying criticism in a field which is not my own, may it be condoned to the interest which you once inspired and which more than a score of years has not obliterated.

To the student of Greek tragedy, and of Euripides, who has never chanced to acquaint himself with the critical literature which has grown up about this play, it may very well seem that exposition and explanation of the *Heracles* is a work of superfluity if not of presumption. For the play is austere in its simplicity, and in its subject matter and treatment seems to have afforded no occasion for that raillery and criticism which was elicited from his contemporaries by so many of the other plays of our poet. Browning, in all the pages of *Aristophanes' Apology* which lead up to the famous rendering, devotes no space to explanation of the play itself or justification of its art or point of view. He feels apparently that it needs none, but launches forth upon his translation with a single word of critical judgment which is sufficient for him—

Accordingly I read the perfect piece.

Upon students, too, and others who read or hear the play read for the first time, it produces its tragic effect immediately and without those questioning qualifications of artistry and workmanship which have so pre-occupied the critical mind.

The modern critical treatment of the play may be said to date from Lessing's comparison¹ of the *Hercules Furens* of Seneca with the Euripidean *Heracles*—a treatment brief but suggestive, and containing hints which in the most recent criticism of the play have grown to exaggerated proportions. But the current doubts seem rather to have begun with Schlegel,² who applies to this play his common test of unity and finds it lacking, saying that the play consists of two actions which follow one another, but of which the second does not in any way proceed from the first. Carl Otfried Müller³ added to this the charge of melo-

¹ Works (ed. Lachmann), IV: 225.

² Lectures upon the Drama (ed. Böcking), V: 168.

³ Greek Literature, I: 491 (English edition).

dramatic clap-trap. Swinburne, too, with characteristic vehemence (as quoted by Verrall, though I have been unable to find where or in what context the judgment was uttered) referred to this play as "a grotesque abortion," a characterization which Verrall⁴ accepts and expands with other violent terms as the necessary judgment unless one adopt his own subtle rationalization of it. Even Wilamowitz,⁵ for all his admirable enthusiasm and appreciation, reads into the play matter which I cannot find and seeks a moral beyond any apparent intention of the author.

For the benefit of those to whom my words may come, who can scarcely be presumed to know or to recall clearly the argument of the *Heracles*, I will here set down its main outlines.

Heracles has been absent from his Theban home upon the last of the labors imposed upon him by Eurystheus as the price for repatriation in his ancestral Argos. It was the task to bring from the lower world the hell-hound Cerberus. During his absence, domestic sedition had arisen within the city of Thebes, and a pretender from Eubœa, one Lycus, basing his usurpation upon an ancient claim, has gained possession of the throne, and has put to death Creon and his sons, the legitimate rulers. The opening scene shows Amphytrio, the father of Heracles, with Megara (daughter of Creon and wife of Heracles) and her three sons, sitting as suppliants at the altar before the palace which had been their home. Nothing but the protection of the altar saves them from the violence of the usurper Lycus. They gain from him, however, a brief respite to put on the fitting garments of death and go within the house for that purpose. In this crisis, just as they reappear and in the momentary absence of Lycus, Heracles enters. He learns the situation from his father and his wife, and with them and his children he goes into the palace, and there awaits the coming of Lycus. The latter returning, impatient of delay, enters the house with his attendants to fetch forth Megara and her children, and is there slain by Heracles. The events within are apprehended by cries and sounds of the entrapped Lycus, and interpreted to the audience by the chorus of Theban elders, who have remained loyal to Heracles. But in the midst of this triumph, the ancient curse of Hera falls again upon Heracles in the form of a madness, which causes him to slay his children and his wife in the belief that he is destroying Eurystheus and his household. This scene is conveyed to the audience first by the symbolical figure of Lyssa or Madness led in by Iris (the messenger of Hera). By sounds of the falling house and cries

⁴ Verrall, A. W., *Four Plays of Euripides*, Cambridge, 1905, a continuation and further application of the same author's earlier work, *Euripides the Rationalist*, Cambridge, 1895.

⁵ *Euripides, Heracles*, two vols. Berlin, 1895 (second edition).

heard from within, and finally by the words of a messenger, escaped from the ruin, the catastrophe is brought vividly before the spectators. The doors of the palace are then thrown open and reveal Heracles in a heavy stupor sitting amidst the destruction which he has wrought—the broken pillars and fallen roof of the great hall, and the dead bodies of his wife and children. He comes back slowly to life and to reason and is overwhelmed with the final recognition of what he has done. At this point, attended by a train of followers from Athens, Theseus enters, having come to aid Heracles and the loyal Thebans against the usurper Lycus. In discourse with Theseus, partly in acceptance of his sympathy, partly in opposition to false consolation, Heracles works out a plan for the future, renounces the self-destruction which he had first contemplated, and resolves to take up again the burden of life and live it out in the friendship and hospitality which Theseus offers. The scene closes with the departure of Heracles resting upon the shoulder of Theseus.

It will be understood that this summary is merely a point of reference for my discussion and in no sense undertakes to give the spirit or the content of the play. Nothing but the full text of Euripides can convey the tragic crisis before the entrance of Heracles, or its joyous resolution, and most especially am I conscious of the unpersuasive emptiness, which an outline cannot fill, of all that splendid conclusion which contains the remorse and purification of the hero. It is there that Euripides is most original and touches modern feeling most closely. "Fair reader at the old tale take a glance,"—and the play is accessible as few are in the translation of a master, in Browning's *Aristophanes' Apology*. The first point about this argument which may strike the general reader, who recalls the *Labors of Hercules* from his first Latin reading or from the *Tanglewood Tales*, is the fact that it presents none of the usual stories which made up the substance of the Heracles myth. They are in fact (with the exception of allusion to the voyage to the lower world, which motivates the absence of Heracles) wholly lacking to the action of the play, though some of them are mentioned in the dialogue and they find an important place in the choral songs.

The truth is that the Heracles myth belongs to a type which did not lend itself readily to tragic treatment. In contrast to the historical or quasi-historical mythology of early wars and kingly houses (the epic cycle of Troy, the Theban heroes, the tragic house of Atreus), the Heracles myth stands out as of

quite a different type. If we may call the former historical, it would be right perhaps to speak of the latter as romantic or fantastic. The former, however much idealized, transformed, and reworked into effective contrasts and situations, have the appearance of genuine primitive history: the latter, of primitive imagination or poetry. It follows naturally that of these two types of mythological story the historical lent itself much more readily to dramatic uses. It presented men and women in natural relations and conflicts, and could serve as a type or image of human life. It affords the material for the construction of an argument (*res ficta quae fieri tamen potuit*). The romantic myth, on the other hand, tends to center itself upon the prowess of a single individual endowed with divine or magic power who performs single handed works of colossal difficulty, or overcomes fantastic demons of evil. Its content is not real and was never meant as real, but is symbolical or allegorical. It is obvious that such a myth as a whole is not good material for dramatization. To introduce the heroes' adversaries in dramatic representation would either stretch the possible demands that could be made upon popular imagination if they were represented as allegorical figures, or would pass over into the grotesque if the attempt at literal representation were undertaken (as when in modern parallel Siegfried slays the unpersuasive dragon). Such burlesques seem in fact to have been essayed in comic and satyr drama, and in the later literature of travesty and satire. Furthermore, the life of Heracles was merely a series of episodes which could not as a whole be combined to a plot nor a tragic crisis, and in condemning plots of this sort Aristotle expressly instances Heracleids and Theseids. But though ill-suited to dramatic ends, yet the myth was probably the most widely diffused (testimony to its one time vitality) of all Greek mythology—vastly more widely diffused than any of the stories which afforded the more usual material for the tragic poets. In fact, apart from the difficulties inherent in the character of the myth, it is reasonable to suspect that the very currency and familiarity of the subject matter was of itself a sufficient cause to deter the poets from attempting it. By iteration as a story for children, by familiar and daily allusion to give point to jest or example to exhortation, it had worn thin and lost its color. The Heracles

of the stage was a burlesque and comic figure. It is doubtful, I think, whether anything remained, except in formal cult, of veneration for the figure which had once been heroic and had embodied a racial ideal, which had spread from the Dorian to all members of the Hellenic family.

But though the myth had lost its vitality and was no longer regarded popularly with anything like religious fervor, yet Euripides was still close enough to Pindar and the older Hellenism to appreciate the dignity and grandeur of this Doric ideal. His treatment, with all its modern boldness of thought, is yet archaic and severe, as of one conscious of dealing with a figure whose meaning and vitality belonged to an earlier time. As modern mythologists have formulated it, Heracles was the imaginative or poetical embodiment of human perfection (the Doric *ἀρετή*), dedicated to the welfare of mankind: that is, in the first instance to the welfare of his tribe, the primitive Dorians, and then by extension to the Hellenic race.⁶ He was in the guise of this ancient allegory the representative of good against evil, the embodiment of all the slow civilizing forces against the barbarism from which man was emerging. It is really a noble conception, finer and purer than the ideas which give substance to the greater gods of the Greek pantheon. In fact, one may suspect that to Euripides the opportunity was not unwelcome to set over against the vindictiveness which the myth attributed to Hera, the pure and human beneficence of this man-made god.

The story of Heracles then as a whole was merely a series of episodes, a succession of deeds or labors to convey concretely

⁶ Discussion of the ultimate origin of the Heracles myth is more or less futile, and it matters not much whether in the first instance he was a real "strong-man" (*Ἀλκαῖος*, *Ἀλκιδης*) as the ancients believed, or whether he was the imaginative creation of a racial type. In either case he collected attributes which belonged to the time of the fixation of him as the embodiment of a racial ideal. This fixation indicates a time when the bow was the principal weapon. The club may be a survival from a still more primitive period. His principal labors too imply a time when the people who created him were engaged in early efforts to subdue the soil, and to make their homes safe against predatory beasts, and predatory men by land and sea. But ultimate origins are impossible to arrive at, for it is quite conceivable that he was the hero of a still earlier time, with other attributes suitable to a stage of life still more primitive. King Arthur, for example, came to be and exists for us as the embodiment of the ideals of chivalry—ideals which had no existence in the time to which the historical Arthur belonged.

by simple enumeration the conception of heroism and goodness, leading to a heavenly reward—deification. But though the matter in this form was incapable of successful dramatic treatment, yet it is nevertheless true that the real subject of Euripides' play is the character of Heracles as a whole. His purpose was to present to his audience a conception of the myth in its traditional and superhuman aspects, but as touching the end of the hero's life and his deification to reinterpret the myth in his own way. To make dramatization possible or successful the poet invents a plot and situation, which does not appear to have been any part of the traditional story: viz., the tragic crisis which arises for his family during his absence, through the usurpation of Lycus. Into this plot or action, he fits the catastrophe of the slaughter of his own children, which the myth supplied. It will be well to keep in mind, as I shall later explain, that this catastrophe, though the supreme tragic episode of the play, yet is *incidental to the action which is the poet's free invention*. The great labors, upon which the traditional fame of Heracles rested, do not enter into the action of the play, but through choral songs and incidental allusion in the dialogue itself, they afford atmosphere and background for the action and for the judgment of character. It is the figure of the great Heracles of the myth, ἀλεξίκακος, καλλίνικος, σωτήρ, εὐεργέτης, which is kept before us throughout. I desire to emphasize this the more because I wish to anticipate the criticism (of Verrall and Wilamowitz) that Euripides aims to discredit the traditional Heracles and to shatter the ideal which he represented.

In the popular and current forms of the myth, the madness of Heracles and his murderous violence were altogether a subsidiary *motif*, scarcely recognized by the main stream of the tradition, to which it must have seemed a negation of that beneficent ἀρετή, which was the characteristic mark of the whole myth. Furthermore, it was placed not after the great labors for the Argive Eurystheus, but before them (with unimportant variations as to the method of death). It has been conjectured with much probability that the story is merely a device for transferring the Theban Heracles to Argos and to the service of Eurystheus, by compelling him to abandon Thebes by reason of blood-guilt, and so effecting a reconciliation of two separate

lines of tradition, the Theban and the Argive. But in any case it will be seen that the story in this setting is merely a violent episode in the life of the hero, and is without tragic consequence for the rest of his career, a prelude merely to his greater accomplishments and glory. Here then Euripides availed himself of that freedom which was granted to the dramatic poet, and, by transferring the deed to the end of the series of the great labors, makes use of the story at once to create a more tragic crisis than was yielded by the tradition, and to employ it as a *motif* for his own special creation—the transformation of Heracles from a divine to a human heroic figure. By thus shifting its place in the story, he changes the madness from an episode to a decisive crisis, which though at the end of his career is yet a main dividing line between the old heroic life of a demi-god and the new life of a suffering, but still heroic, mortal. While the old myth is grasped with poetic fervor and genuine appreciation of its primitive nobility, yet it is to the elaboration of the new conception that the poet devotes his greatest care and wins from the listener or reader the largest sympathy.

Just what this conception was it will be worth while at this point to examine. The myth represented Heracles as stricken suddenly by a frenzy in which he slays his own children. In so far Euripides follows the tradition. But by placing this calamity at the end of the hero's career and by no hint or indication of any sequel, except his departure to Athens with Theseus, he ignores wholly that which was the most common and necessary feature of the myth, his reception into Olympus and deification as reward for labors accomplished. But yet in Euripides' day the cult of Heracles was still maintained, and it is impossible to believe that the poet should not have taken account of his divinity as it still survived. Now the characteristic and to us appealing thing about the final scene of our play is the fact that although by hypothesis, so to speak, Heracles is still a demi-god, yet his conduct and his words are those of a sublime humanity. By convention he is still the great Heracles, who must yet complete his last errand for Eurystheus (1387); but in reality the poet has plucked him from the ranks of the gods where the myth placed him. He is left a man sharing in the fate and the sufferings of humanity, but sublime both in his resolute will to face

out his life to its natural end, and in his tenderness of remorse, in his filial devotion and friendship. We are not told what future awaits Heracles as he goes forth to accompany Theseus to Athens. His great deeds are ended: that we know from the specific assurance of Hera's messenger. But it must have been as plain to the ancient spectator as it is to us that there is no place left for that glorious deification which in the myth is his final reward.⁷ How then did Euripides meet the inevitable fact of deification as attested by cult and sanctuary? By a new and rationalistic interpretation. Just as he has reinterpreted the character of Heracles in terms of noble humanity, so likewise he substitutes for the literal assumption and apotheosis of the hero the conception of an ancient tradition of a good man (*ἄνδρ' ἐσθλόν* 1335), whom in his lifetime the people had honored, and after his death still remembered with sacrificial rites and sanctuaries (1332). The whole passage (1328-38) is of peculiar value as affording a key to the dramatic treatment of the character of Heracles as he is revealed in the concluding scene. It means the translation of the positive and objective deification of the hero into a godhood based upon tradition and the grateful memory of men. That the beginnings of his worship are claimed for Athens is a form of patriotic flattery not infrequent in Attic tragedy.

As I have said above, criticism has been busy with our play for a long time and some of its pronouncements have become stereotyped and fixed. One of them is that the play lacks unity. This is probably the tritest and most elementary criticism that is ever directed against a work of literary art, and few plays (or indeed other literary works of larger design) have succeeded in withstanding incontestably this test of critical assault. For in literature as in war, it would seem, the projectile proves its superiority to protective armour. The commonest form which the criticism of defective unity takes is to discover that two or more unrelated themes or actions have been combined into one, and yield at best a merely spe-

⁷ Attested by many vase paintings. Vid. Gruppe, *Griech. Mythol.*, p. 472, n. 10.

cious unity. This was the criticism of Schlegel (referred to above), which did not probably originate with him, and has been repeated indefinitely down to the present. To refute this dictum merely for the sake of refuting it would be wasted pains, if for no other reason than that criticism no longer attaches importance to such tests as "unity," or any other kind of conformity to a *priori* demands. But because a consideration of this question may lead us to a clearer understanding of Euripides' treatment of the received myth, which is the purpose of my discussion, I shall consider the problem briefly.

It is true obviously that the play consists of two parts which admit of separate analysis and isolation; viz. (1) the peril of Heracles' family, with which the play begins, and their deliverance, and (2) the madness of the hero, his deeds of violence, and the pathetic sequel of his return to reason. But it is quite false to say that these two separable parts constitute a mere unrelated sequence, which is the necessary import of the criticism if it have any. Of these two elements, Euripides took from the myth the second. As has been said, the myth does not appear to have introduced the calamity at a tragic crisis in the hero's life, nor to have used it in any way as an influence upon his character. It was raw material, so to speak, for the poet to shape to artistic ends. Now it is perhaps conceivable that poetical fancy might have created out of such an episode without further invention some sort of scene, but obviously the material was meagre, and as we shall see, not well suited to an independent action. For if one will reflect upon the nature of the calamity, and will recall that it was represented as an infliction of a hostile divinity from without, it will appear that it could not properly be conceived of as an independent action capable of representation in and for itself. Its very nature required that the seizure of madness should be portrayed as *incidental to some other action*, natural or characteristic, into the midst of which it falls suddenly and without warning. Since the myth (so far as we can discern) afforded no such situation, it was the poet's task to invent an action, characteristic and suitable, into which to fit the tragic catastrophe. We arrive therefore at the conclusion, which may seem at first sight paradoxical, that the main tragic circumstance of the play,

derived from the myth, was necessarily made incidental to an action of which the myth knew nothing. But though the myth is silent on the particular circumstances which the poet invents, yet it furnished nevertheless a guide to the direction of invention. For wherever Heracles appeared (in the older story) there were wrongs to be righted, wickedness to be punished and good to be vindicated. The very traditional character of the hero therefore demanded that upon his advent his beneficent and protecting hands should find work to do. These conceptions were stereotyped in the current epithets *ἀλεξίκακος*, *σωτήρ*, etc., and out of such epithets the opening and main action of our play is born. If there is in it something of naïve melodramatic flavor—a situation of acute and tense peril for those dear to Heracles, resolved and reversed by his sudden appearance—it is fair to say that melodramatic opportuneness of help in desperate pass was a very feature of the myth, and of popular belief in the hero. It is well illustrated by the Heracles of the *Alcestis*, the earliest of melodramas. In Browning's words,

Sudden into the midst of sorrow leapt,
Along with the gay cheer of that great voice,
Hope, joy, salvation: Heracles was here!

The main action of the play then is this invention growing out of the traditional character of Heracles. It is carried through before the eyes of the spectators to the point (v. 725) where Lycus goes within to fetch forth Megara and her children, and meets his fate at the hands of Heracles, whose return he does not suspect. His death is conveyed to the audience both by the joyful outburst of the chorus (*μεταβολὰ κακῶν*), and by his own death cries heard from within. The chorus thereupon turns to a song of rejoicing. We should now in the ordinary course of dramatic practice look for this action to be completed by the words of a messenger, setting forth in detail the manner and circumstances of the tyrant's death. But just as expectancy is at this point the figures of Iris, the messenger of Hera, and Lyssa (Madness) appear, to intimate to the chorus and to the audience the terrible sequel to the joyous deliverance which has been accomplished. It is at this point that criticism has gone wrong, and has thought of these figures as new characters introducing a new action. In fact, however, they serve

merely to mark for the chorus (and audience) *without*, the transition from triumph to calamity in the continuous action which is going on *within*. It is at this point that the incident of madness falls across the main action of the play. When at length the messenger does appear, we might reasonably look for a full rehearsal of all that has passed since Heracles went into the palace (at the suggestion of Amphitryo), followed by the unsuspecting Lycus. It is but natural, however, that the greater has obliterated the lesser, and that the death of Lycus is merely touched upon, to explain the moment and circumstance in which the accession of madness turned the hero from the saviour of his house into its destroyer. When then, after the messenger's speech, the doors of the palace are thrown open and we see Heracles in an unconscious stupor amidst the havoc he has wrought, we have at length the completion of the action which began with his joyous entrance into the palace dragging after him "like pinnaces in tow" his clinging children—the completion, indeed, but with what tragic difference and betrayal of expectation. It is only by overemphasizing the rôles of Iris and Lyssa, and by overlooking their ghostly mission that one can think of the play as suffering a cleft or division at this point.

Let us now turn to a closer examination of the figures of Iris and Lyssa, their nature and the reason for their employment. From the moment of Lycus' going in to bring forth his victims, the action is transferred from without to within the palace, and it becomes the task of the poet to apprise the audience of that which goes on by suitable means. The death of the tyrant is easily managed, because the audience is cognizant of Heracles' presence in the house and therefore recognizes that which must follow. The death cries of the entrapped Lycus and the jubilant chorus supply whatever else was needful. Much more important and more difficult was it to convey that scene for which the course of the play had furnished no preparation, neither hint nor suspicion—the sudden accession of madness. As we learn later from the messenger, Heracles and his household were occupied with the purification of the house from the pollution of the tyrant's blood, when a frenzy fell upon him which caused him to look upon his own wife and children as enemies

and to slay them. The reversal of emotion in this action, from the supreme joy of deliverance which the chorus had just voiced, was, therefore, the most acute possible. As being a deed of bloodshed and violence, it could not be shown, but must take place out of the sight of chorus and spectator. It would have been obviously intolerable that those without should have no immediate participation in so tragic a reversal, and should wait unprepared to learn of it through the words of a messenger. It seems, in fact, to be one example in which the poet felt the limitations of the dramatic convention of his time and strove to meet it by a bold device. The myth called the madness a visitation of the wrath of Hera, and accordingly, parallel to the action *within*, the poet causes to flit lightly across the scene *without* the figures of Iris (servant of Hera) and Lyssa. In accordance with the usual stage convention of the appearance of gods or other supernatural figures, it is to be assumed that they appeared upon the roof of the proscenium, that is, presumptively, hovering in air above the house. These two figures, explaining deliberately their source and function (and in so far, like the material ghosts of Elizabethan drama, marring the effect of their ideal unsubstantiality), do for the chorus and the spectator a service which would have been superfluous if the accession of madness had taken place in the sight of all. How superfluous, we can readily see from the fact that they were not seen by those within the house who were the spectators of the sudden frenzy which seized upon Heracles. This is clear both from the silence of the messenger in his detailed account of the manifestations of disorder in the conduct of Heracles, and also from the words of Lyssa (873), "mine the task into the halls of Heracles to plunge *unseen*" (*ἄφαντοι*). The purpose of such spectral scenes, whether in ancient or modern drama, is in one way or another to convey to the spectator by supernatural means something which naturally he has no means of knowing. The necessity in this case lies merely in the fact that the seizure of madness takes place within the palace, and its *natural* manifestations (which were sufficiently clear to an eye witness such as the messenger) are therefore hidden from those without. Could they by some other conceivable treatment (such as in fact Seneca employs) have been spectators of the change from the

sane actions of Heracles to the first manifestations of his madness, there would have been no occasion for using the supernatural figures. Like the witnesses of the transition, whom the messenger describes, chorus and spectators would have followed the steps from sanity to insanity, would have said to themselves when it was apparent, "this is madness" (*Ἀβῶσα*), and knowing its source would have added, as Theseus does later upon his entrance (1191), "this is the work of Hera" (*Ἡρας ὅδ' ἀγῶν*). That which therefore was only a mental process for the observer is made visual and expressive to those without by the two supernatural figures.

Divine epiphanies and tragic furies were common enough in ancient drama to rob the scene of anything like alienating strangeness, and it may well indeed have been suggested by artistic representations.⁸ But from the standpoint of modern stagecraft and modern feeling the device must seem crude and primitive. Seneca apparently felt it necessary to eliminate the scene and does so with unconvincing ingenuity by making Amphitryo an intermediary witness and reporter, at once seeing Heracles and being visible himself. Lessing, in the section of his study of the Senecan *Hercules* which he entitles "Proposal for a Poet of Today,"⁹ makes the suggestion, though rather with reference to Seneca's adaptation, that the participation of the goddess should be transformed into an inspired dream of a priest or soothsayer. The suggestion is good and shows the limits of supernatural intervention which modern feeling would tolerate. From this source one might suspect that Verrall's curious theory of the representation of this scene arose. He sets forth (p. 168), with much play of ingenuity, the conception that the spectral scene of Iris and Lyssa, though visible to the audience, is to the chorus a dream-like vision, unseen and unremembered: that the words of alarm which they utter (815-21) are the random words of terror inspired by a dream, prophetic of the coming disaster. His object is, of course, in accordance with his universal thesis of the rationalism of Euripides, to relieve the poet of the suspicion of juggling with such antiquated fancies as attributing the madness of Heracles to the inter-

⁸ See Wilamowitz, I:123.

⁹ Lachmann, 4:253.

vention of a goddess, or of giving countenance to such popular superstitions as visible Furies. It is the goal and end of Verrall's criticism, in a word, to make Euripides as nearly as possible a dramatist of today, compelled by unhappy circumstance to use the outworn themes and the primitive technique of an early time. The result always is that he seems and has always been supposed to mean one thing, but in reality meant something quite different, of which Verrall is the evangelist. The present example is not of enough importance to justify a detailed refutation, but a single observation will suffice to show that the notion of the sleep and dream of the chorus is an idle fancy. Into the midst of the joyful song of the chorus, the spectral forms of Iris and Lyssa break. The old men start in terror and cry out *ἔα ἔα . . . οἷον φάσμι' ὑπὲρ δόμων ὄρω*. These are part of the words which Verrall interprets as the broken utterances of sleep and, therefore, although they seem to imply very clearly that the chorus sees and recognizes the phantom figures, they may not perhaps be used for refutation of his explanation. But what of the following lines which Iris speaks?

*θαρσεῖτε Νυκτὸς τήνδ' ὄρωντες ἔκγονον
Δύσσαν, γέροντες.*

Can any ingenuity stretch these words to an address to a sleeping chorus? Very plainly the old men are very much awake, and in terror-stricken attitude (*θαρσεῖτε*) strain their gaze (*ὄρωντες*) toward the ghostly forms.

But the matter need not be pressed further. It is plain from every point of view of sane interpretation, both from the words quoted and again from the opening exchange of words between messenger and chorus (910-921) that, like the spectators, the old men of the chorus are first made cognizant of the seizure of frenzy, which occurs within, by the device of a visible spectre of frenzy led in and driven on to her murderous work by the servant of the hostile goddess. But details and circumstances of the tragic catastrophe could not be thus conveyed and for these (*πῶς, τίνα τρόπον*) they make demand of the messenger.

It is customary¹⁰ to look upon the appearance (I would scarcely say entrance) of Iris and Lyssa as marking the beginning of a second action—that second action which has been thought to mar the unity of the play. I have already indicated the error of this point of view, and noted that the real action within the house goes on without interruption, and without the visible presence of either figure. Such typical utterances, therefore, as I have given below assign to this scene a weight and substance which do not belong to it. The poet himself calls the appearance a phantom, and the scene itself is brief. Substance is lent to it by the explanations of Iris and by the protests of Lyssa, both of which are undramatic, though serviceable for the clarification of the auditor. But in spite of this it is right, I believe, to look upon the scene merely as a lightly sketched visualization of the fatal transition from sanity to madness, made necessary by the usage of the Greek stage which did not suffer the catastrophe to be enacted openly.

There still remains a criticism of dramatic structure to be considered which, since it touches the conception of the myth and the poet's meaning, is of considerable importance. It is that the madness of Heracles, and therefore the tragic catastrophe of the play, is not a necessary or logical outgrowth of the plot from which the play starts. This has been met by the contention that madness is inherent in the character of Heracles from the beginning; that he betrays, in his wrath at the wrong which has been done to his family, an overweening confidence in physical prowess and brute strength which at a given moment passes over into a dangerous megalomania (*Grössenwahnsinn*). This suggestion which is put forth by Wilamowitz without emphasis, though confidently, becomes the chief stone of the corner in the complicated edifice of psychological analysis which Verrall rears. It effects undoubtedly an internal relation between the two parts of the drama—between the Heracles who appears as the deliverer of his dear ones and the madman who slays them—which is not without its appeal to

¹⁰ Klein, *Gesch. d. Dramas*, I:443. "Nun hebt eine ganz neue Handlung an," etc. Wilamowitz, I:121, similarly but with more reserve: "die Nothwendigkeit ergab sich für den Dichter gewissermassen von neuem anzuheben, einen zweiten Prolog zu schreiben."

modern feeling. But the test of its correctness is not to be found in its abstract attractiveness, but in the actual text and treatment of Euripides.

An unbiassed examination, however, will reveal no hint of this. Heracles upon his entrance (523) is full of the gladness of return (*ὡς ἄσμενος, κτλ.*) which is turned to concern and dismay at the sight of his family grouped as suppliants about the altar. In quick question and answer, he learns of the situation. His anger and threats of vengeance flame out on learning of the truth, but no more than seems natural for the hero whose life-task had been the single-handed righting of wrong. It is, in fact, plain that the poet at this point is intent upon a bit of characterization explanatory of the traditional epithets *ἀλεξίκακος, καλλίνικος*.

νῦν γὰρ τῆς ἐμῆς ἔργον χερός (565).

οὐκ ἄρ' Ἡρακλῆς

ὁ καλλίνικος ὡς πάροιθε λέξομαι (582).

Of that dangerous emotion "verging on delirium," of which Verrall speaks, I venture to say confidently there is no trace.¹¹ At his father's admonition, he quickly subdues himself and accepts the stratagem to await the return of Lycus, rather than to go forth at once and seek his enemies. To his father's inquiries concerning his voyage to the lower world, he makes plain and rational answer, and at the end, as they pass within, his bearing toward his wife and children is marked by affectionate naturalness and much human charm. It is certain that if Euripides entertained any thought of the ensuing madness as inherent in the character of Heracles, he has failed wholly to indicate it. The chorus, while he is present and in their subsequent odes, entertains no suspicion nor foreboding of it. In the speech of the messenger, who narrates the ultimate disaster, there is no intimation of conduct other than natural

¹¹ It is Verrall, not Heracles, who works himself up into an unreasoning passion at this point. Like an advocate before a jury, by successive insinuations, he eventuates in an accusation of guilt, derived merely from related but progressively stronger words. "The scene which ensues is the central light of the play. . . . For here we suddenly discover that the hero is *not master of himself*, that his reason is *not proof against excitement*, that at this critical moment his brain is in a *condition of irritability* which renders him almost incapable of action, in short, that he is *on the verge of delirium*" (p. 156).

or rational up to the moment of the sudden seizure of frenzy (931). So far from being prepared for the change by anything in the previous conduct of the hero, it comes to all—children (930), attendants (950), father (964)—as something incredible, incomprehensible. Even the single hint of a natural origin to his frenzy, his father's wondering question whether the blood of those just slain had maddened him (966), reaches not back to the scene of Heracles' last appearance. We may add in conclusion that if the poet had wished, by ambiguous or suspicious actions, to motivate the catastrophe which follows, he must have given a much larger rôle to Heracles, from his entrance to his disappearance within the house, in order to develop adequately the suggestions of an unbalanced mind. That which justified the brief duration of Heracles' presence at that point in the play is the fact that he appeared in the quickly grasped and traditional rôle of helper and saviour. The audience knew what to expect upon his appearance, and the poet reserves himself for that delineation of the hero after the tragic disaster, which is the goal toward which everything tends.

For the myth, it sufficed that the wrath of Hera was suddenly visited upon Heracles, whatever meaning lay hidden in that story of divine malignity. The poet, with possibly a different interpretation of the phenomenon, nevertheless follows the myth, and as in fact he does not relate the madness in any way to the antecedent action, so also he feels no necessity for establishing such a relation. He has created that which he desired to, viz., sudden, unprepared, and unforeseen disaster at the very moment of triumph and assured happiness. As an external cause, he uses the mechanism of the myth, all but introducing Hera herself. But that which the myth represented literally with human emotions of jealousy and hate was for the poet only a symbol of capricious calamity, throwing itself across the career of a good man at the very height of beneficent and wholesome activity. If we translate the treatment of the myth into its philosophical or religious significance, it may be reasonably conceived of as an expression of doubt in the divine

ordering of the world, a recognition of caprice as the ruling god:

νῦν δ', ὥς ἔοικε, τῇ τύχῃ δουλευτέον (1357).

But while that is obviously the moral of a portrayal which reveals no guilt or blame in the conduct of Heracles, yet I would deprecate the inference which might be drawn from such a generalization, viz., that the plays of Euripides are reliable material for reconstructing the poet's religious and philosophical position. The great stream of the new speculative thought of his time surges through his plays. He is permeated with it, but he uses it primarily for *dramatic* ends. In Euripidean criticism there has always been too much of ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς σκηνῆς φιλόσοφος, that clever phrase which we owe to one¹² who, like many modern critics, read Euripides for philosophical and religious, rather than for artistic or dramatic, edification.¹³ In this instance for example, in the face of a philosophical conclusion so hopeless, what is the end? In accordance with the usual treatment in drama—as in the case of Ajax or Othello or Phaedra—it might seem that nothing less than self-destruction would furnish an adequate *dénouement*. This is Heracles' first impulse and resolve (1147 ff.). His wonderful survey of all the demands of human relationships and of nature herself for his death (1280), his proud rejection of the hollow consolations of Theseus (1340), and his own final resolve to face out his life to its natural end—ἐγκατερήσω βίον—lest self-destruction should prove a betrayal of that trust which men have placed in his heroism—all this must be reckoned among the sublimest things of ancient poetry. It speaks much for the lofty mind of the poet, but we should be on our guard against interpreting it too literally as a personal creed of heroism. Let it not be overlooked that the resolution to continue life under conditions of pain and remorse almost unbearable belongs to the dramatic characterization of the hero whose whole life (as he sets forth, 1255 ff.) has been one of toil and suffering. Heracles remains Heracles to the end.

¹² Clement of Alexandria.

¹³ It is significant that the two most important recent works upon our poet, each in its way admirable, are both, so to speak, anatomical—aiming at a kind of systematic reconstruction of the poet's mind by a process of dissecting analysis: Nestle, *Euripides der Dichter der griechischen Aufklärung*, Stuttgart, 1901; and Masqueray, *Euripides et ses Idées*, Paris, 1908.

THE SOURCE OF HERODOTUS' KNOWLEDGE OF ARTABAZUS

A. G. LAIRD

The brief space of ten years separated Marathon from Salamis and Thermopylae. Marathon was peculiarly an Athenian victory, and "the men who fought at Marathon" were the heroes whose praises Athenian poets and orators in later days chanted with peculiar pride. It would have been but natural if in the stories of the great day there had been handed down many Persian names, real or fictitious; yet Herodotus, whose work is so full of proofs of Athenian influence that we can assume with confidence a lengthy stay in Attica, records the names of none except Datis and Artaphernes, the leaders of the expedition. When we come to the invasion of Xerxes all this is changed. Now he names more than fifty of the officers; he knows their fathers, their relation to the royal house, the nations they commanded, their rank in foot, horse, and navy. He names them and they disappear. Even the five that share the supreme command with Mardonius are never heard of again.¹ Among the vast host that Herodotus reckons at five and a quarter millions, Mardonius, Artemisia, and Artabazus alone by speech and action acquire individuality.²

The rank of Artemisia in such a gathering is exceedingly obscure. She leads five ships among twelve hundred; but she

¹ vii:82, 121. In viii:26, Tritantaechmes is a variant for Tigranes.

² Artabanus does not accompany the expedition. His speeches in the early part of the seventh book are so obviously unhistorical that they may be ascribed to the invention of Herodotus. After Thermopylae his son, Tigranes, makes a remark quite in the vein of his father (viii:26). The speech put into the mouth of Achaemenes, the Egyptian admiral, is also evident fiction (vii:237). The deaths of Pharnuches (vii:88), Artachaies (vii:117), Ariabignes (viii:89), and Masistius (ix:20-25) are mentioned, that of the last with some detail. Herodotus says that "the Greeks called him Makiattus," which is taken to be fair evidence of a written source. Hydarnes owes his immortality to his rank as captain of the Immortals. A Greek traitor led him and his men over a mountain path to take Leonidas in the rear. There was a dispute among the Greeks about the name of the traitor (Hdt. vii:213-4; Ctesias, *Pers.* 24), none apparently about the Persian general's, though Ctesias does not name him and cuts his force from 10,000 to 4,000 men.

is ruler of Halicarnassus, and it is natural that the Halicarnassian should know of her exploits. He may have heard her sayings reported.³ Artabazus is spoken of by modern historians as second in command, under Mardonius, of the army left behind by Xerxes after the defeat at Salamis. This is an inference from the fact that no other general under Mardonius is named by Herodotus, but the inference is not in accordance with other facts the historian gives us. The army of Mardonius is said to have numbered three hundred thousand men (viii:113; ix:32, 70); of these Artabazus led sixty thousand (viii:126). If we compare the names of the nations selected by Mardonius with the full list in the army of Xerxes (vii:60 ff.), and observe the numbers in each case, we see that Herodotus, or his source, assigned to Mardonius five divisions of sixty thousand men. The rank of Artabazus in the army of Mardonius, where he commands one of five divisions under one general-in-chief, is relatively exactly the same as in the army of Xerxes, where he commands one of thirty divisions of the same size under six generals-in-chief. No doubt Mardonius had under him four other generals equal in rank to Artabazus.⁴ Their names are not given,⁵ but neither is that of Artabazus in the passage that names the nations remaining with Mardonius (viii:113). He is not spoken of even in the line of battle at Plataea (ix:31-2), though every nation that Mardonius selected is mentioned there, and Artabazus is said in viii:126 to have led a division of those selected. Thus, as far as mere rank goes, there is no reason for Herodotus' special knowledge concerning Artabazus. Before entering upon the discussion of the possible sources of this knowledge, I shall cite the more important passages to be considered.

³ vii:99; viii:68 ff., 87 ff., 101 ff.

⁴ I do not mean by this that I accept the figure 300,000 for the army of Mardonius, but I see no reason for cutting it and leaving the 60,000 of Artabazus untouched.

⁵ We might infer their names from the lists in book vii were it not that Artabazus there commands Parthians and Chorasmians (vii:66) and these were not left with Mardonius; that Tigranes did not remain in Greece (ix:96), though his Medes did (vii:62, viii:113); and that Masistius is a cavalry commander at Plataea (ix:20), though originally (if it is the same man) leading Alarodii and Saspeires (vii:79) who furnished no cavalry.

VIII:126. Artabazus, the son of Pharnakes, who was highly esteemed by the Persians before the battle of Plataea and won therein an even greater reputation, escorted the king as far as the Hellespont with sixty thousand men from the army which Mardonius had selected. After seeing the king safe in Asia he started back to join Mardonius, who was wintering in Thessaly and Macedonia. When he reached Pallene he found the Potidaeans in revolt, and thought it his duty to stop and subdue them, as there was no pressing need for him to join the rest of the army at once.

VIII:128. In his vigorous prosecution of the siege, he was aided by the treachery of Timoxenus, general of Scione. How the plot was arranged in the first place I cannot say, for there is no account of it, but at any rate it was finally carried on as follows: When Timoxenus wanted to send a message to Artabazus, or Artabazus to Timoxenus, he would write a letter, wrap it round the butt end of an arrow, cover it with feathers, and shoot to a spot agreed upon. The treachery of Timoxenus was discovered when Artabazus, shooting at the appointed spot, missed it and hit a Potidaean on the shoulder. As is the custom in war a crowd quickly gathered round the wounded man. At once they laid hold of the arrow, found the letter, and carried it to the generals. (Other Pallanian allies were also present.) The generals, on reading the letter, discovered the name of the traitor, but decided not to denounce Timoxenus for the sake of the people of Scione, who might otherwise be looked upon as traitors for all succeeding time.

VIII:129. Artabazus had spent three months in the siege of Potidaea, when there was a great ebb of the tide that lasted a long time. Seeing a boggy shore instead of deep water, the barbarians tried to pass by the city into Pallene, but when they had marched two-fifths of the way, with three still left to go before they were in Pallene, a flood tide came up, the greatest there had ever been, so the inhabitants say, though they were of frequent occurrence. The men who could not swim were drowned; the rest were killed by the people of Potidaea, who put out in boats. These people say the cause of the flood and the Persian disaster was the defilement of the temple and statue of Poseidon in the suburbs by the very Persians who were overwhelmed in the sea. I think this reason is a good one. Artabazus led away the survivors to Thessaly to join Mardonius. So fared the men who escorted the king.

IX:41. On the eleventh day after they had encamped face to face at Plataea, when the Greeks had greatly increased in numbers and Mardonius was fretting over the delay, a discussion took place between Mardonius, son of Gobryas, and Artabazus, son of Pharnakes, who was one of the half dozen Persians most highly esteemed by Xerxes. The views expressed in the council were these. Artabazus thought that the whole army should pack up at once and withdraw behind the walls of Thebes, where large stores of food had been brought in and fodder for the baggage animals, and where they might sit in security and bring matters to a conclusion by the following method. They had gold in plenty, coined and uncoined; silver, too, and drinking-cups. These treasures they should

distribute freely among the Greeks, especially to the leaders in the cities, who would quickly surrender their freedom. They should not, he thought, run the risk of an engagement. This opinion was the same as that of the Thebans, for Artabazus, too, had a thorough knowledge of the situation. Mardonius was for more vigorous measures. He was less prudent, and did not enter into the views of others. As he held their army to be much superior to that of the Greeks, he proposed to join battle at once, and not look on while the enemy's numbers increased. As for the sacrifices of Hegistratus, they should not go contrary to them, but discontinue them, and follow the Persian custom when engaging in battle. (ix:42). As Mardonius took this point of view, no one opposed him, and his opinion prevailed, for the king had given the supreme command of the army to him and not to Artabazus. So he sent for the taxiarchs of the divisions and the generals of the Greeks that were on his side, and asked them if they knew of any oracle declaring that the Persians would perish in Greece.

IX:66. Thus far had this part of the battle gone. Now Artabazus, the son of Pharnakes, was not pleased to begin with, when the king left Mardonius behind; and, when he tried to prevent the engagement on that occasion, he accomplished nothing in spite of many arguments against it. So, in his displeasure at the action of Mardonius, he took the following course. From the beginning of the engagement, feeling very sure what the result would be, he kept his own men well in hand—he had under him no small force, but forty thousand men. His orders were that all should follow where he led, at the rate they saw him march. When this word was passed, he led them on as if he were going into battle. But, while still advancing, he saw that the Persians had already begun to flee. Thereupon he let his lines break up, and fled as fast as he could run, not to the palisade, nor to the walls of Thebes, but toward Phocis, wishing to get to the Hellespont with all speed.

IX:89. Artabazus, the son of Pharnakes, was by this time far on his way in his flight from Plataea. The Thessalians, as he passed them by, would invite him to dinner and ask him questions about the rest of the army, for they knew nothing of the outcome at Plataea. He had come to the conclusion that, if he were to tell them the whole truth about the battle, he and his army would be in danger of destruction, for every one would turn on him when they learned the result. On these grounds, while he would make no explanation at all to the Phocians, he would answer the Thessalians thus. "As you see, Thessalians, I am making a very rapid march to Thrace. I am in a hurry, because I have been sent with these men ahead of the army for a particular purpose. Mardonius and his troops you may look for right there on my heels. Entertain him and show your good will. You will not regret it later." With this reply he would march hastily on through Thessaly and Macedonia straight for Thrace, taking the shortest road, as if really in a hurry. He reached Byzantium, but left behind a considerable portion of his men, partly cut off by the Thracians on the way,

partly overcome by hunger and fatigue. From Byzantium he crossed in ships. Such was the manner of his return to Asia.

In explanation of this intimate knowledge of Artabazus particular emphasis has been laid upon the fact that he was appointed satrap of Dascyleum in 476 B.C., and that his descendants held the same position in the last part of the fifth century and first half of the fourth.⁶ The conclusion is drawn that Herodotus was acquainted with the family and acquired his information either orally or from written records. We may grant that it would be easy for the Greeks to have communication with a ruler of Dascyleum. Further, part of the record, if it is true, could be derived only from Artabazus or his close attendants—for example, the account of his orders and actions in the battle of Plataea, and of the motives that prompted them. Yet even this part cannot be assigned to him without some scruples. If he acted as Herodotus says, it was a gross betrayal of his commander-in-chief. It is difficult to believe that he would give such a report of himself, or to understand how it would increase his reputation at home. For other parts of the record Artabazus himself is not a probable source. It is impossible to treat the arrow story seriously, but, granting it to be true, we should not expect the vivid description of what took place within the walls of the Greek city to come from the Persian general. Artabazus, again, might have told about the tidal wave in explanation of his failure to take Potidaea, but would he mention the Persian defilement of the temple as a reason for the disaster? For the source of this portion Wecklein's suggestion of the temple records at Potidaea looks more reasonable.⁷ It is easy to assert that Herodotus might have consulted records both at Dascyleum and at Potidaea, that he might have talked with Phocians and Thessalians about the retreat, with Thebans or other medizing Greeks about the council of war before the battle; but, when we consider how completely ignorant Herodotus was concerning other Persians of prominence at Thermopylae, Salamis, and Plataea, we must admit that there is a

⁶ Cf. Stein, Husolt, E. Meyer. I do not question the importance of Dascyleum as an ultimate source.

⁷ Bayr. Akad. Wiss. 1876, pp. 9, 27, 31.

very strong probability that he drew his knowledge of Artabazus from a single source. On the other hand, the material is of such a nature that, if we cling to a single source, we must also admit that Herodotus in its treatment gave free play to his imagination, or else borrowed from a writer who had an epic poet's conception of history. Herodotus himself had the skill to lend a charm to cold facts, and used it with the licence due to the Greek historian of the period, yet I believe there are a number of indications that he found the story of Artabazus in another writer.

In almost every passage where Artabazus is introduced, there is evidence that the earlier form of Herodotus' narrative has been disturbed. This evidence consists both of contradictions in subject matter and of peculiarities of language that are most easily explained on the hypothesis of a later insertion rather carelessly adapted to its surroundings. The material which Herodotus gathered from various sources is often inconsistent, and he does not always notice this himself. What awakens suspicion in the case of Artabazus is the number of contradictions he allows to escape him in comparison with the small amount of material.

The statement (viii:126) that Artabazus, with sixty thousand men of the force selected to remain in Greece, escorted the king as far as the Hellespont, is inconsistent with viii:113, where we are told that Xerxes left with Mardonius only one-sixth of his whole force⁸ (cf. vii:60, 184). It is strange, too, that, if Artabazus were so important a personage, no mention should be made of him in the account of Xerxes' journey (viii:115-120). The losses suffered by Xerxes on the way were so heavy that he reached the Hellespont "with no part of his army, so to speak" (viii:115); yet Artabazus, as we shall see later, returned to Potidaea with his sixty thousand undiminished. In the sentence⁹ (viii:126), "Artabazus, being a man of reputation among the Persians before and *having become* still more so after Plataea, escorted the king," the use of the aorist participle concerning a future event is very peculiar.

⁸ Cp. ἀπάγων τὸ πολλόν viii:100.

⁹ Ἀρτάβαζος δὲ . . . ἀνὴρ ἐν Πέρσῃσι λόγιμος καὶ πρόσθε ἔων, ἐκ δὲ τῶν Πλαταικῶν καὶ μᾶλλον ἔτι γενόμενος . . . , πρόπεμπε βασιλέα.

The anticipation of the account of Plataea is also curious. It would appear that Herodotus added this passage in the eighth book after he had introduced the Artabazus sections in the ninth, and that the participial phrase is his own careless insertion in the borrowed narrative.

In the account of the discussion between Mardonius and Artabazus in ix:41-2 the words "no one opposed him and his opinion prevailed" are a clear indication that others were present, that there was a regular council of war.¹⁰ We are, therefore, surprised to read immediately after this that "he sent for the taxiarchs of the divisions and the generals of the Greeks." How could there be a council of war unless these officers were present? The plans presented to the council by the two generals are not equally well adapted to the situation. Mardonius speaks of the delay caused by unfavorable sacrifices and the consequent increase in the numbers of the Greeks. This is a direct allusion to what has been told us in the chapters that immediately precede. What follows is also consistent with the arguments of Mardonius. He has made up his mind to disregard the sacrifices and join battle, but wishes to soothe the minds of his Greek allies by the assurance that the oracles, at least, may be interpreted as favoring their cause. On the other hand Artabazus offers a general plan for the summer campaign. His opinion, as Herodotus himself remarks, is the same as that of the Thebans, which was suggested in the spring before the invasion of Attica (ix:2). There is additional evidence of disturbance of the original form in the opening and closing sentences of chapter forty-one.¹¹

That an original account of a council of war in ix:41-2 was altered by the introduction of Artabazus is again suggested by the speech of Mardonius to the Aleuadae in ix:58. Here the opinion of Artabazus is partially restated in the same words, and Mardonius contrasts the surprise and disgust he

¹⁰ See Macan's notes *ad loc.*

¹¹ The principal clause *ἐνθαῦτα ἐς λόγους ἦλθον Μαρδόνιος κτὲ* is introduced by *ὡς δὲ ἐνδεκάτῃ ἐγεγόνει ἡμέρῃ . . . οἱ τε δὴ Ἕλληνες πολλῶ πλέονες ἐγεγόνεσαν καὶ Μαρδόνιος περιημέκτει τῇ ἔδρῃ*. There are some sixty examples of *τε δὴ . . . καὶ* in Herodotus, but none that resembles its use in this passage (see Hammer, *De re particulae usu Herod.*, p. 36). In the closing sentence the construction of *δοκεῖν* and *συμβάλλειν* is very loose. The latter goes well with *γνώμη*, *δοκεῖν* does not.

had felt in listening to a Persian's counsel to retreat with the sympathetic consideration he had given to similar advice from a Greek. The way in which this contrast is put¹²—"your point of view I could understand, that of Artabazus was amazing to me"—gives the impression that the Thessalians had also spoken at the council, but neither there nor elsewhere does Herodotus record such advice from the Thessalians. A linguistic difficulty again supports the theory of interpolation.¹³

The conduct of Artabazus in the battle, as described in ix:66, is in direct contradiction with the statement (ix:59) that "the rest of the commanders of the barbarian divisions seeing that the Persians had started in pursuit of the Greeks, *all* raised their signals immediately and began to pursue." This contradiction supports the view that the section concerning Artabazus in chapter fifty-nine is a later addition. Otherwise it is difficult to understand how Herodotus could speak of *all the other* commanders without including one whom he had mentioned a few lines before.

In his estimate of the Persian losses at Plataea (ix:70) Herodotus says¹⁴ "the Greeks were able to slaughter them so that out of an army of three hundred thousand, *minus forty*

¹² ὑμῖν μὲν ἰοῦσι Περσέων ἀπείροισι πολλή ἐκ γὰρ ἐμεῦ ἐγένετο συγγνώμη· Ἀρταβάζου δὲ θωδύμα καὶ μάλλον ἐποιεῖμην. Observe the correspondence of the tenses ἐγένετο and ἐποιεῖμην.

¹³ A few lines farther on we read τὴν (sc. γνώμην) ἔτι πρὸς ἐμεῦ βασιλεὺς πέυσεται. καὶ τούτων μὲν ἑτέρωθι ἔσται λόγος· νῦν δὲ ἐκείνοισι ταῦτα ποιεῖσι οὐκ ἐπιτρεπτέα ἐστὶ. Stein and Macan take ἑτέρωθι to mean *beim König, when I go home*. This adds nothing to τὴν . . . βασιλεὺς πέυσεται. It would be better to understand τούτων μὲν of the relative merits of the Lacedaemonians and Persians as warriors. This reference is not easy in the present connection. If we were to omit καὶ ὑμῖν μὲν . . . βασιλεὺς πέυσεται the connection between καὶ τούτων μὲν and what precedes ἐναπεδεκνήατο would be perfect.

¹⁴ παρὴν τε τοῖσι Ἕλλησι φονέειν οὕτω ὥστε τριήκοντα μυριάδων στρατοῦ καταδεουσέων τεσσέρων τὰς ἔχων Ἀρτάβαζος ἔφυγε, τῶν λοιπῶν μὴδὲ τρεῖς χιλιάδας περιγενέσθαι.

In ix:77, there is another reference to the flight of those with Artabazus. This whole chapter, with its belated explanation of the absence of the Mantineans and Eleans from the battle line, may have been added to the history at any time. The exact dating of the arrival of the Mantineans—μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἀπῆλθον τῆς γυναῖκος, αὐτὰ καὶ ταῦτα ἀπῆλθον—is by no means convincing. It is merely a device for making a connection with what precedes.

That the Mantineans, who might, like the Tegeatans, number 1500 (cf. vii:202, ix:28), should wish to pursue 40,000 men, would not seem comic to Greeks brought up in the traditions of Marathon and Thermopylae.

thousand that Artabazus fled with, of the rest not three thousand survived." My reason for believing the italicised words to be a correction, inserted after the Artabazus material was added, is that, if these words are omitted, the remaining *out of three hundred thousand not three thousand survived* looks like a percentage estimate, which is spoiled by the correction. I question also whether Herodotus would have constructed his sentence in that way if he had had the forty thousand in mind when he first wrote it. However that may be, at least his calculations are wrong, for he has overlooked the fact that, if Artabazus had sixty thousand men at Potidaea (viii:126) and only forty thousand at Plataea (ix:66), Mardonius' original army of three hundred thousand (viii:113) had dropped to two hundred and eighty thousand before the spring campaign began. It might, indeed, be contended that, though Herodotus' language implies that the losses were all inflicted on the day of the decisive battle, he is speaking loosely and has in mind merely the fact that there were only forty-three thousand survivors out of the original army left with Mardonius. The same error, however, is made in ix:32. There no excuse can be given, for the number follows a detailed description of the arrangement of the Greek and Persian battle lines. Consequently, either he has forgotten that Artabazus had lost twenty thousand men, or he never was aware of it, but in ix:66 was simply citing from his source and had drawn no conclusions from the difference between the items of forty and sixty thousand. That the latter alternative is the correct one I shall attempt to prove. A preliminary statement is necessary concerning the composition of Artabazus' division. Macan (viii:126) suggests that it contained fifty thousand infantry and ten thousand horse. I accept this inference as correct because it is consistent with the description of Mardonius' army given in viii:113. We are there informed that Mardonius selected, in addition to smaller units from various nations, four of the archontal divisions of sixty thousand men¹⁵ which are described in vii:60 ff., namely the Persians, Medes,

¹⁵ For the proof that each of these divisions numbered 60,000 men see below.

Indians, and Bactro-Sacans, all¹⁶ of which are named among the cavalry in vii:86, each cavalry contingent numbering ten thousand.¹⁷ My proof that Herodotus did not realize why his source assigned sixty thousand men to Artabazus at Potidaea and forty thousand at Plataea is drawn from his description of the tidal-wave disaster in viii:129.

The story of the tidal-wave contains no hint of the number of men lost. Herodotus says that "the barbarians tried to pass by the city into Pallene;" which might mean that the whole body made the attempt. Then we are told that "the men that did not know how to swim were drowned, the men that knew were killed." This is a sweeping statement. The negative and affirmative phrases omit none, at least of those that were on the shore. We are prepared for the utter annihilation of the besieging force, but finally learn that there were survivors. As Artabazus starts with sixty thousand men and appears at Plataea with forty thousand, and no other losses are mentioned, the commentators naturally call attention to the tidal-wave story, but Herodotus does not give the slightest suggestion that he connected the difference between the two numbers with this event. In fact, as we have seen, he twice ignores the loss. The concluding words of the story—"Artabazus led away the survivors"—suggest that the disaster was great enough to bring about the immediate abandonment of the siege, but we are left to infer the time and reason for the departure from the conjunction of the words. Herodotus includes the story because such an illustration of punishment for sacrilege is peculiarly to his taste. If he had supposed that twenty thousand men were destroyed, it is certain that he would not have left it to us to make the inference from widely separated chapters of his history.

Since Herodotus has not connected the difference in the size of Artabazus' force at Potidaea and Plataea with the tidal wave, is there any reason why we should do so? I believe that there

¹⁶ The Sacans, who are brigaded with the Bactrians in vii:64, are not mentioned in vii:88, but their cavalry distinguished themselves at Plataea (ix:71); see Munro, *J. H. S.* xxii.

¹⁷ This is an inference but a fair one, the total number of cavalry being divided equally among the nations mentioned (see Munro and Macan), though some uncertainty is caused by the double mention of the Caspians and the contradiction in ix:71 with regard to the Sacans.

is. In the first place it is natural to look for the missing twenty thousand men in the only place where Artabazus is said to suffer losses. One unfamiliar with Herodotus' method of handling numbers in military matters would naturally point to the heavy losses of Xerxes on the way to the Hellespont, to the taking of Olynthus, and to the three months' siege of Potidaea as probable contributing causes to the diminution of Artabazus' force. The answer to this is that Herodotus' navies and armies often remain the same size in spite of losses. Witness some of the Greek naval contingents at Artemisium and Salamis (viii:1, 42-8); or, if that is not convincing, consider that the army of Mardonius is exactly the same size in the summer of 479 B.C. (ix:32) as it is in the fall of 480 (viii:113), though Artabazus has gone through many adventures meanwhile, and his division, at least, has been greatly diminished. A second reason for deeming the tidal wave of importance is that the siege was immediately abandoned and we should therefore expect some reference to the numbers lost. My third reason lies in the sentence¹⁸ "when they had marched two parts of the way, and three were still left, which they had to pass to get to Pallene, a flood tide came up." This is, as Macan says, "a curious particularity." Why say that they had traversed two-fifths of the way, instead of half the way? What probability is there that Artabazus or a Potidaean eye-witness would record the distance so exactly? When we think of the length of a column of fifty thousand, or even twenty thousand men, the statement looks positively absurd. Was it the front or the rear of the column that had reached the two-fifths point? Since Artabazus had fifty thousand infantry at Potidaea and twenty thousand less at Plataea, I consider it not improbable that Herodotus was borrowing from a source which contained the statement *ὡς δὲ δύο μοῖρα διοδοιπόρεον, ἔτι δ' ἦσαν τρεῖς ὑπόλοιποι, ἐπῆλθε θαλάσσης πλημμυρίς*. This meant "when two parts (of the army) were on the way across, and three were still left behind, a flood tide came up." This would fix the loss of men at twenty thousand, and the reason for the difference in the numbers of Artabazus' division at Potidaea and Plataea would,

¹⁸ ὡς δὲ τὰς δύο μὲν μοῖρας διοδοιπόρησαν, ἔτι δὲ τρεῖς ὑπόλοιποι ἦσαν, τὰς ἀλλοτρίους χρὸν εἶναι ἔσω ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι, ἐπῆλθε πλημμυρίς.

in the source, be clear. But would it be possible for Herodotus to misunderstand such a sentence? Given an object like τὴν χώραν, the imperfect διοδοιπόρεον would mean *when they were marching through the country*; but with an object that expresses a measure of distance the imperfect of a compound of δια- suggests the moment of reaching the end of the distance. Thus the above sentence could mean *just as they were getting through two parts of the way*. A fair parallel for this meaning in a compound of δια- is to be found in Iliad vi:392: εὔτε πύλας ἵκανε διερχόμενος μέγα ἄστυ. In many contexts διερχόμενος μέγα ἄστυ would mean *as he was passing through the city*; but here εὔτε πύλας ἵκανε *when he came to the gate* fixes the meaning of the present participle as the moment of completing the action, and the sentence can be translated *when he had passed through the great city and was come to the Scaean gates*.¹⁹ The sentence of Herodotus contains the very unnecessary clause τὰς διελθόντας χρόνους εἶναι ἕξω ἐν τῇ Παλλήνῃ. The whole expression as it stands in our text is peculiar, not only in fixing the distance so accurately at two-fifths, but also in the awkwardness of the phrasing. The Greek terms for fractions seem clumsy to us, but there is no need of being so circuitous as this. *When they had traversed two of five parts* would have done.

In the mere difference of the size of Artabazus' division at Potidaea and Plataea and in Herodotus' ignoring the fact in one passage where he was bound to notice it, there is fair evidence of a connection between viii:129 and ix:66, portions of the Artabazus record which, on account of their content, would naturally be assigned, the one to Potidaean, the other to Dascylean records. That connection would be definitely proved if my explanation of the tidal-wave losses is correct. It would also be proved that Herodotus was drawing upon a written source; and, so much of the material being imaginative in character, the source would be literary rather than an official record.

There is another bit of evidence that may point to a written source. After describing the capture of Thebes, Herodotus returns to Artabazus, at a point twenty or thirty days after the battle. "By this time," he says, "Artabazus was far on his way in his flight from Plataea. And as he came among them

¹⁹ Lang, Leaf, and Myers.

the Thessalians would invite him to dinner and ask him questions about the rest of the army. . . . And he would make no explanation at all to the Phocians, but to the Thessalians he would speak as follows." Why bring in the Phocians? An afterthought, say the commentators; but, as Macan remarks, this does not explain the imperfect²⁰ *he would make no explanation*, where we should expect a pluperfect. By this time Artabazus would be far beyond Phocis, and Herodotus has definitely fixed the time. The simplest explanation is that, when he returned to the adventures of Artabazus, to give continuity to his narrative he takes them up at the time of the capture of Thebes and omits the march through Phocis, which his source contained. He forgets this later and quotes his author verbally without the necessary correction.

Not only are the different parts of the Artabazus material connected with one another and therefore to be assigned to a single source, but there are reasons for believing certain chapters of the seventh book to have the same origin. The connecting link is furnished by the number of men in the division of Artabazus. Herodotus gives the number of fighting men in Xerxes' Asiatic army as 1,700,000 infantry, and 100,000 horse (including camels and chariots; vii:85-6, 184). He names twenty-nine commanders of the infantry, leaving us to puzzle over the number to be assigned to each, an equality of division being suggested by the regularity of organization into myriads, chiliads, hundreds, and tens (vii:81). In quite another connection (viii:126; ix:96) he informs us that two of these commanders, Artabazus and Tigranes, had sixty thousand men. Dividing

²⁰ ἐξηγόρευε. I have taken all the imperfects in this chapter to express repeated action. This would be justified even without the Phocians, but their introduction shows that the offers of hospitality were continuous all along the march. The preposition παρά is interesting in this connection. παρά σφίσις belongs with ἀπικόμενον, not with ἐκέλευον both on account of the position of τε, and because with ἐκέλευον we should expect the direct reflexive. (According to Dyroff σφίσις is direct only in iv:120; and there it is in an infinitive clause.) Now with ἀπικεῖσθαι Herodotus uses ἐς of a people (ἐς with ἀπικεῖσθαι in all about 250 times—Helbig), παρά of persons (16 times); cp. ἀπικετο ἐς τοὺς Τερμίλλας παρά Σαρπηδόνα 1.173. The plural παρά σφίσις in ii:55 refers to the priestesses of Dodona, a group. If in ix:89 οἱ Θεσσαλοί means the sons of Aleuas, as Macan assumes, σφίσις is the correct word; but there is no more reason to think of a particular set here than in the case of σφίσις below. I take παρά σφίσις to mean the different communities of Thessalians, to which Artabazus came as he marched through the country.

the 1,800,000 by 60,000, Munro²¹ and Macan infer that there were thirty commanders, not twenty-nine, an inference supported by the fact that there were six generals, each presumably in command of five divisions or three hundred thousand men, an arrangement that corresponds to the description of the army left with Mardonius (viii:113; see above). These conclusions seem to me unassailable.²² And yet it is difficult for me to believe that Herodotus himself was aware of the facts which we are able to infer from his own statements, improbable as that appears to be. The idea of divisions of sixty thousand men is present in two passages connected neither with the army lists nor with one another. This is the number of the force with which Artabazus escorted Xerxes to the Hellespont, and of that under Tigranes at Mycale. We hear nothing of such units in the detailed description of Xerxes' army, in the enumeration of the divisions selected by Mardonius,²³ not even in the battle-line of Plataea²⁴ (ix:31); though here, if anywhere, we should expect to find it, for each division faces certain Greek contingents, of which the numbers have just been given. Again, while ten of these divisions must have included cavalry according to modern calculations, Herodotus gives no cavalry to his twenty-nine commanders (vii:81); indeed he even seems to exclude cavalry from the forces under the six chief generals (vii:82-8), though the army of Mardonius is properly described as "300,000 inclusive of cavalry." These are the negative arguments to prove that Herodotus himself did not understand the system he describes. There is one positive proof. At the

²¹ J. H. S., xxii.

²² While accepting these results as an explanation of the system underlying the figures of Herodotus, I do not admit that they give us any clue to the actual numbers of the Persian forces.

²³ viii:113. Here, after stating that Mardonius selected more Persians than other nations (*ἐν δὲ πλείστον ἔθνος Πέρσας ἀνέειπε*), he adds that the Medes were not fewer in number.

²⁴ We have here a good illustration of Herodotus' haziness in these matters. The Persians are said to so far outnumber the Lacedaemonians that, though ranged in deeper ranks, their front included the Tegeans also. Now the Lacedaemonians are said to have 10,000 hoplites and 40,000 light-armed; the Tegeans 1500 hoplites and as many light-armed. This makes a total of 53,000. The line of the Medes, who in viii:113 equal the Persians in number, extended in front of the Corinthians, Potidaeans, Orchomenians, and Sicyonians, who had 8900 hoplites and as many light-armed; yet nothing is said of their outnumbering their opponents, nor of deeper ranks.

beginning of his description (vii:60) he says,²⁸ "What numbers each nation furnished I can not say for certain, for it is not told by anyone." Now about one-half of the twenty-nine commanders lead a single nation. These nations, therefore, according to the system, each furnished sixty thousand men. If Herodotus had realized this, would he have confessed his ignorance? Judging from his readiness to make estimates in other cases (cf. vii:184), I should have expected him to have put down each nation for thirty thousand, where a commander led two nations, for twenty, where three nations form a unit, rather than that he should withhold the information he had about fourteen groups because he could not give a definite statement about the nations in the other fifteen. I can see but two ways of explaining his confession of ignorance about the numbers of each nation. Either he did not understand the system, or he is deliberately holding back the truth. For the latter course the reason is not obvious.

The conclusion I draw from all this is that the Artabazus material, the details concerning the numbers and organization of the army of Xerxes, and part, at least, of the meagre account of Mycale, come from the same source. The next point I wish to make is that, while Herodotus puts the counting of the army at Doriscus, an earlier tradition or literary invention connected it with the crossing of the Hellespont. Herodotus thus describes the enumeration at Doriscus (vii:60).

"The total number of the infantry proved to be one hundred and seventy myriads, and this was the method of counting them. They gathered ten thousand men in one place; and packing them as closely as they could, drew a circle round them. Then the men were dismissed and a wall thrown around the circle, in height reaching to a man's navel. After this others were marched into the walled space until all had been counted."

The authority of Herodotus is not sufficient to make us treat this story with respect. The numbers are preposterous, the method of computation no less so. The original form of the fiction may well have been one in which the bridge at the Hellespont played the part of the wall at Doriscus. A bridge

²⁸ οὐ γὰρ λέγεται πρὸς οὐδαμῶν ἀνθρώπων, a phrase supposed to indicate written documents.

of a mile or more in length, with a width fixed by the length of a ship, might easily be conceived capable of holding ten thousand men on the march. Three hundred and sixty ships supported the structure (vii:36); to each could be assigned some thirty men. The ten thousand Immortals were the first to cross (vii:55): here we have the means of measuring the capacity of the bridge. The wall is there besides, *ἐνθεν καὶ ἐνθεν*. This method of counting the host doubtless occurred to some one. On its face it is not as absurd as the Doriscus wall. But my idea that the bridge was the original unit of measure is not based solely upon the fact that this method of counting is less absurd; a more weighty argument is that we can thus get an explanation of the number *one hundred and seventy myriads*. Macan, speaking of the Doriscus enumeration, remarks that this number "must be regarded as the most certain item in the story. An origin and a rationale the story must, of course, have had, however difficult to discover." He rejects as unsatisfactory the only explanations that occur to him.²⁶ I would connect the item 170 with Herodotus' statement (vii:56) that "the army crossed in seven days and seven nights without a pause." It is evident that these words were intended to give an idea of the vast size of the army. They are a preliminary attempt to count it, whether a more accurate enumeration was made at Doriscus or not. Even if the description were first written unaccompanied by definite figures, it would soon be used as a basis for an estimate, for the Greeks were greatly interested in the numbers of the invaders, as the pages of Aeschylus, Herodotus, and later writers testify. Now the division of the day into twenty-four parts was known to the Greeks.²⁷ If, then, it were estimated that the bridge held ten thousand and that ten thousand crossed every hour,²⁸ the seven days and seven nights continuous passage give a total of 168 myriads. The ten thousand Immortals cross the day before the general march begins (vii:55),

²⁶ ii: 166.

²⁷ πόλον μὲν γὰρ καὶ γνώμονα καὶ τὰ δώδεκα μέρη τῆς ἡμέρης παρὰ Βαθυλωρίων ἔμαθον οἱ Ἕλληνες : Hdt. ii: 109.

²⁸ Of course I am not speaking of actual possibilities but of what an ancient Greek may have thought a possibility. Duncker (Gr. Gesch. iii: 206) on the basis of an actual occurrence in 1870 estimated as a possibility 100,000 men by day and 40,000 by night. That makes 240,000 in twenty-four hours look like a modest computation for an ancient.

and serve to measure the capacity of the bridge; the ten thousand horse²⁹ in Xerxes' body-guard cross with the King last of all. These two myriads make up the one hundred and seventy.³⁰

We know that Choerilus of Samos, author of the *Persica*, an epic poem, described the nations in the army of Xerxes much as Herodotus did; but, while Herodotus joins his description to the enumeration at Doriscus, Choerilus brings his into connection with the crossing of the Hellespont; cf. καλεῖ δὲ καὶ Χοιρίλων εἰπόντα ἐν τῇ διαβάσει τῆς σχεδίας "μηλονόμοι τε Σάκαι γασφρὶ Σκίθαι" (Strabo vii:303), and τῶν δ' ὅππῃθεν διέβαινε γένος θαυμαστὸν ἰδεῖσθαι (Josephus, *c. Apion.* I, 22, p. 454). D. Müller, in *Klio*, vii:29 ff., has revived the theory that Herodotus made use of the *Persica*. Modern scholars have held that Choerilus was the later writer. Müller's principal argument in favor of his priority is that Herodotus represents Xerxes as reviewing his army three times, first at Abydos (vii:44), again after Xerxes had crossed the Hellespont (vii:55), and

²⁹ This item, which is found in the marching order of the army as it leaves Sardis (vii:41), is missing in the description of the bridge-crossing though the various other items tally closely. We may conclude that the omission is unintentional. At Sardis the 10,000 cavalry follow Xerxes, forming the rear portion of his body-guard.

Herodotus makes the whole army cross in two days, and *after that*, without comment on a varying account except as to the order of Xerxes' own crossing, has Xerxes watch the passage in seven days and seven nights. It is hard to believe that our text is as he wrote it. If it is, either he combined two accounts very carelessly, or what he gives is a confused statement of one in which the two days were those during which the body-guard crossed, one preceding, the other following, the seven days. Possibly there has been a corruption of this description through the influence of the order of march from Sardis.

³⁰ The connection between the figure 1,700,000 and the total of 1,000,000 which is given by Herodotus and which is required by the regularity of the system assigning 60,000 men to thirty commanders, I explain as follows. Herodotus, of course, names only twenty-nine commanders. The missing unit is best accounted for in the 24,000 men of Xerxes' body-guard plus the 60,000 marines, the Persians, Medes, and Sacians (vii:184) who arrived on board the fleet in addition to the regular marines of the sea-going navy. These men would naturally be taken on board at Abydos where the fleet first met the army, and would not cross the bridge. Then there was a part of 60,000 which Xerxes left behind to guard Ionia (ix:96). ~~Herodotus does not say whether these were left on the way to Europe or on the way back.~~ Still assuming the former. These also would not cross the bridge. It is no objection to this that Hecataeus, who commands the unit in Ionia, is a commander of the Medes in v:101 and is mentioned as ~~commander of the Medes in v:101~~ and that the Medes remain for Plataea (ix:44) as we have a ready seen that the command of Artabazus is not the same as in ix:44.

finally at Doriscus (vii:100); and that this repetition and variation of a single motif, after the manner of epic poetry, is less likely to be original than the single review of Choerilus. The suggestion is worthy of consideration, but the proof can not be called convincing.³¹ The fragments of Choerilus are too scanty to justify any expectation that the question of priority will ever be settled by internal evidence. I refer to Mülder's article because there seems to be some ground for the belief that there were two parallel versions of the enumeration of the Persian troops, one placing it at Doriscus, the other at the Hellespont.³²

³¹ Macan points out that *τελέων δὲ καὶ ἐθνέων ἦσαν ἄλλοι σημάτωντορες* in vii:81 is easily turned into the hexameter *ἐθνέων καὶ τελέων ἄλλοι σημάτωντορες ἦσαν*; and queries "Had Herodotus poetic sources in part for his army list?" Many such lines could be found in the Artabazus sections. Thus *τὸν δὲ βληθέντα περιέδραμε δμίλος, οἷα φιλέει γίνεσθαι ἐν πολέμῳ* (viii:128) gives *τὸν δ' οἷ' ἐν πολέμῳ φιλέει περιέδραμ' δμίλος*; and in the passage on the tidal wave (viii:129) discussed above we get *ὥς δὲ δῶα μοῖρα διοδοιπύρεον, ἔτι δ' ἦσαν | τρεῖς ὑπόλοιποι, ἐπῆλθε θαλάσσης πλημμυρὶς ὄση | οὐδ' αὖ πω* where Herodotus has *ὥς δὲ ὄσο μὲν μοῖρας διοδοιπύρεσαν, ἔτι δὲ τρεῖς ὑπόλοιποι ἦσαν . . . ἐπῆλθε πλημμυρὶς τῆς θαλάσσης μεγάλη, ὄση οὐδ' αὖ πω*. The constant repetition of the full name *Ἀρτάβαζος ὁ Φαρνάκειος*, to which Macan calls attention (note on ix:89), may find its explanation in the convenience the patronymic *Φαρνακίδης* would have for an epic poet. It is interesting to note that ix:58, 70, 77, the only places "where the name is introduced in anything like a fresh connection without it" are all passages in which Herodotus himself has brought in a reference to what precedes. Thus ix:58 is a quotation from ix:41, ix:70 a correction based on ix:66. None of them are from the "source."

³² Mülder identifies with the Asiatic Ethiopians of Herodotus (vii:70) a nation described by Choerilus in a passage cited by Josephus, *c. Apion.* I:22, p. 454. The chief argument for this identification is the remarkable headdress worn by both nations. Herodotus describes it thus: *προμετώπια δὲ Ἰππων εἶχον ἐπὶ τῆσι κεφαλῇσι σὺν τε τοῖσι ὥς ἐκδεδαρμένα καὶ τῇ λοφίῃ*. Choerilus says *αὐτὰρ ὑπὲρθεν Ἰππων δαρτὰ πρόσωπ' ἐφόρεον ἐσκλητότα καπνῶ*. The resemblance is certainly striking. Mülder finds a further reason for thinking the nation of Choerilus to be Ethiopians in the words *ἔκειν δ' ἐν Σολύμοις ὄρεσι*, which he compares with *Odyssey v:282-3: τὸν δ' ἐξ Αἰθιοπῶν ἀνῶν κρείων ἐνοσίχθων τηλόθεν ἐκ Σολύμων ὄρων ἴδεν*. Of course the Homer passage does not necessarily imply that the Ethiopians lived in the Solymi mountains; but, even if we admit that Choerilus may have drawn that conclusion, it does not follow that Herodotus, using Choerilus as a source, would have the same idea. The Solymi in Herodotus are neighbors of the Lycians (i:173) or, rather, their predecessors; cf. *Hom. Iliad vi:184, 204*. Mülder's additional proofs that the nation of Choerilus was the Ethiopians are far from convincing. Herodotus (vii:70) says that the Asiatic Ethiopians differed from those above Egypt in language and in hair. He tells us nothing of the language of either, but describes the Asiatics as *ἰθύτριχες*, the Africans as having *οἰλότατον τρίχωμα πάντων ἀνθρώπων*. The nation of Choerilus, to which no name is given in the lines cited by Josephus, speaks a Phoenician language, and, as to hair, they are *αὐχμαλῆοι κορυφάς, τροχοκουράδες*. Mülder explains the omission of the name of the

It has not been my purpose to suggest a definite source for the Artabazus material, but to criticize the prevailing view that it is drawn from the records of the satraps of Dascyleum. For part of it such an origin is most improbable. Yet it all belongs together, and it is connected with other portions of the story of the Persian invasion, for which Artabazus has not hitherto been supposed to be the historian's authority. There are indications

nation in Choerilus on the assumption that a general description of the whole Ethiopian nation had preceded and in these lines we have the distinctive marks of the Asiatic group—*da die Beschreibung genau wie bei Herodot differenzierend ist, so muss unserm Fragment, grade wie es bei Herodot der Fall ist, eine Allgemeinschilderung der ganzen aethiopischen Nation vorausgegangen sein.* To this it must be objected that in the lines of Choerilus as we have them, there is not the slightest suggestion of a contrast with anything preceding in the way the speech and hair are introduced; that *αὐχμαλίοι*, whatever it means, is not identical with *ἰθύτερες*; and that to make *τῶν* depend upon *γένος*, in *τῶν δ' ὅστις διέβαινε γένος θαυμαστόν ἰδέσθαι*, is absurd—yet this is what gives Mûlder the contrast he desires. However, while feeling that Mûlder in these points has overstated his case, I am inclined to agree with his view that the nation described by Choerilus is the Ethiopian of Asia. The chief argument is the identity in headdress, a headdress remarkable in kind. An additional proof I find in the position of the nation in Choerilus' list. Josephus states that it was the last one to be named:—*καταριθμησάμενος γὰρ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη τελευταῖον καὶ τὸ ἡμέτερον ἐτάξε λέγων τῶν δ' ὅστις κτέ.* The Asiatic Ethiopians are brigaded with the Indians in Herodotus' army list (vii:70), and in the list of satrapies (iii:90-94) the Indians are the last to be named. In the satrapy list, indeed, the Ethiopians are classed with the Paricanians (iii:94), but geographers place both close to the Indian border. The two lists resemble one another closely. Both follow geographical position with remarkable accuracy. There may be distinguished an eastern group and a western group of nations. The army list begins with Persia in the eastern group and ends with Paricania (vii:60); beginning the western group with the Arabians, it passes around the coast to the Colchians and Saspeires in Asia Minor. The satrapy list begins with Ionia (a numbering suggestive of the Greek rather than the Persian point of view), and the western group ends with Libya, the African Ethiopians and Arabians being omitted here as paying gifts (iii:97), not tribute. The eastern group begins with Kissia (Persia being omitted from the tribute list), and would naturally end with Paricania, Ethiopia, and India, but the Saspeires, Colchi, etc., having been overlooked on account of Ionia being made number one, are brought in between the Ethiopians and Indians. If the list of Choerilus began, as does Herodotus' tribute list, with the nations of Asia Minor, the natural end would be the Indians and Ethiopians. I am inclined to think that Choerilus did not name this nation, and that Josephus identified it with the Jews on account of the Phoenician language, the confusion of the Solymi with Hierosolyma (cf. Tac. Hist. v:2), and possibly the epithet *εὐρωπαιώδης* (Jeremiah 9, 26). No natural arrangement of the nations would end with Palestine. In the army list of Herodotus the description of the Asiatic Ethiopians is placed where it is for the contrast with the western branch. Their military position is with the Indians, as their geographical seems to be. Herodotus has here abandoned his geo-

also that Herodotus was using a written source and one which was of a literary character rather than what might properly be called an historical document.

graphical arrangement, where Choerilus apparently retained it; and a reconstruction, like Mûlder's, on the basis of the order in Herodotus is improbable on this, as well as on the other grounds I have given.

SENECA AND THE STOIC THEORY OF LITERARY STYLE

C. N. SMILEY

It is the purpose of this paper to try to determine how far Seneca the philosopher, in theory and in practice, adhered to and perpetuated the Stoic theory of literary style. Zeno, the founder of Stoicism, gathered the major portion of his fundamental doctrines from Heracleitus of Ephesus and Antisthenes the Cynic. It is a noteworthy fact, and one that throws some light upon our investigation, that both of these men, who cared more for truth than for anything else, were exemplars of the Gorgian style of literary composition. Antisthenes was a pupil of Gorgias, and, if we may believe the testimony of Diogenes Laertius, employed the rhetorical style in his exhortations and dialogues, especially in his dialogue on *Truth*. We further learn that he wrote an essay on *Style*. One is tempted to believe that the frequent puns in the fragments of Diogenes of Sinope are but a small residuum of Gorgian assonances which he had inherited from his master Antisthenes.¹

As for Heracleitus, he had been long dead when Gorgias arrived at Athens with his figures. But the books of the Ephesian were full of the rhetorical devices which Gorgias most approved. In the extant fragments of Heracleitus there are fifty good examples of paronomasia, antithesis, balanced sentence structure, homoioteleuta. Both Antisthenes and Heracleitus would have repudiated the view of Gorgias that the truth is unattainable; both of them would have made style subsidiary to content; and both of them would have accepted the later Stoic dictum that "to speak well is to speak

¹ Two of the eleven puns of Diogenes found in the citations furnished by Diogenes Laertius: καὶ τὴν μὲν Ἐυκλείδου σχολὴν εἶλεγε χολὴν· τὴν δὲ Πλάτωνος διατριβὴν κατὰ τριβὴν.

the truth."² This dictum was the corner stone of the Stoic theory of style. Sometimes they stated the principle in a somewhat different way, when they declared that the sole function of the orator was "to teach" and not as Cicero declared "to teach, to delight, to move." This conception was in part an outgrowth of the Stoic doctrine of *ἀπάθεια*: they held that it was unworthy of an orator to cloud the reason of his audience by playing upon their emotions.

Another Stoic doctrine that had great influence in the formulation of their theory of style was their belief that anything to be ideal, whether speech or conduct, must be in harmony with nature (*κατὰ φύσιν*). They believed in a golden age in the remote past when speech as well as social conditions had been in harmony with nature; and therefore perfect. They gave their admiration to the diction of Homer because he was nearest to the unperverted speech of the golden age. This explains their fondness for the "verba antiqua" and their sustained interest in etymological studies. It also explains their defense of such anomalies as occurred in the works of the earliest writers.³

Given now an orator whose function is to speak the truth, to teach, and to use language that is in harmony with nature, it is easy to formulate a theory of style which shall have for its chief virtues: (1) pure and unperverted speech, (2) clearness, perspicuity, (3) conciseness, (4) appropriateness, (5)

² Anon. *Proleg. ad Hermog. Rhet. Gr.*, VII:8, W: οἱ Στωικοὶ δὲ τὸ εὖ λέγειν εἶλεον τὸ ἀληθῆ λέγειν.

Quint. *Inst. Or.* Prooem: fuerunt et clari quidam auctores, quibus solum videretur oratoris officium docere; namque et effectus duplici ratione excludendos putabant, primum quia vitium esset omnis animi perturbatio, deinde quia iudicem a veritate pelli misericordia gratia similibusque non oporteret, et voluptatem audientium petere vix etiam viro dignum arbitrabantur.

³ An interesting illustration of the Stoic apotheosis of Homeric diction and composition is found in the fourth and fifth chapters of Dionysius *De Compositione Verborum*, where Dionysius refutes Chrysippus' view that the parts of speech have an order prescribed by nature. A close examination of these two chapters reveals the fact that Chrysippus in his *περὶ τῆς συντάξεως τῶν τοῦ λόγου μερῶν* had enunciated the rules that nouns should precede verbs; verbs should precede adverbs; things earlier in time should be inserted earlier in the sentence; substantives should precede adjectives; appellatives, substantives; pronouns, appellatives. He had established these rules by numerous citations from Homer. Dionysius takes great pleasure in refuting Chrysippus by presenting an equal number of citations from Homer, in which the rules formulated by Chrysippus are violated.

a form of embellishment that will be free from such colloquialisms as are inaccurate and lacking in precision. This is essentially the form in which we find it in its first extant enunciation, viz., that of Diogenes of Babylon as it is preserved in Diogenes Laertius' life of Zeno (7, 59):

'Αρεται δὲ λόγου εἰσι πέντε· Ἑλληνισμός, σαφήνεια, συντομία, πρέπον, κατασκευή. Ἑλληνισμός μὲν οὖν ἐστὶ φράσις ἀδιάπτωτος ἐν τῇ τεχνικῇ καὶ μὴ εἰκαλᾷ συνηθεία. σαφήνεια δὲ ἐστὶ λέξις γνωρίμως παριστώσα τὸ νοούμενον. συντομία δὲ ἐστὶ λέξις αἰτὰ τὰ ἀναγκαῖα περιέχουσα πρὸς δῆλωσιν τοῦ πράγματος. πρέπον δὲ ἐστὶ λέξις οἰκεία τῷ πράγματι. κατασκευή δὲ ἐστὶ λέξις ἐκπεφυγυῖα τὸν ἰδιωτισμόν. ὁ δὲ βαρβαρισμός ἐκ τῶν κακιῶν λέξις ἐστὶ παρὰ τὸ ἔθος τῶν εὐδοκιμούντων Ἑλλήνων, σολοικισμός δὲ ἐστὶ λόγος ἀκαταλλῆλως συντεταγμένος.

This outline of the Stoic theory of literary style may be expanded and amplified somewhat by a study of other Stoic sources. Striller has pointed out that the Stoics differentiated *φράσις* from *λέξις*, making the former refer to style as a whole.⁴ Since Diogenes says *ἑλληνισμός ἐστὶ φράσις*, we may perhaps assume that he used *ἑλληνισμός* as a blanket term, in a sense including all the other virtues of style.

PERSPICUITY. *σαφήνεια* δὲ ἐστὶ *λέξις γνωρίμως παριστώσα τὸ νοούμενον*. Perspicuity is the virtue *par excellence* of an orator whose chief function is to teach. Perspicuity of an intensified sort is found in the Stoic *ἐνάργεια*, distinctness, vividness. Pearson⁵ has pointed out that while to the Epicureans every sense impression is *ἐναργές*, Zeno introduces *ἐνάργεια* as an attribute of the *καταληπτικὴ φαντασία*, the Stoic criterion of truth. In the later Stoic literature it seems clear that for the expression *καταληπτικὴ φαντασία* the term *φαντασία ἐναργής* was sometimes substituted.⁶ Without question this view of the psychological

⁴ Breslauer *Phil. Abhandlungen*, I: *de Stoicorum Studiis Rhetoricis*, 52.

⁵ Pearson, *The Fragments of Zeno and Cleanthes*, p. 62.

⁶ Cicero, *Acad.* 1, 41: (Zeno) *adjungebat fidem . . . iis (visis, i.e., φαντασίαις) solum, quae propriam quamdam habent declarationem earum rerum, quae viderentur*. In the *Etym. Mag.* 136-50 we have *Ἀργειφόντης: ὁ ἐναργεῖς τὰς φαντασίας ποιεῖν*, which came from a Stoic source as is clearly proved by the two following excerpts from the *De Naturæ Deorum* of Cornutus (Osann XVI:165): *Ἀργειφόντης δὲ ἐστὶν, οἷον εἰ ἀργεφόντης, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀργῶς πάντα φαίνειν καὶ σαφηνίζειν· τὸ γὰρ λευκὸν ἀργὸν ἐκάλουν οἱ παλαιοὶ ἢ ἀπὸ τῆς κατὰ τὴν φωνὴν ταχύτητος· καὶ γὰρ τὸ ταχὺ ἀργὸν λέγεται παρ' ἀντίφρασιν*.

ἄγγελος δὲ, ἐπεὶ τὸ βούλημα τῶν θεῶν γινώσκωμεν ἐκ τῶν ἐκδομένων ἡμῖν κατὰ τὸν λόγον ἐναργεῶν.

basis of truth found its way into Zeno's theory of style as is shown in a citation of the authority of Zeno by Quintilian (IV:2, 117) where Quintilian, in speaking of the narrative portion of a speech, says that the diction should be coloured by the actual impressions of sense (*hic expressa verba et, ut vult Zeno, sensu tincta esse debebunt*). Quintilian 4, 64 translates *ἐνάργεια* with the word *evidentia*, and says, "Evidentia in narratione, quantum ego intelligo, est quidem magna virtus, cum quid veri non dicendum sed quodammodo etiam ostendendum est."

CONCISENESS. *συντομία* δέ ἐστι λέξις αὐτὰ τὰ ἀναγκαῖα περιέχουσα πρὸς δῆλωσιν τοῦ πράγματος. This ideal of brevity, together with the influence of the parataxis of Homer and the parataxis of the syllogism of the Stoic dialectic, helped to turn the Stoics to a somewhat staccato form of expression. *συντομία* does not always mean parataxis, but the ideal of *συντομία* is best realized in what may be called a paratactic style. This view of *συντομία* is confirmed by the following definition and illustration:⁷ *συντομία ἐστὶ φράσις αὐτὰ τὰ ἀναγκαῖα τοῦ δηλουμένου ἔχουσα οἶον*

κεῖται Πάτροκλος· νέκυος δὲ δὴ ἀμφιμάχονται
 γυμνοῦ· ἀτὰρ τὰ γε τεύχε' ἔχει κορυθαίολος Ἑκτωρ·
 καὶ
 σφαῖραν ἔπειτ' ἔρριψε μετ' ἀμφίπολον βασιλεια·
 ἀμφιπόλου μὲν ἄμαρτε, βαθείη δ' ἔμπεσε δίνη·
 ταὶ δ' ἐπὶ μακρὸν αὔσαν· ὁ δ' ἔγρετο δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς.

APPROPRIATENESS. *πρέπον* δέ ἐστι λέξις οἰκεία τῷ πράγματι. This precision of speech that always calls a spade a spade is sometimes referred to as *κυριολογία*. It is to be observed that while Cicero and Dionysius demanded a three-fold appropriateness of diction, viz., to speaker, audience, and subject, the Stoic demanded in the interest of truth that the orator should be wholly concerned with that which was appropriate to the subject.

κατασκευή. How far did the Stoic believe in the embellishment of style? It is certain that Zeno and his followers did not make it a chief objective, as did Gorgias, Isocrates, Theophrastus, and Cicero. It was *ἀληθῶς λέγειν* and not "ornate dicere" which

⁷ Spengel, 3, 202 ff.

the Stoic recognized as his goal. Yet we find *κατασκευή* (usually translated embellishment) enumerated by Diogenes of Babylon as the fifth virtue of style. In a previous discussion⁸ I have given the term too narrow an interpretation, insisting that embellishment of style from the Stoic viewpoint consisted in the main in the avoidance of *ἀκυρολογία*, *σολοικισμός*, and *βαρβαρισμός*. But a somewhat careful study of the treatises on the figures of speech, included in the third volume of Spengel's *Rhetores Graeci*, has compelled me to modify this view.

It seems clear that the painstaking study of Homer led the Stoics of Pergamum to accept as lawful and useful those figures of speech and thought which they found in the poet whom they honored as the source of the purest diction (*ἑλληνισμός*). It also seems clear that certain Gorgian figures came again into repute not as ends in themselves, but as by-products of the Stoic dialectic. It is difficult to write a syllogism without being guilty of *parisosis*, *homoiokatarcton*, *homoiooteleuton*, and other forms of *paronomasia*.

Telephus of Pergamum had pointed out that the *σπέρματα* of the art of rhetoric were to be found in Homer.⁹ Suidas tells us that this same Telephus wrote a treatise *περὶ τῶν παρ' Ὀμήρου σχημάτων ρητορικῶν*. The fact that the various extant treatises on the *σχήματα* have a terminology almost exclusively Stoic and have illustrations drawn almost exclusively from Homer makes it seem likely that they are all at least indirectly related to the earlier work of Telephus. There is strong evidence that the Stoics had a severe mental struggle in adjusting their minds to *σχήματα* and *τρόποι*, and that they finally accepted them to shield their poet from the guilt of what otherwise would have been *ἀκυρολογία*, *σολοικισμός*, and *βαρβαρισμός*. Witness the statement:¹⁰ *Σχῆμά ἐστιν ἀμάρτημα μετὰ λόγου πεποιημένον*. Again¹¹ *Σχῆμά ἐστι σολοικισμός ἀπολογίαν ἔχων*. Alexander¹² admits that the *σχῆμα* is not *κατὰ φύσιν* but in defense of it says (3, 11, 1 and 6): *Σχῆμα δὲ ἐστὶν ἐξάλλαξις λόγου ἐπὶ τὸ κρεῖττον . . . ὁ σο-*

⁸ *Latinitas and Ἑλληνισμός*, Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin, No. 143.

⁹ Spengel *συναγ.*, p. 210.

¹⁰ Spengel, 3, 171, 3.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 3, 226, 7.

¹² *Ibid.*, 3, 10, 4.

λοιικισμός ἐξάλλαξις ἐστὶ λόγου, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον (Sp. 3, 9, 20 ff.). ὁ μὲν τρόπος περὶ ἔν ὄνομα γίνεται ἀρετή, ὥσπερ ὁ βαρβαρισμός κακία, τὸ δὲ σχῆμα περὶ πλείω ὀνόματα κόσμησις, ὡς ὁ σολοικισμός ἀκοσμία.

In the light of the preceding quotations we are now ready for one more which is particularly illuminating, helping us to understand and interpret Diogenes' definition *κατασκευὴ δὲ ἐστὶ λέξις ἐκπεφυγυῖα τὸν ἰδιωτισμόν*. With this compare Herodian's statement:¹³ *Σχῆμά ἐστι λόγου ἢ λέξεως οἰκονομία μετ' εἰκοσμίας ἐκπεφυγυῖα τὴν ἰδιωτικὴν ἀπλότητα τῆς ἀπαγγελίας*. The similarity of expression in these two definitions compels us to include *σχήματα* in our interpretation of the Stoic *κατασκευή*.

Over against this must be set various statements which clearly indicate that to please the audience with the beauty of figurative language was never a primary purpose of the Stoic orator. In the introduction to the *Paradoxa*(2) we have Cicero's extreme statement that the Stoic sect "*nullum sequitur florem orationis*," a statement which perhaps needs to be qualified by another statement in Cicero's *De Natura Deorum* (2, 22) *Idemque (Zeno) similitudine, ut saepe solet, rationem conclusit*.

Philonicus, ὁ διαλεκτικός, severely criticizes the style of Isocrates as inappropriate to his varying subjects because of his continuous and excessive use of figurative speech.¹⁴ In the seventh section of the tenth chapter of Dionysius' *Rhetoric* (Reiske 382) a page is devoted to what seems to be a criticism of the literary performance of the Stoics. Dionysius censures their fondness for the "*verba antiqua*" and he further complains that while professing to follow nature and to seek τὸ γνῶριμον, through the neglect of beauty (τὸ καλόν) they have failed to attain their ideal τὸ σαφές and τὴν φαντασίαν ἐναργῆ.

Some further light may be thrown upon Diogenes' (of Babylon) outline of a theory of style by considering so far as materials permit the theory and practice of Zeno, Chrysippus and Posidonius.

Zeno "*ad docendum planissimus*"¹⁵ cared more for thought than for form. In Diogenes Laertius¹⁶ we read: "He (Zeno)

¹³ Spengel, 3, 94, 2 ff.

¹⁴ Dionysius, *De Isoc. Iudicium*, Reiske 559, 13.

¹⁵ Fronto, page 114, Naber.

¹⁶ Zeno, VII:18.

used also to say that the discourses of those men who were careful to avoid solecism, and to adhere to the strictest rules of composition, were like Alexandrine money, they were pleasing to the eye, but were nothing the better for that; but those who were not so particular he likened to the Attic four drachma pieces, which were struck off at random and without any great nicety, and so he said that their discourses often outweighed the more polished style of others." This must be interpreted to mean that he cared more for content than for style, and not that he was altogether negligent in matters of diction and composition. He wrote a treatise *περὶ λέξεων* in which he took pains to define *σολοικισμός*.¹⁷ *πρέπον* or *κυριολογία* also seems to have been a strong point with him, if we may believe Cicero's assertion that it pleased Zeno and the Stoics to call each thing by its own name.¹⁸ In Cicero's expression, "*Illa vetus Zenonis brevis, et, ut tibi videbatur, acuta conclusio*," we get some hint of *συντομία*. As I have already suggested, the syllogism without question accentuated this tendency towards a paratactic style as may be seen in the following fragments of Zeno:

Sext. Math. 9, 101: τὸ προκείμενον σπέρμα λογικοῦ καὶ αὐτὸ λογικὸν ἔστιν ὃ δὲ κόσμος προλεῖται σπέρμα λογικοῦ· λογικὸν ἄρ' ἔστιν ὁ κόσμος (Pearson, 59).

Cicero N. D. 2, 20: Quod ratione utitur, id melius est quam id quod ratione non utitur; nihil autem mundo melius; ratione igitur mundus utitur (p. 61).

Cicero N. D. 2, 22: Nullius sensu carentis pars aliqua potest esse sentiens. Mundi autem partes sentientes sunt: non igitur caret sensu mundus (p. 60).

Sext. Math. 9, 104: τὸ λογικὸν τοῦ μὴ λογικοῦ κρείττον ἔστιν· οὐδὲν δὲ γε κόσμου κρείττον ἔστιν· λογικὸν ἄρα ὁ κόσμος (p. 61).

As inevitable by-products of these syllogisms we have not only *συντομία* but also Gorgian figures in abundance. I have already quoted Cicero's statement that Zeno was fond of rounding off an argument with a simile. Pearson (p. 33-34) has pointed out four similes and three metaphors in the fragments of Zeno.

¹⁷ Pearson, *Frags.* 31.

¹⁸ Cicero, Ep. 9, 22, 1: Atque hoc Zenoni placuit, homini mehercule acuto, et ad Academicæ nostræ cum eo magna rixa est—sed, ut dico, placet Stoicis suo quaque rem nomine appellare. Cf. Seneca Ep. 83, 11: Itaque id intelligi, quod significari verbo isto solet, præsertim cum ab homine (Zenone) diligentiam professo ponatur et verba examinante.

From the foregoing presentation it would appear that Zeno gave attention to all of the five virtues of style enumerated by Diogenes: ἑλληνισμός, σαφήνεια, συντομία, πρέπον, κατασκευή.

Chrysippus wrote treatises περὶ λέξεων, περὶ τῆς κατὰ τὰς λέξεις ἀνωμαλίας, περὶ σολουκισμῶν, περὶ σολουκιζόντων λόγων, περὶ τῶν ἐτυμολογικῶν, περὶ ῥητορικῆς.¹⁹ These titles would seem to indicate that he was interested in ἑλληνισμός. Galen says that Chrysippus had exercised as a lawgiver as much authority over Athenian words as Solon had exercised over Athenian customs.¹⁹ According to the testimony of Fronto, Chrysippus was not content merely to teach. That you may see the affinity between the style of this early Stoic and the later style of Seneca, let me quote in full what Fronto says:²⁰

Evigila et attende, quid cupiat ipse Chrysippus. Num contentus est docere, rem ostendere, definire, explorare? Non est contentus. Verum auget in quantum potest, exaggerat, praemunit, iterat, differt, recurrit, interrogat, describit, dividit, personas fingit, orationem suam alii accommodat.

Posidonius was another Stoic who was not content merely to teach. Seneca²¹ says: Posidonius non tantum praeceptionem, sed etiam suasionem et consolationem et exhortationem necessariam iudicat.

Before taking up the discussion of Seneca, it may be well to notice one more characterization of the Stoic style. In the introduction to the *Paradoxa* Cicero calls attention to the pointed style of Cato of Utica, in which the ideal of συντομία has resulted in "minutis interrogatiunculis quasi punctis."²²

It now remains to determine how far the "pointed style" of Seneca may be regarded as the legitimate descendant of the style of his Stoic predecessors. Did his theory and practice in speech square with the theory and practice of Zeno, Chrysippus, Diogenes of Babylon, Posidonius? Did he think that the

¹⁹ Von Arnim, 2, 24.

²⁰ Ep. ad M. Antoninum de eloquentia, p. 146, N.

²¹ Ep. 95, 65.

²² Cicero, *Paradoxa Intr.* 2: Nos ea philosophia plus utimur, quae peperit dicendi copiam, et in qua dicuntur ea quae non multum discrepent ab opinione populari, Cato autem, perfectus mea sententia Stoicus, et ea sentit, quae non sane probantur in vulgus, et in ea est haeresi, quae nullum sequitur florem orationis neque dilatat argumentum, minutis interrogatiunculis quasi punctis, quod proponit, efficit.

highest ideal of composition was a style "in harmony with nature," that "to speak well was to speak the truth," that the supreme function of an orator was to teach, and not to delight his hearers, and not to play upon their emotions?

Seneca has much to say about living "*secundum naturam*", but in only one place does he make this phrase a standard for the judgment of style. In defending the composition of Fabianus against the strictures of Lucilius, he says that the words of Fabianus are "*nec huius seculi more contra naturam posita.*"²²

There is almost unlimited evidence that in theory Seneca placed thought above words, content above form, truth above style. In reading some of the passages that I shall cite, one is strongly reminded of Zeno's comparison of the Alexandrine and Attic coins.

Ep. 75, 6: *Circa verba occupatus es, iamdudum gaude, si sufficis rebus.*

Ep. 115, 1 and 2: *Nimis anxium esse te circa verba et compositionem, mi Lucili, nolo, habeo maiora quae cures; quaere quid scribas, non quemadmodum. . . . Cuiuscumque orationem videris sollicitam et politam, scito animum quoque non minus esse pusillis occupatum: magnus ille remissius loquitur et securius. Quaecumque dicit, plus habent fiduciae quam curae.*

De Tranq. 1, 13: *In studiis puto mehercules melius esse res ipsas intueri et harum causa loqui, ceterum verba rebus permittere, ut qua duxerint, hac inelaborata sequatur oratio.*

His ideal stylist will seek not to delight but to improve his hearers.

Ep. 75, 5: *Non delectent verba nostra, sed prosint.*

Ep. 100, 2: *Mores ille (Fabianus) non verba composuit, et animis scripsit ista non auribus.*

Ep. 108, 6: Seneca has attended the school of Attalus the Stoic where quidam veniunt ut audiant non ut discant . . . ut oblectamento aurium perfruantur . . . non ut res excipiantur, sed ut verba. There seems to have been a certain charm about the style of Attalus, even if that was not the main thing.

Ep. 108, 7: At the lectures of Attalus rapit illos instigatque rerum pulchritudo, non verborum inanum sonitus.

Ep. 104, 22: Seneca bids Lucilius to live with Chrysippus and Posidonius who command their disciples not so much "*scite loqui et in oblecta-*

²² Seneca Ep. 100, 4.

tionem audientium verba iactare, sed animum indurare et adversus minas erigere." And yet in Ep. 90, 20 Seneca shows that Posidonius did not always attain this ideal. "Incredibile est, mi Lucili, quam facile etiam magnos viros dulcedo orationis abducat a vero." The next sentence names Posidonius as one of the "magnos viros."

In a passage already cited²⁴ it has appeared that Posidonius like Chrysippus was not always content merely "docere," that he sometimes aimed not only at "praeceptio" but also at "suasio," "consolatio," "exhortatio," and that to this end he uses for vivid presentation the figure known as characterismos. Seneca approves of this.²⁵ In the *De Ira* 2, 17, 1, he goes a step farther beyond the pale of Stoic doctrine, in saying that an orator, really free from emotion himself, by playing the actor and feigning emotion, may arouse in his audience "ira," "metus," "misericordia," ubique alieni animi ad nostrum arbitrium agendi sunt.

From the preceding quotations it is clear that Seneca professed to care more for content than for literary form, more for truth than for diction. But Seneca knew, as we all know, that truth is dependent upon precision of speech, that the Stoic *πρέπον* and *κυριολογία* have a legitimate place in any adequate presentation of the truth. Seneca's statement,²⁶ *multum tamen operae impendi verbis non oportet*, needs to be expanded and qualified from other utterances of Seneca on the same subject. Concerning the style of Fabianus, whose "compositio" had been criticized, he says:²⁷ *Fabianus non erat negligens in oratione, sed securus. itaque nihil invenies sordidum; electa verba sunt, non captata nec huius seculi more contra naturam suam posita et inversa, splendida tamen, quamvis sumantur e medio.* In Ep. 89, 9 Seneca declares that the third division of philosophy (*pars rationalis*) "*proprietas verborum exigit . . . ne pro vero falsa subrepant.*" In Ep. 81, 9 he says: *mira in quibusdam rebus verborum proprietas est.* In all of his writings he frequently shows his interest in precision of speech by making

²⁴ Ep. 95, 65.

²⁵ Zeno uses this figure in his celebrated comparison, where he likens rhetoric to the hand with palm extended and dialectic to the clenched fist. *Sext. Empir. Math.* 2, 7; *Cic. Fin.* 2, 17; *Orat.* 32, 113; and *Quint. Inst. Or.* 2, 20. Pearson, 32.

²⁶ Ep. 75, 6.

²⁷ Ep. 100, 4.

nice distinctions between synonyms e.g. Ep. 102, 15 laus and laudatio, Ep. 102, 17 claritas and gloria, Ep. 110, 3 contingere and accidere, De Ira 1, 4, 1 ira and iracundia, timens and timidus, N. Q. 2, 12, 1 fulguratio and fulmen.

Concerning *σαφήνεια* and *ἐνάργεια* Seneca has little to say, but there is hardly a page in his moral letters that does not illustrate his success in attaining these virtues. There is a similar silence concerning *συνομιλία*. Almost any page of his writings, however, might be used as an example of *συνομιλία*. Concise is the first word that ought to be used in describing the paratactic style of Seneca. It would be easy to show again from Seneca's syllogisms how the syllogism results in *συνομιλία*.²⁸

Seneca has little to say about *ἑλληνισμός* or Latinitas, and yet his final word in defending the diction of Fabianus is to say that it is "pura." Seneca allows himself to use the transliterated Greek word "etymologia" because the "grammatici, sermonis Latini custodes" use the word.²⁹ He says that a grammaticus does not blush if he makes a solecism knowingly, but that he does blush if he makes one through ignorance.³⁰ There is in this statement the implication that Seneca knew the one hundred different forms of solecism which Lucilius, the friend of Panaetius, enumerated and illustrated. In one other place, Seneca mentions solecism and barbarism.³¹

At first thought it may seem a more difficult matter to make the embellishment of Seneca's style harmonize with the Stoic conception of *κατασκευή*. But a careful study of the matter (anyone may find the materials assembled for such a study in Summer's excellent introduction to his *Select Letters of Seneca*) reveals the fact that Seneca not only censured "dulcedo orationis" but in practice did not seek it. He wrote, as he professed to write, not for the ears but for the minds of men. It was titillation of the intelligence rather than titillation of the auditory nerve that he sought. The Gorgian figures reappear in his writings as the inevitable by-products of the syllogistic style, and no one would think of confusing the pariosis and paronomasia of Seneca with that form of ornamen-

²⁸ Ep. 82, 9; 83, 9; 83, 10; 85, 24; 107, 7.

²⁹ Ep. 95, 65.

³⁰ Ep. 95, 9.

³¹ Ep. 113, 26.

tation as it appears in Isocrates. Such ornamentation is essential in the style of Isocrates, with Seneca it is incidental. His use of simile, metaphor, and personification is not more frequent than Homer's use of the same figures. Cicero states that Zeno was in the habit of rounding off his argument with a simile, and the four similes and three metaphors found in Zeno's fragments give us some reason to believe that Seneca may not have used these figures more often than the founder of his school.

We can hardly call Seneca an Atticist. His literary form is obviously more closely related to the Asianism of Hierocles of Alabanda, whose style Cicero characterizes as "*genus sententiosum et argutum*." One cannot help wondering whether Stoicism on its way from Pergamum to Tarsus made converts at Alabanda.

THE PLAIN STYLE IN THE SCIPIONIC CIRCLE

GEORGE CONVERSE FISKE

My purpose in this paper is to show, (1) that the satires of Lucilius and of Horace were written in essential harmony with those rhetorical theories of the plain style which were first popularized at Rome in the Scipionic circle in the period between 155 and 129 B.C. by the two Stoic philosophers, Diogenes of Babylon and Panaetius; (2) that this Stoic rhetoric, domiciled in the Scipionic circle, had evolved a body of principles governing the subject matter, tone, diction, and humor, of the *sermo* or conversation, whether oral or written, as we may see by studying the aesthetic theories of Panaetius which are reproduced for us in the first book of Cicero's *de officiis*; (3) that the fundamental stylistic differences which distinguish the satires of Horace from those of Lucilius are largely due to the fact that Horace was in general accord with a later and more refined definition of the diction and humor appropriate to the *sermo* or discourse in the plain style of conversation; that this later definition was probably developed by the rhetorical works of the Roman Atticists and Cicero; (4) finally, that Lucilius modified the stricter theories of his rhetorical masters under the influence of the popular impromptu dialogues of the Greek Cynics and Stoics, and in consequence laid himself open to the criticisms levelled against him by Horace in satires I: 4; I: 10; and II: 1.

To us moderns, born to the romantic belief in the imaginative autocracy of the man of creative genius over his works, it is difficult to accept the truth that from the Hellenistic period on, and throughout the Roman world of letters, the study of rhetoric was a prerequisite for literary composition in every field. We are prone to resent such an assumption and to hold that it places fetters upon the human spirit. We must remember, however, that the art of rhetoric—and ancient rhetoric was an art, not a science—was itself the result of the sympathetic and critical study of the masterpieces of Greek prose and verse by the most discriminating Hellenic minds from Gorgias to Aristotle and the rhetoricians of the Academy and the Porch.

This art was placed on a philosophical basis in the great schools of Athens, Pergamum, Alexandria, Rhodes, and carried to Rome in the age of the Gracchi, where it was warmly welcomed in the Scipionic circle. Hence a belief in the great classical tradition lies at the root of these aesthetic and rhetorical studies of the ancients. Moreover, these studies in their turn reinforced, clarified, and systematized the aesthetic conceptions of the best minds among the Greeks and Romans until in the Augustan age rhetoric came to be regarded for better and for worse as, *par excellence*, the discipline, by which the youth must be moulded, and upon which all literary composition must depend. As a result the functions of the creative artist and the literary critic, so frequently separated in our modern world, were closely united in antiquity. Literary criticism itself thereby gained an almost codified objectivity, far removed from the subjective anarchy which marks so much of the writings of our modern criticism. The gain for the artist also was great, for he who gave willing adherence to the high laws of his craft and surrendered his soul to the great tradition, transmitted it by transmuting it. He thus spoke to his age with a voice in which the human tones of the present were mingled in the higher and ideal harmonies of the human spirit in all the ages. This classical tradition finds noble expression in the words of Doudan,¹ speaking of the imagination of the Man of Letters:

The Man of Letters properly so called is a peculiar being; he does not look at things exactly with his own eyes; he has not merely his own impressions; you could not recover the imagination which was once his; 'tis a tree on which have been grafted Homer, Virgil, Milton, Dante, Petrarch; hence singular flowers which are not natural any more than they are artificial. With Homer, he has looked at the plain of Troy, and there lingers in his brain something of the light of the sky of Greece; he has taken something of the pensive beauty of Virgil as he wanders on the Aventine slopes; he sees the world like Milton through the grey mists of England, like Dante through the limpid burning sky of Italy. Out of all these colours he makes for himself a new colour that is unique; from all these glasses through which his life passes to reach the real world there is formed a particular tint, which is the imagination of the Man of Letters.

¹ Quoted in *Recollections* by John Viscount Morley, I:1.

According to the belief of the ancients such a man of letters is first born and then made—made in the school of good craftsmanship; or as Horace phrases it in the *Ars Poetica* 408 ff.:

natura feret laudabile carmen an arte,
 quaesitum est: ego nec studium sine divite vena,
 nec rude quid prosit video ingenium; alterius sic
 altera poscit opem res et coniurat amice.

To understand the nature of the classic in distinction from the romantic imagination it is, therefore, necessary to enter the workshop of the classical artist, who is soundly trained in rhetorical craftsmanship. We are now to study in detail that system of literary apprenticeship which exercised such a profound influence upon the literary ideals of Lucilius in the circle of Scipio, and of Horace in the circle of Maecenas; but first a few words of the earlier circle.

In mature life both Lucilius and Horace became members of the most important literary and political coteries of their period. By virtue of such association both came to understand and to sympathize with the programme of moderate social and political reform and of intellectual enlightenment as conceived by the most gifted body of contemporary statesmen and men of letters. Of the circle of Maecenas, in which the greatest names are Virgil and Horace, it is needless to speak. Its ideals are known even to the world of modern literary scholarship. Unfortunately the modern world has all but forgotten the profound influence exercised upon European culture by the famous circle of men who in the middle decades of the second century B.C. gathered about Scipio the younger. To this circle belong the two progressive statesmen, Scipio Africanus Minor and Laelius, the historians, Polybius, Fannius, Aelius Tubero, and Sempronius Asellio, the orators and jurists, Rutilius Rufus and the two Scaevolae, the Stoic philosophers, Diogenes and Panaetius, and the poets, Terence and Lucilius. Such a list may fairly challenge comparison with that of the circle of Maecenas.²

² On the Scipionic circle see Leo, *Geschichte der Römischen Literatur*, 2nd ed., pp. 315-325; Schanz, *Römische Literaturgeschichte*, VIII, 1, 1, 2, 3; on the philosophical, literary, and political ideals of the circle see Bruns, *Poetriae Liciniae*, pp. 132-143; Schmeling, *Die Philosophie der mittleren Römer*, chap. 3, pp. 439-446; Reitzenstein, *Werden und Wesen der römischen Literatur im Altertum*.

Since the rhetorical and literary ideals which pervade all the writings emanating from this famous circle of men are profoundly influenced by the teachings of Diogenes of Babylon and Panaetius, a few words may be said of these two Stoic philosophers, the exponents to the Roman world of the theory of the plain style, and of the Socratic or ironical type of humor associated with that style.

The Stoic theory of the plain style, as taught by Diogenes of Babylon,³ rests ultimately upon the Aristotelian and Theophrastean antithesis between the λόγος πρὸς τὸ πρᾶγμα and the λόγος πρὸς τὸν ἀκροατήν, the discourse addressed to the subject in hand and the discourse addressed to the hearer. The object of the former is to apply to rhetoric the style of exact pragmatic discussion appropriate to philosophy and dialectic. It is in a word simply a dialectical rhetoric designed exclusively to inform the hearer (*ad docendum*). The object of the latter is to produce an emotional effect on the mind of the hearer by all the devices of rhetoric, linguistic, rhythmical, psychological. Its ultimate goal is to lead captive⁴ the soul, for rhetoric is a ψυχαγωγία. Its immediate aim is to move and delight the hearer (*ad delectandum*) because, as Aristotle declares, we give very different judgments under the influence of pain or pleasure, love or hate. Now a style which should aim only at austere justice would be characterized by the traditional Stoic apathy⁵ or ἀπάθεια towards such emotional effects. As Aristotle says τὸ δίκαιον μηδὲν πλείω ζητεῖν περὶ τὸν λόγον ἢ ὡς μήτε λυπεῖν μήτ' εὐφραίνειν. And this and nothing more was the goal of the earlier Stoics. They believed that to speak well was to speak the truth.⁶ οἱ Στωικοὶ δὲ τὸ εὖ λέγειν ἔλεγον τὸ ἀληθῆ λέγειν. Furthermore, their theory of ἀπάθεια would naturally inhibit any self-conscious straining at emotional effects.

Smiley, in a Wisconsin doctoral thesis on *Latinitas* and *Ἑλληνισμός*, well describes the philosophical motives which influenced these stylistic theories:⁷

³ See Hendrickson, *The Origin and Meaning of the Ancient Characters of Style*, A. J. P., XXVI: 249 ff.; especially pp. 264 ff.; Smiley, *Latinitas and Ἑλληνισμός*, University of Wisconsin thesis 1906; Striller, *de Stoicorum Studiis rhetoricis*, Breslauer Phil. Abhandlungen, I.

⁴ Aristotle, *Rhetoric* I:1356a, 15.

⁵ Aristotle, *Rhetoric* II:1404a, 4.

⁶ Anon. *Proleg. ad Hermog. Rhet. Graeci* VII: 8, W.

⁷ See pp. 211 ff.

There were perhaps three considerations which had weight with the Stoics in the formulation of their theory of the plain style. (1) Their belief that to speak well was to speak the truth. (2) Their conception that the function of an orator was merely to teach, and not as Cicero asserted, "to teach, to delight, to move. . . ." (3) There was the general Stoic principle, that anything to be ideal, whether in speech or conduct, must be in harmony with nature. Given now an orator, whose function is to speak the truth, to teach, and to use language in harmony with nature it is easy to formulate a theory of style, the virtues of which shall be, (1) pure and unperverted speech, (2) clearness, (3) precision, (4) conciseness (5) appropriateness, (6) freedom from artificial ornamentation. And this was the Stoic theory which bore the name of *Ἑλληνισμός* or *Latinitas*. The reason why the first virtue gave its name to the theory is quite evident, for the first virtue in a sense embraces the other five. Speech that is pure and unperverted and in harmony with nature will of necessity be clear, precise, concise, appropriate, and free from all artificiality.

Such a style, as Diogenes says, has five virtues: *ἀρεταὶ δὲ λόγου εἰσὶ πέντε*. Its first quality is a correct and pure conversational idiom as opposed to the poetical and elaborated style of conventional rhetoric: *Ἑλληνισμός μὲν οὖν ἐστὶ φράσις ἀδιάπτωτος ἐν τῇ τεχνικῇ καὶ μὴ εἰκαίᾳ συνθεῖα*. Its second quality is clearness, aiming at an exact reproduction of the thought: *σαφήνεια δὲ ἐστὶ λέξις γνωρίμως παριστῶσα τὸ νοούμενον*. Third, brevity, limiting utterance to just what was necessary to set forth the matter: *συντομία δὲ ἐστὶ λέξις αὐτὰ τὰ ἀναγκαῖα περιέχουσα πρὸς δῆλωσιν*. Fourth, appropriateness, that is the appropriateness of the word to the object in hand: *πρέπον δὲ ἐστὶ λέξις οἰκεία τῷ πράγματι*. Fifth, avoidance of the vulgar: *κατασκευὴ δὲ ἐστὶ λέξις ἐκπεφευγυῖα τὸν ἰδιωτισμόν*.

On the other hand, in Herodian's system, which is closely related to that of Diogenes, we find six faults, which may in essence be reduced to three opposed to these virtues. These faults are *σολοικισμός*, *βαρβαρισμός*, *ἀκυρολογία*. Under *σολοικισμός* are included faults in syntax; under *βαρβαρισμός*, faults in spelling, pronunciation, and in purity of diction; under *ἀκυρολογία* is included the failure to give each object or act its own specific name, that is, inaccuracy in the use of words in their literal or metaphorical sense.

This grammatical rhetoric of Diogenes of Babylon forms the foundation for the more highly articulated rhetorical system of Panaetius. But before turning to this system, it will be

desirable to show how wide was the influence of the simpler rhetoric of Diogenes—though doubtless here also the teachings of Panaetius were not without influence—upon the writings emanating from the Scipionic circle.

An inventory of these writings enables us to see in true perspective the stylistic relation of Lucilius to his contemporaries. Furthermore, we gain a realization of the part the Stoic rhetoric played in laying the firm foundations on which rested the subsequent structure of Roman rhetoric and critical theory, as developed in the rhetorical works of Cicero, the movement of the Roman Atticists, the critical works of Horace, and the *Institutes* of Quintilian. By such an analytical summary, we find that the plain style and the restrained "ironic" humor associated with it obtained full expression in many different fields of literary endeavor. Hence it becomes antecedently probable that Lucilius was influenced by these same critical theories summed up in the ideal of *Latinitas*, the goal of the Stoic theory of the plain style.

For my present purpose it is not necessary to make an exhaustive examination. I shall rather attempt to summarize the general tenor of the stylistic criticisms upon the works emanating from the Scipionic circle. This criticism found in the rhetorical works of Cicero and other Latin writers attests the pervasiveness of the Stoic ideal of *Latinitas* and the related virtues of the grammatical rhetoric of Diogenes of Babylon.

The style of Laelius was marked by the pure Latinity so studiously sought by the Stoic grammarians. Thus Atticus in the *Brutus* 258, after speaking of the *locutio emendata et Latina* of Caesar (cf. the *φράσις ἀδιάπτωτος* of Diogenes, and *ὀρθογραφία* as a technical term of rhetoric) says: Mitto C. Laelium, P. Scipionem; aetatis illius ista fuit laus tamquam innocentiae sic Latine loquendi. Again in 94, as the representative of the plain style, he is contrasted with the impetuous Galba, the representative of the grand style. His speeches read well because they are studiously filed and polished (*limatus dicendi consecantur genus*). In 89 of the *Brutus* he appears as a model of the plain style, nicely wrought and designed to instruct, while Galba is the model of the grand style, designed to move the feelings of the jury. *Elegantia*, the virtue

of nice discrimination of word and phrase, was the central quality of Laelius, force, of Galba.

The life and writings of P. Rutilius Rufus, a student of Panaetius, a courageous statesman, who was the unflinching champion of the oppressed provincials, were animated by the same Stoic principles. Like Diogenes he believed that to speak well was to speak the truth, for Cicero in *de oratore* I:229 declares that his defence against the charge of extortion was characterized by a *simplex ratio veritatis*, a tradition which was continued by his nephew Cotta. In general Cicero found his orations 'jejune' a favorite epithet of the plain style.⁸ Furthermore, his Stoic tendencies found an even more productive outlet in the law, where his *responsa* enjoyed a high reputation.⁹ He exhibits also the same interest in biography which is exhibited by Scipio, who was deeply influenced by the writings of Xenophon, one of the greatest Greek models of the simple narrative style affected by the Stoic rhetoricians. Hence, we find Rutilius Rufus writing a *de vita sua* in five books. Such a work, which is closely related to the categories of ἀπομνημονεύματα and βιογραφήματα or memoirs, helps us to understand how naturally the element of personal confession came to play so important a part in the writings of Lucilius.

But the greatest of these Stoic jurists belonged to the family of the Scaevolae, a family famous for its pontiffs, statesmen, and jurisconsults. At this period P. Mucius Scaevola,¹⁰ the consul of 133 B.C., and Q. Mucius Scaevola, the augur, represent the same Stoic tendencies in jurisprudence and oratory. The former was the teacher of P. Rutilius Rufus in law, the latter was more actively associated with the Scipionic circle. In a fragment of Lucilius, 86, this legally-minded Scaevola alludes to the rhetorical powers of his son-in-law Crassus:

Crassum habeo generum, ne rhetoricoterus tu seis.

Here the use of the Greek comparative is in part a mocking parody of the fondness of Albucius, Scaevola's legal opponent, for Greek terms, but it also suggests the indifference to rhetorical

⁸ Cicero, *Brutus*, 114.

⁹ Cicero, *Brutus*, 113.

¹⁰ On Publius Mucius Scaevola, see Leo, *op. cit.*, p. 349; on Quintus Mucius Scaevola, *ibid.*, p. 329, p. 341.

embellishments natural to a convinced adherent of the unadorned grammatical rhetoric of the Stoics.

Quintus Tubero,¹¹ the nephew of Scipio, was an enthusiastic student of Panaetius, and dedicated a work to this Greek philosopher. He was a thorough-going Stoic, who as an orator seems to have followed the most severe Stoic standards.

The two native historians of the Scipionic circle, Gaius Fannius and Sempronius Asellio, seem to have written under the influence of Polybius, who is himself strongly imbued with Stoic tendencies. Fannius,¹² the son-in-law of Laelius, is best known by his *Annales*. In this work he recognized and defended the Socratic irony of Scipio, a clear proof of his Stoic predilections. He, too, was a pupil of Panaetius. His history, which was marked by moderation of tone and high regard for truth, has some claims to *elegantia*, the quality of nice discrimination in the choice of word and phrase, a prerequisite to the attainment of the Stoic virtue of *Latinitas*. On the other hand, his style was criticized as dry and thin, *exiguus*, a defect inseparable from the virtues of the plain style. Sempronius Asellio,¹³ like Polybius, whom he directly imitates in one passage, wrote a philosophical pragmatic history of decided Stoic tinge. He shows also the same patriotic and ethical motives which we find in Polybius. Like Polybius he omitted any detailed annalistic introduction and plunged directly into the account of contemporaneous events.

Marcus Iunius Congus,¹⁴ the author of a legal treatise *de potestatibus*, has been identified by Cichorius with the Junius Congus of Lucilius 596. As Lucilius also wrote to him an *εἰσαγωγή* or introduction on the writing of history, he was probably a younger member of the same Stoic school of historians and jurists.

Less known members of the circle were Furius Philius, consul of 136 B.C., perhaps an antiquarian; Sextus Pompeius, through intimacy with whom the foundation of the friendship uniting the

¹¹ Leo, *op. cit.*, p. 348 f.

¹² Leo, *op. cit.*, p. 333.

¹³ Leo, *op. cit.*, p. 334 f.

¹⁴ See Cichorius, *Untersuchungen zu Lucilius*, p. 123. On the relation of this *εἰσαγωγή* to the *Ars Poetica* of Horace, see my paper on *Lucilius, the Ars Poetica of Horace, and Persius*, *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, vol. XXIV, 1913, pp. 1-36. Cicero, *ad Att.* XIII: 6, 4.

Lucilian and the Pompeian families may have arisen; Spurius Mummius, the brother of the conqueror of Corinth, another educated Stoic of this period. The poetical epistles which he sent from Corinth are of importance in the genesis of this form, a genre so closely allied to the *sermo* or conversation, as developed by the rhetoric of Panaetius, which is represented in Lucilian satire, and finds consummate expression in the epistles of Horace.¹⁵

As the most famous writer of the whole circle something must be said of the style of Terence. As *puri sermonis amator* he is, of course, in thorough sympathy with the Stoic ideal of Latinitas.¹⁶ As Leo well says:¹⁷ Das Latein des Terenz ist eine neue römische Urbanität wie Menander's Griechisch eine neue Atthis war. Er weiss das sehr gut; *est pura lectio* lässt er den Ambivivus im Prolog zum Heautontimoroumenos sagen. This is recognized by Cicero, usually a severe critic of the plain style. Such a *purus* and *lectus sermo* means the best Latinity of the period.¹⁸ Such purity of taste and diction, *elegantia*, would seem to imply thorough familiarity with the strict grammatical, lexicographical, and rhetorical studies of Diogenes and Panaetius.¹⁹ Even in his own lifetime Terence was criticized by his rival Luscius for what soon came to constitute the most characteristic virtues of the plain style, *tenuitas* and *levitas*.²⁰ So in a later age, Caesar in his famous epigram mentions the *levia scripta* of Terence after his *purus sermo*, thereby definitely assigning Terence to the γένος λεγνόν or *genus tenue*, the technical designations of the plain style.²¹

Finally, a word as to Scipio himself. Publius Cornelius Scipio Africanus Minor Aemilianus,²² the son of Lucius Aemilius

¹⁵ On the relation of the *epistula* to the *sermo*, see Hendrickson, *Are the Letters of Horace Satires?* A. J. P., XVIII: 312-324.

¹⁶ Caesar, who composed the famous epigram on Terence, was himself an adherent of the plain style; of this epigram I quote the first two lines:

Tu quoque tu in summis, o dimidiate Menander,
poneris, et merito, *puri sermonis amator*.

¹⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 253.

¹⁸ See Cicero, *Brutus*, 171.

¹⁹ See *infra*, pp. 71-81 *passim*.

²⁰ See Heautontimoroumenos 45.

²¹ See Leo, *op. cit.*, pp. 251-258 for a discriminating critique on the style of Terence.

²² On the life and character of Scipio Africanus Minor see Leo, *op. cit.*, p. 320.

Paulus, the conqueror of Pydna, was born about 185 or 184 B.C. From earliest youth he received a liberal training in which Greek studies played a leading part.²³ The youthful Scipio, enthusiastic, ingenuous, and highly sensitive, was profoundly influenced by his studies in Greek literature, philosophy, and rhetoric. He especially admired Xenophon, a master of the plain style, whose *Cyropaedia* and *Memorabilia* he kept constantly with him. Nor was this love of Greek literature in its simpler forms a mere boyish passion; we may rather regard it as a lasting sympathy if we are to attach any weight to the tone of Socratic irony, the peculiar humor of the plain style, which marked Scipio's oratory.²⁴ In line 964, Lucilius' mockery of Scipio's pronunciation *pertisum* for *pertaesum*, shows Scipio's interest in lexicographical details. The three most important influences on his intellectual life were his intimacy with the Greek historian Polybius, the Stoic philosopher Panaetius, and the wise Roman Laelius, all worthy representatives of the well-balanced Stoic harmony which combined high intellectual and ethical idealism and effective service to the state.

This rapid inventory has been sufficient, I trust, to show how important a part the grammatical rhetoric of Diogenes played in laying the foundation for the plain style, the favorite mode of expression for nearly every writing emanating from the Scipionic circle, however the requirements of the individual genre may have introduced stylistic variations in detail. We may now turn to a much more searching analysis of the rhetorical theories of the philosopher Panaetius, who, accepting the grammatical foundation of his teacher Diogenes, evolved a nicely discriminated theory of the *sermo* or *conversation*, and established the restrained type of ironic or Socratic humor as the appropriate tone for such an unpretentious literary genre.

Panaetius, 189-109 B.C.,²⁵ appeared in Rome shortly after the fall of Carthage, 146 B.C., probably arriving by the invitation

²³ See Plutarch's *Aemilius Paulus* 6 and 28.

²⁴ Compare Cicero, *de oratore* II:253, 258, 267, 269, 270. In the last passage we are expressly told that Fannius called Scipio *εἰρων*.

²⁵ On Panaetius cf. Schmekel, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-9 and pp. 439 ff.; Arnold, *Roman Stoicism*, 113-116; Reitzenstein, *op. cit.*; Hirzel, *Untersuchungen zu Cicero's philosophischen Schriften*, III:566 and index.

of Polybius. From that time until the death of Scipio, 129 B.C., he lived on terms of closest intimacy with his patron.

It is difficult to exaggerate the influence of Panaetius not merely on Roman Stoicism, of which he is the real founder, but also on Roman law, social and political theory, and through his grammatical and rhetorical interests upon Roman literary theory and composition. His temper is that of the scholar of studied moderation and catholic sympathies. This may be illustrated by his sympathetic studies in the teachings of the Platonic academy, by the liberality with which he admits into his essentially eclectic system the ethical theories of Aristotle and the sceptical epistemology of Carneades. His ethics are, in fact, a sort of aristocratic pragmatism which interprets the old Stoic *virtus* in terms of social service, and lays great stress upon the doctrine of *noblesse oblige* and propriety (*τὸ πρέπον*, *decus*) in speech and action. His principal treatise, as we may see from Cicero's free paraphrase in the *de officiis*,²⁶ sets forth Stoicism, "as the school which will train the scholar, the gentleman, and the statesman," while he shrinks from those bolder doctrines, borrowed from the Cynic school, which conflict with that which is conventional or, as their opponents say, with that which is becoming. The regular performance of services (*τὰ καθήκοντα officia*) is the true road by which virtue is attained. These services are the simple daily duties which fall in the way of the ordinary citizen. In this connection it is interesting to notice that the famous fragment of Lucilius on virtue, lines 1326-1338, seems to contain in a condensed form an exposition of virtue as accepted in the Scipionic circle from the lips of Panaetius.²⁷

It is clear that such a conception of *virtus* is a sort of transfer from the field of Aesthetics to the field of Ethics of the principle of *τὸ πρέπον*, appropriateness. So also in the field of aesthetics and literature, we find questions of diction, structure, and the delineation of character, interpreted in the light of the same

²⁶ On Cicero's method of translating Panaetius in the *de officiis* see I:6 and 7, II:60, and III:7. Also the Introduction to Holden's edition of the *de officiis*, pp. xxvi ff.

²⁷ See Schmekel, *op. cit.*, p. 445. Not accepted by Buttner, *Porcius Licinus*, pp. 138-139.

doctrine of propriety. But our immediate concern is with the grammatical and rhetorical doctrines of this great teacher.

We know that, as the pupil of Crates of Mallos and of Diogenes of Babylon, Panaetius followed more or less closely the Stoic theories of grammar and rhetoric. Thus he discussed the formation of the pluperfect tense among the Attic writers and in Plato. In contrast to the exclusive ethical interests of the earlier Stoics he also assailed the barbarisms, solecisms, and violent neologisms, so common in the technical writings of the Cynics and Stoics, while he preached and sought to attain a pure and unperturbed diction. That is, he held fast to the ideal of Ἑλληνισμός or *Latinitas* as defined by his Stoic teacher Diogenes, but intensively developed the teachings of his master on the rhetorical rather than the grammatical side by the exposition of his theory of appropriateness in language and the type of Socratic humor suited to the *sermo* or conversational norm most commonly affected by the plain style.

In the first place, Panaetius assails the aesthetic and moral coarseness of Cynic speech which sins equally against linguistic propriety and social decency. Thus in the *de officiis* I:128 he attacks that Cynic *παρρησία* or brutal frankness of speech which calls a spade a spade. He denies that actions involving moral obliquity or social impropriety must be called by their real names. Those who employ such *verba obscaena* sin against modesty. In such matters we must follow the principle of propriety, which is really identical with that inculcated by the Stoic doctrine of following nature; that is, we must shun that which is offensive to eye or ear: *Nos autem naturam sequamur et ab omni quod ab oculorum auriumque approbatione abhorret, fugiamus*. It is clear that as applied to speech this test of *approbatio aurium* carries with it certain stylistic implications which find final expression in Horace's conception of *urbanitas* as employed as a touchstone of style in the criticisms levelled against the satires of Lucilius in I:4; I:10; and II:1; and in the function assigned to appropriateness in the critical theory of the *Ars Poetica*.²⁸

Again, in the *de officiis* I:148, we are told with even greater emphasis that Cynic coarseness of speech is inimical to moral

²⁸ On *Urbanitas*, see *infra*, pp. 104-105.

sensibility and by clear implication to stylistic sensibility as well: Cynicorum vero ratio tota est eicienda; est enim inimica verecundiae, sine qua nihil rectum esse potest, nihil honestum. In fact it is clear from other passages in the *de officiis* that Panaetius applied his shibboleth of τὸ πρέπον to speech as well as to action by developing a set of principles, rhetorical and yet quasi-ethical, which should govern the *sermo* or conversation both oral and written, as well as the more formal speech of the orator. Negatively, then, the passages just cited show that Panaetius eliminates from the oral or written discourse, *sermo*, the obscenity, over-frankness, and harshness, affected by his Cynic and Stoic predecessors.

In the *de officiis* I:132 ff.²⁹ Cicero following Panaetius discusses the form, content, and tone of the *sermo*, the ideal literary form for the plain style whether written or spoken. In the spoken discourse *claritas* or distinctness of utterance, and *suavitas* or agreeable harmony are essential. These qualities by a slight shift of meaning correspond to perspicacity and easy charm in the spoken discourse. The Catuli, who are quoted as models of such a style, both spoken and written, clearly adopt the Stoic principle of *Latinitas*, for Cicero tells us: hi autem optime uti lingua Latina putabantur. Again, in the *Brutus* 132 Cicero, speaking of the elder Catulus refers to his *suavitas*, and his *in corrupta quaedam Latini sermonis integritas*. Such epithets recall the pure and unperverted diction demanded by the grammatical rhetoric of Diogenes, and the theory of appropriateness of Panaetius.

Now the agreeableness (*suavitas*) of the *Brutus* passage, and such purity of diction as was advocated by Panaetius and realized by Catulus, imply by definition, avoidance of foreign idiom, especially of the pedantic and objectionable habit of interlarding Latin with Greek. Panaetius seems to have fully realized this, if we may accept the testimony of the *de officiis* I:111, for certainly one of the attributes of propriety, τὸ πρέπον, is to be true to the dictates of one's own nature: quam [i.e. τὸ πρέπον] conservare non possis, si aliorum naturam imitans omittas tuam. Ut enim sermone eo debemus uti, qui innatus est

²⁹ See Hirzel, *op. cit.*, II: 355 ff.

nobis, ne, ut quidam, Graeca verba inculcantes iure optimo rideamur, sic in actiones omnemque vitam nullam discrepantiam conferre debemus. Doubtless, therefore, Panaetius, like Diogenes, advocated a style free from barbarisms or solecisms. Moreover, as models for his discourse he would avoid such coarse and careless Cynic or Stoic predecessors as Diogenes the Cynic, Zeno, or Chrysippus. And here he would only be following the teachings of his master Diogenes of Babylon, who in VII:59 tests what constitutes a barbarism by the usage of *οἱ εἰδοκιμοῦντες Ἕλληνες*, the Greek writers of good repute. Can we infer who these Greek writers were who set the standard of good usage?

In the first place we know that Cicero, evidently following Panaetius, in the *de officiis* I:134 regarded the Socratici as furnishing the model for the *sermo*: Sit ergo hic sermo, in quo Socratici maxime excellunt, lenis minimeque pertinax, insit in eo lepos.³⁰ It is indeed natural that the oral discussions of Socrates and the informal dialogues of his pupils Plato, Xenophon, and the others, should be regarded as the models for the *sermo* or *conversation*. In the first place, the actual conversation of Socrates on the streets of Athens was in a general way in conformity with the definition of *Ἑλληνισμός* as given above,³¹ for it was a conversation in pure style in a form based on the rules of technical grammar and prosecuted with a definite purpose. In the second place, the written dialogues of Plato, Xenophon, and the other writings of the Academy, held fast to the original stylistic simplicity of tone introduced by Socrates, and in some degree to the Socratic system of question and answer. So Cicero in the *de officiis* I:134, expressly argues against conversation becoming a monologue, an injunction which seems to be carefully observed in the dialogues of Plato and in the *sermones* of Lucilius and Horace, though only to a limited degree in the satires of Persius and Juvenal, with their increasing tendency to suppress even the shadowy outlines of the *adversarius*. So Cicero says: nec vero, tamquam in possessionem suam venerit, excludat alios, sed cum reliquis in

³⁰ We may notice in passing that the *excellunt* of Cicero suggests the pre-eminence expressed in the Greek phrase, *οἱ εἰδοκιμοῦντες Ἕλληνες*.

³¹ See *supra*, p. 66.

scilicet in primis non iniquam
well-known character to affect the attitude
veritas in primis non iniquam
In (1) the well-known character
tion (1) the well-known character
ad (1) the well-known character
quod (1) the well-known character
bon (1) the well-known character
ova (1) the well-known character
Pe (1) the well-known character
de (1) the well-known character
C (1) the well-known character

tion (1) the well-known character
ad (1) the well-known character
quod (1) the well-known character
bon (1) the well-known character
ova (1) the well-known character
Pe (1) the well-known character
de (1) the well-known character
C (1) the well-known character

C (1) the well-known character
in Lucilius 1014, 1015,
as I:3, 19; I:4, 33-35,
that the man who slanders
blackness of heart, while in
Demetrius are used in the

Demetrius are used in the
appropriate to conver-
distinctly in mind, it is worth
several satires also fall under
in circulis, disputationi-
versetur; sequatur etiam

versetur; sequatur etiam
the *deipna* or *cenae* form a
Such are the satires in Lucilius
Macedonius, Horace satire II:8,
of Petronius, and satires
the journey to the Sicilian
corresponding journey to Brun-

corresponding journey to Brun-
Horace I:6, which describes the
Macedonius and defends the poet's
related lines in Lucilius, book
which record the relations of
Horace II:6, an expression of grati-
and the satire of Lucilius
on the embassy of Scipio to
the intimacy of the literary
of Scipio and Maecenas. On the

other hand, the more formal philosophic satires such as that of Horace, I:1, on Avarice, directly dedicated to Maecenas, with its probable Lucilian predecessors in Lucilius, books XVIII and XIX, the discussion of the Stoic paradoxes in Horace II:3 and II:7, and the related Lucilian satire in book XXX, suggest the philosophic discussions or *disputationes* of intimates. Finally, the intimacy binding together the members of the older and younger circle alike is admirably pictured in the famous lines of Horace's satire II:1, 71 ff., where the good Scipio and the wise Laelius unbend in preparation for the plain dinner of cabbage,³² or in the delightful conversation between Maecenas and Horace in satire II:6, 41-46.

The further injunction of Cicero (Panaetius), "*si seriis severitatem adhibeat, si iocosis leporem,*" marks the mixture in the tone of satire 'now grave, now gay,' which testifies to its classification under the larger literary family of the *σπουδαιογέλοιον* whose common object is to convey philosophic truth under cover of a jest. Of this semi-technical literary term Horace's well-known phrase, *ridentem dicere verum quid velat?*, appears to be a deliberate paraphrase.

From a different point of view the subject matter of satire can be largely fitted into the discussion on the subject matter of several *sermones* with which 135 begins: *Habentur autem plerumque sermones aut de domesticis negotiis aut de re publica aut de artium studiis atque doctrina.* Satires of anecdote or of personal concern may be illustrated in Horace by satires II:6 and II:8 in the second book; in Lucilius by the satire on the Hellenomaniac Albucius in book II, the journey to the Sicilian Straits in book III, the complaint of illness in book V, and the encounter of Scipio with the bore in book VI.³³ Political satire, a field inevitably closed to Horace under Augustus, was the constant weapon of Lucilius, as Horace himself attests in the well-known passage II:1, 62-70.

Finally, the part that satire played from the days of Lucilius to those of Juvenal in popularizing the Stoic philosophy is constantly manifest. Such an interest falls naturally under

³² See also Cicero, *de oratore* II:22.

³³ With lines 228 and 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 241, of book VI we may associate *dubia* 1138 ff. in the reconstruction of a satire parallel to Horace's encounter with the bore.

the rubric *aut de artium studiis et doctrina*. Here also deserve to be mentioned the grammatical and rhetorical studies of Lucilius, especially those in books IX and X, and such criticisms on the theory of the satirist's art as we find in Lucilius, books XXVI and XXX, and Horace's satires I:4 and 10, and II:1, the literary epistles, and above all the *Ars Poetica* of Horace. The last is an *εἰσαγωγή* or informal introduction to an art, addressed by a master to a youthful protégé, with which Cichorius rightly compares the satire of Lucilius addressed to Junius Congus, the youthful historian.

The passage of Cicero also contains certain hints upon the manner of the conversation, which distinctly suggest the rambling and somewhat desultory manner of satire. Thus in 135: Danda igitur opera est, ut, etiamsi aberrare ad alia coeperit ad haec revocetur oratio, sed utcumque aderunt; neque enim isdem de rebus nec omni tempore nec similiter delectamur. It is needless to quote Horatian examples on this point, but it is worth noticing that certain transitional lines in Lucilius, such as 558, 1027, 1032, 1227, 1279, seem to employ the same desultory method of composition.

The abrupt and witty endings of Horace's satires, sometimes coupled with ironical mockery of the satirist himself, are in strict keeping with the concluding injunction of Cicero in this same section: Animadvertendum est etiam, quatenus sermo delectationem habeat, et, ut incipiendi ratio fuerit, ita sit desinendi modus. In illustration of this point we may cite Horace's satires I:1, 120; 3, 136 ff.; 4, 140 ff.; 9, 78, 10, 92; II: 1, 83 ff.; 3, 323 ff. Hitherto it has escaped observation that Lucilius probably affected a similar abruptness at the end of his satires, as we may infer from fragment 567, parallel to the close of Horace's first satire; 1038, parallel to the close of the fourth satire of book I; 77, clearly the original of Horace's I: 9, 78; and 1095, parallel to II:1, 84-85.

More vital than such corroborative evidence as to details is the evidence concerning the wit and humor appropriate to the oral or written discourse. It is, therefore, important to consider what limits were set to their employment, and what type of humor Panaetius regarded as appropriate to the *sermo*.

This question has already been partially answered by the evidence that the *libri Socratici* are the best models for the *sermo*, which should be easy and not too aggressive, and should have the spice of wit.³⁴ The tone of the conversation also, as we have just seen, should vary with the subject, now grave, now gay. In this fact, indeed, lies the psychological justification for the apparently informal, yet subtly artistic, development of the *σπουδαιογέλοιον* by the Greek Cynics and Stoics, and by the Roman satirists, their successors. In such genres, however, a sharp distinction must be made between the province of humor and that of invective. To the latter belong the iambs of Archilochus, the works of Hipponax, certain of the epigrams of Catullus, and the epodes of Horace. The conversation, whether written or spoken, should not reveal the venom or censoriousness of the writer or real defects in his character. Hence, Horace is extremely careful in the third satire of the first book to differentiate mere censoriousness from the light but reforming humor of the true satirist. In fact the definition of invective in distinction from the approved Socratic type of ironical humor, with which the *de officiis* I:134 closes, seems to correspond essentially to that of *βωμολοχία* or scurrility in the rhetorical works of Aristotle. Since it can be shown that in a satire of book XXX, in 6 fragments 1022, 971, 1014, 970, 1015, 1016, Lucilius develops a similar discussion as to the type of humor appropriate for the *sermones*, and rebuts charges of backbiting or invective, the question arises (1) whether Panaetius was not one of the most important intermediaries in naturalizing, so to speak, the Aristotelian theory of liberal humor in the critical satires of Lucilius; (2) whether Horace's theory of the type of humor appropriate to satire was not profoundly influenced by similar current theories on the proper function and limits of humor, theories of ultimate Aristotelian origin, best represented to us in the rhetorical works of Cicero. The thoughtful reader will not fail to notice that the theory of satiric humor set forth in Horace's satires I:3, I:4, I:10, and II:1, is in essential harmony with that set forth in the *de officiis* I:101-104 by Cicero, the translator of Panaetius. Let us turn to the analysis of this theory.

³⁴ See *supra*, p. 75.

In these sections Cicero begins by asserting the conflict between appetite (*δρμή*) and reason; reason should command, appetite obey. Hence every action should be based on reason; the appetites should neither run ahead of reason nor lag behind it. The control or rather the wise use of the passions is all important. Such ordered control is the first law of duty. Nature did not bring us into the world for play and jest; Neque enim ita generati a natura sumus, ut ad ludum et iocum facti esse videamur. Nevertheless, play and jest have their place; like sleep and rest they are used as means of relaxation from serious effort, relaxations which rebuild us in the literal sense of the word. It follows that jesting is subject to the restraints of reason; it must not be unrestrained and unrefined, but refined and witty: Ipsumque genus iocandi non profusum ne immodestum, sed ingenuum et facetum esse debet. The limits set to play in the case of children afford a good analogy for the proper limitation of what we in English call the "play of wit," and the Latin satirists called *ludus*, a name actually attached to his satires by Lucilius.²⁵ In both cases nothing incompatible with good conduct is permissible; ordered freedom, but not license, is the rule: Ut enim pueris non omnem ludendi licentiam damus, sed eam, quae ab honestatis actionibus non sit aliena, sic in ipso ioco aliquod probi ingenii lumen eluceat. We have now brought our paraphrase to the end of 103.

In 104 Cicero, following Panaetius, proceeds to make a practical application of these principles of propriety and moderation to the field of the laughable, the *genus iocandi*. He announces that there are two types of jests: the one coarse, rude, vicious, indecent; the other refined, polite, clever, witty: Duplex omnino est iocandi genus unum illiberale, petulans, flagitiosum, obscenum, alterum elegans, urbanum, ingeniosum, facetum. As examples of the latter type Cicero cites Plautus, the Old Comedy, the works of the Socratic school, and the collections of witty sayings of which the ancients were so fond. The last example of the liberal jest is represented by the collection of Cato Maior, which bore the general title of *ἀποφθέγματα*. Further, Panaetius' general theory of propriety may be applied as a test to distinguish the liberal from the vulgar jest;

²⁵ See *infra*, pp. 100-101.

thus the former is well-timed, used in the hours of mental relaxation, which even the most austere allow themselves; the other is unworthy of any freeborn man, since the subject is indecent and the words obscene. Finally, returning to the analogy of the playground, on the basis of which the term *ludus* came to be applied to satiric writing, Cicero asserts that the military exercises of the Campus Martius and hunting are examples of true recreations.

Here again it is clear that Horace in his critical satires, and notably in the fourth satire of the first book, followed a rhetorical theory of humor having many relations to that set forth by Cicero's paraphrase of Panaetius. He, too, differentiates two types of humor; his fourth satire, as Hendrickson has seen,³⁶ "is a criticism of literary theory put concretely." That is, Horace writes a satire upon the proper limits of the laughable, τὸ γέλοιον, from the point of view of aesthetics and ethics. In I: 4, 34, it is clear that Horace like Cicero protests against the unrestrained type of humor (*profusum genus iocandi*). Such a method of jesting, as Aristotle had declared long before Cicero (and Panaetius) was that of the βωμολόχος or scurrilous jester, the man who is the slave to the ridiculous; that is, one who does not subject humor to the dictates of reason, is not sparing in his attacks on others, has no regard for his own reputation, or even his personal safety. Similarly, Lucilius in fragments 1015, 1016, seems to put into the mouth of an *adversarius* a charge of βωμολοχία levelled against himself. He, too, is charged with having disseminated scurrilous attacks in many discourses:

et male dicendo in multis sermonibus differs.

As Horace shows in line 90, there are limits which distinguish true freedom of speech from unlicensed invective:

hic tibi comis et urbanus liberque videtur.

Similarly proper freedom is associated with humor in line 103:

liberius si dixero quid, si forte iocosius.

Indeed, at the very beginning of the satire, in line 5, Horace gives recognition to the *libertas* of Lucilius, which is directly derived from the Old Comedy. Such *libertas* he can even approve of, when applied in the spirit of the Old Comedy to the

³⁶ Horace, *Sermo* I:4; *A Protest and a Programme*, A. J. P., XXI:121-142.

task of moral reform within the state. So, in fragment 1033 Lucilius seems to assume the rôle of *censor morum*:

quem scis scire tuas omnes maculasque notasque.

Here *macula* is glossed by Nonius p. 350, 12 by *turpitudines*. In this connection it is worth noticing that the illiberal jest according to Cicero employs obscene words in the assault upon an indecent subject: alterum (i.e. the genus illiberale iocandi) ne libero quidem, si rerum turpitudini adhibeatur verborum obscenitas.

Similarly, in a discussion upon the province of the laughable in the *de oratore* II:235-247, Cicero points out (236) that the laughable is said to originate in what is disgraceful pointed out in a manner not disgraceful. This last definition seems to be derived from Aristotle's *Poetics* 5: τὸ γὰρ γελοῖόν ἐστι ἀμάρτημά τι καὶ αἰσχρὸς ἀνώδυνον καὶ οὐ φθαρτικόν.

In the *de oratore* II:242, in speaking of the type of wit which turns upon the matter expressed rather than the manner of expression, Cicero urges moderation and care; the mimicking manner employed by the actors in farces, *ethologi*, or in the mimes is excessive, and should be avoided by the orator.³⁷ The orator should rather adumbrate, '*surripiat*,' his imitation, that the hearer's imagination may be aroused: orator surripiat oportet imitationem, ut is, qui audiet, cogitet plura, quam videat; praestet idem ingenuitatem et ruborem suum verborum turpitudine et rerum obscenitate vitanda.

Now Horace, at the beginning of satire I: 4, seems to recognize that Lucilius, whose spiritual descent is from the writers of the Old Comedy, is ethically a humorist of the second or reforming type. His assaults, like that of the Old Comedy, aim at social reform; they attack the *turpitudines* of robbery, adultery, murder, with freedom. Lucilius, like those writers, is *facetus*, or as Horace says in I:10, 65 *comis et urbanus*. Stylistically, however, he merits severe criticism because, in spite of his theoretical adherence to the spirit of the Old Comedy, he sinks in practice to the level of the mime. Horace, I:10, 5, cannot give him a blanket approval though he recognizes his comic power:

³⁷ *de oratore*, II:244.

nec tamen hoc tribuens dederim quoque cetera.

Otherwise, one would have to praise the mimes of Laberius as beautiful poetry. True comic power, in the best sense of the word, implies certain stylistic qualities, notably restraint and the use of the liberal type of humor; it is not by itself enough to extend the jowl of the hearer in a laugh:

ergo non satis est risu diducere rictum
auditoris.

Evidently, then, Horace's opinion was in harmony with that of Cicero in the *de oratore* in regarding the humor of the *ethologi* or impersonators of character skits and *mimi*, as excessive, and their language as a sort of *obscenitas*. Certainly this type of humor does not conform to the dictates of reason and moderation enjoined in the *de officiis* I:104: *Ludendi etiam est quidam modus retinendus, ut ne nimis omnia profundamus elatique voluptate in aliquam turpitudinem delabamur.* The implication of Horace's remarks follows the doctrine of this passage. Lucilius, swept away by his passions, "lapses" (*delabitur*) to the genre of humor represented by the mime, which is marked by complete lack of restraint in its determination to raise a laugh. Led astray by his temperament he is thus unconsciously recreant to the higher type of humor derived from the Old Comedy. Horace, like Cicero,^{37a} asserts that the methods of the actors of the farce and the mime are to be avoided: *sed ut in illo superiore genere vel narrationis vel imitationis vitanda est mimorum et ethologorum similitudo.*

Similarly, Lydus³⁸ characterizes the μιμική κωμῳδία as *τεχνικὸν μὲν ἔχουσα οὐδὲν, ἀλόγῳ μόνον τὸ πλῆθος ἐπάγουσα γέλωτι.* This is in fact an appropriate designation for the mime of Laberius, whom Macrobius, *Sat.* II:7, 2, characterizes as an actor *asperae libertatis*.

^{37a} In Persius, *Sat.* I: 127-132, the disapprobation of a jest involving an attack on a personal infirmity, blindness, reveals the continuance of the same rhetorical disapprobation of the vulgar and unkind humor of the mime:

non hic qui in crepidas Graiorum ludere gestit
sordidus et lusco qui possit dicere 'lusce.'

Compare also Hendrickson's *Horace, Sermo* 1, 4. *A. J. P.*, XXI: 121 ff. *Excursus on Persius and the Theory of Satire*, pp. 138-142.

³⁸ Lydus, *de magistratibus*, I:40 ed. Wuensch.

The limits of space compel me to omit the detailed proof that this lapse on the part of the temperamental Lucilius was probably purely unconscious, and that theoretically he, like Horace, disapproved of the broader and coarser strokes of the mime, in which *obscenitas verborum* is added to *turpitudine rerum*. The suit which Lucilius brought against an actor of mimes, who assailed him by name and the possible allusion to a *mimus* in fragment 1344, afford some ground for the belief that Lucilius was, in theory at least, conscious of an inherent ethical and aesthetic gulf separating his satires from the mime. Furthermore, we have in line 899 of Lucilius:³⁹

deum rex auertat uerba obscena ---

evidence that Lucilius felt that *verba obscena* should be far removed from the poet's pages. It thus seems possible to apply to the humor of the mime, as conceived by Horace and possibly by Lucilius, the rhetorical formula of Cicero and Panaetius; the wit of the mime is an *illiberalis iocus* for in it *obscenitas verborum* is added to *turpitudine rerum*.⁴⁰ The sharp humor of the mime may also be said to be an excellent example of the reprobated manner which proceeds *severe, maledice, contumeliose*, against which Cicero speaks in the *de officiis* I:134.

But it might be argued that the humor of the Old Comedy could hardly be regarded as the representative of the *genus liberale iocandi*. And in point of fact "to Aristotle himself the old comedy afforded the most conspicuous illustration of illiberal jest." Yet Aristotle's condemnation of Old Comedy did not prevail generally among later theorists and critics, as Hendrickson has shown.⁴¹ The Old Comedy, then, was for many reasons frequently classed with the *genus liberale iocandi*. In the first place, Cicero in the *de officiis* I:103 shows that this type of humor must have a certain probity of character: sic in ipso ioco aliquod probi ingenii lumen eluceat. Now the purpose of ethical and social reform sheds such a light upon the

³⁹ Interpreted by Marx as referring to a woman on whom one is showering a stream of abuse.

⁴⁰ Perhaps the fact that slaves and freedmen were the regular actors of the mime helped to suggest such an association of the illiberal type of jest with this form of the drama, which deservedly bore a low reputation for decency.

⁴¹ See Hendrickson, *op. cit.*, I, p. XXI, 1900, p. 140, and Horace and Lucilius, in *Studies in Horace of Gildersleeve*, p. 135.

Old Comedy. This we see clearly in the characterization of the Old Comedy in its relation to the spirit of Lucilian satire with which Horace begins satire I: 4. Nor is this an isolated point of view, for Pliny, *epist.* VI:21, says in praise of an imitator of the Old Comedy: *ornavit virtutes, insectatus est vitia*.

The spirit of the Old Comedy, moreover, in distinction from the spirit animating the iambic verses of Archilochus, or the poetry of Hipponax, or the mime, may be fairly classed with the spirit of the *σπουδαιογέλοιον* of whom the later popular Cynic and Stoic philosophers are the best representatives. In fact these writers constantly traced their descent from the Old Comedy. The Old Comedy is serious in that it has a distinct ethical purpose, but it clothes that purpose in the liberal jest. Perhaps it would be more correct to say that the Old Comedy was the precursor of the Socratic literature to whose tone Cynicism owed so much.⁴² Indeed, the Old Comedy is not infrequently described in language that clearly implies its association with the *σπουδαιογέλοιον*. Thus Cicero, *ad Q. fr.* III:1, 19, interprets the term, *Aristophaneus modus*, by *suavis et gravis*. In Lucilius, however, owing to the undue prominence given to invective, as we shall presently see, the *σπουδαῖον* far outweighed the *γέλοιον*. Lucilius is, then, only an imperfect interpreter of the spirit of the Old Comedy; the true adherent of this genre will have a more refined conception of the lighter elements entering into its composition. Herein lies the point of Horace's lines I:10, 10 ff:

et sermone opus est modo tristi, saepe iocoso,
defendente vicem modo rhetoris atque poetae,
interdum urbani, parcentis viribus atque
extenuantis eas consulto, ridiculum acri
fortius et melius magnas plerumque secat res.
illi scripta quibus comoedia prisca viris est
hoc stabant, hoc sunt imitandi.

That is, the Old Comedy has a style now sharp, *tristis*, now suggestive of the rhetorical and poetical, now *acer*—all words associated with the seriousness of the grand style—but now *iocosus*, *urbanus*, and *ridiculus*, that is smacking of true comic informality, ease, and charm—qualities associated with the

⁴² Hirzel, *op. cit.*, pp. 373 ff., seems to prove this.

conception of the *εἶπον* because Socrates best realized in actual life this type of humor, a type bound up with the conception of the plain style from the days of Socrates and Plato on. Thus Cicero, in the *orator* 60, distinctly indicates Plato as the master of this style and its appropriate type of humor: *longe omnium quicumque scripserunt aut locuti sunt exstitit et gravitate et suavitate princeps.*

In accordance, also, with the practice of Latin literary criticism of seeking national parallels to the representative writers of Greek literary forms, Plautus is regarded by Cicero as the Latin representative of the type of liberal humor affected by the Old Comedy, while the sayings of Cato, the elder, are parallel to the *bons mots* of which the Greeks were so fond. I must omit the detailed proof that Lucilius freely accorded such a position to Plautus, while the more critical Horace rejects his claim to represent the liberal type of jest.⁴³

But far more than the Old Comedy, the moral anecdotes or *χρῆται* of the Greeks and of Cato, the humor represented by the famous Socratic irony, most profoundly influenced the theory of humor current in the satires of Lucilius and of Horace. Who were the writers included under the canon as used by Horace in the *Ars Poetica*, 310, by Lucilius in 707, and as proclaimed in the critical theories of Panaetius and Cicero in the *de officiis* to be *par excellence* the models for the appropriate and liberal type of humor? What was the conception of the Socratic *εἶπον* and in what relation does this conception stand to the theory of the plain style?

Under the *Socratici libri* were included the dialogues of Plato, Xenophon, Antisthenes, and Aeschines, as Hirzel has conclusively shown.⁴⁴ These were the models of philosophic exposition followed by Panaetius. This we may infer from the title of a non-extant work *περὶ τῶν Σωκρατικῶν* as well as from the position accorded to the Socratici in the *de officiis* I:134, where they are quoted as the stylistic norm for the *sermo* or discourse in contrast to the crude and barbarous style of such

⁴³ The Index *auctorum* of Marx shows that Lucilius imitated Plautus in 612, 669, 700, 736, 771, 957, 1094. An examination of these passages reveals the sympathetic familiarity of Lucilius with Plautus. For Horace's criticisms on Plautus see epistles, II:1, 170 ff. and *Ars Poetica*, 270 ff.

⁴⁴ *Op. cit.*, pp. 357-364.

writers as Zeno and Chrysippus: Sit ergo hic sermo, in quo Socratici maxime excellunt, lenis minimeque pertinax, insit in eo lepos. It is clear that the whole humorous character of such dialogues was conditioned by the shrewd and kindly personality of Socrates. Now the kernel of the Socratic humor lies in the Socratic irony. It is therefore necessary, omitting the detailed proof for lack of space, to summarize briefly the ancient conception of the *εἴρων*, which received its first embodiment in Socrates.⁴⁵

In brief, the strongly marked character of Socrates and of the Socratic dialectic caused the terms *εἴρων* and *εἰρωνεία* to be applied to Socrates as indicating a simulated self-depreciation and humility or a simulated ignorance. From the employment of the term in Plato it passed over into the rhetorical handbooks. It is essential for our present purpose to notice that the word is employed by Aristotle and the New Comedy in a sense closely related to its earlier popular usage as a foil to the conception of the *ἀλάζων* or boastful braggart. In popular usage, therefore, the term *εἴρων* was applied to one who uses words without serious purpose, to betray, dissuade, mock, jest, or excuse himself, act the swindler. Hence the term stands in close relation to the conception of the *φλύαρος*, *ὑποκριτής*, *ἀλάζων*, and *κόλαξ*. So in the Coislinian treatise on Comedy, *Aristophanes Prolegomena* Xd, the three fundamental types of comedy (*ἡθῆ*) were called *τὰ τε βωμολόχα καὶ τὰ εἰρωνικά καὶ τὰ τῶν ἀλαζόνων*. Again in the treatment of the laughable in the *Rhetoric* of Aristotle,⁴⁶ III:1419, b7, two types are differentiated, *εἰρωνεία* and *βωμολοχία*; *ἐστὶ δ' ἡ εἰρωνεία τῆς βωμολοχίας ἐλευθερώτερον· ὁ μὲν γὰρ αὐτοῦ ἕνεκα ποιεῖ τὸ γέλοιον, ὁ δὲ βωμολόχος ἐτέρου*. In the *Ethics* of Aristotle II: 7,20, the *εἴρων* suppresses or understates the truth, the *ἀλάζων* or boaster exaggerates it.⁴⁷ In the *Ethics* LV:13 Aristotle asserts that both of these extremes are blameworthy, and that both deviate from the truth, but the *εἰρωνες* are more congenial (*χαριέστεροι*) for their motive is not self-advantage, but to avoid bombast; that is, while the *ἀλάζων*

⁴⁵ The most detailed discussion of the history of the word is by Otto Ribbeck in the *Rheinisches Museum*, XXXI: 381 ff., 1876.

⁴⁶ The following passages of Plato are also cited by Ribbeck: *Sophistes*, p. 268; *Laws*, p. 908d; *Apology*, p. 38a; *Republic* I, p. 337a; *Symposium* p. 216d.

⁴⁷ See also *Ethics Eud.* III:1234a, 1; *Etym M.*, p. 1192a, 31.

lays claim to what he does not have, the *εἰρων* depreciates or conceals what he has. Aristotle is also the first to designate Socrates as the type of genuine and fine irony, a reputation which the master maintains for all time, and which was accepted by Roman ethical and aesthetic criticism. To this we now turn.

To the Romans Socrates was clearly the type of the *εἰρων*, as we may see from Cicero *academica priora* II: 5, 15, where it is said of Socrates: autem de se ipse detrahens in disputatione plus tribuebat iis quos volebat refellere. Ita cum aliud diceret atque sentiret, libenter uti solitus est ea dissimulatione quam *εἰρωνείαν* vocant; quam ait etiam in Africano fuisse Fannius idque propterea vitiosum in illo non putandum quod idem fuerit in Socrate. So also in the *de officiis* I:108, Cicero clearly represents the opinion of Panaetius in saying of Socrates: De Graecis autem dulcem et facetum festivique sermonis atque in omni oratione simulatorem, quem *εἰρων* Graeci nominarunt, Socratem accepimus. Moreover, such dissimulation is not blameworthy as 109 clearly declares.

Among the eclectic Romans the agnostic attitude represented by the Socratic irony was in greater favor than with the somewhat dogmatic Epicureans. This is clearly apparent in the treatment of wit assigned to Julius Caesar Strabo in the *de oratore* of Cicero II: 264-290, where irony is given a high place in the six types of wit derived from the substance of the thought. Cicero, accordingly, in 269 defines irony as an *urbana dissimulatio*:

Urbana etiam dissimulatio est, cum alia dicuntur ac sentias, non illo genere, de quo ante dixi. . . . In hoc genere Fannius in annalibus suis Africanum hunc Aemilianum dicit fuisse egregium et Graeco cum verbo appellat *εἰρων*; sed, uti ei ferunt, qui melius haec norunt, Socratem opinor in hac ironia dissimulantiaque longe lepore et humanitate omnibus praestitisse. Genus est perelegans et cum gravitate salsum cumque oratoriis actionibus tum urbanis sermonibus adcommodatum.

We have similar testimony in the *Brutus* 292, where Atticus on the basis of this quality of irony, assigns Plato, Xenophon, and Aeschines to the *libri Socractici*.

It seems certain that this conception of ironic humor, which we have thus found domiciled in the Scipionic circle in Rome, probably in large measure by the efforts of Panaetius, and

affected by Fannius and Scipio himself, could hardly have failed to exercise some influence upon Lucilius. In the case of Horace, indeed, partly as the result of the poet's temperamental refinement and partly as the result of the intensive development of Atticism in the Ciceronian period, we find a satirist whose humor and style, far more than is the case with Lucilius, are in almost complete harmony with the conception of the *εἴρων* and with the tenets of the Roman Atticists.

So firmly are the characteristics of Lucilian satire fixed in our consciousness as a *carmen maledicum ad vitia hominum carpendum* that at first sight it seems almost like a paradox to seek to find in his critical theory, not even to speak of his satirical practice, any traces of sympathy for the more restrained type of humor, which we associate with the plain style. Upon closer examination, however, the matter will appear in a somewhat different light.

In the first place, there exists a considerable mass of ancient literary criticism, which not only regards Lucilius as an example of the plain style in the narrower sense of vocabulary, grammar, and diction, but which describes his humor in the same technical vocabulary of rhetoric which we have found Cicero and Panaetius applying to the liberal type of humor. To anyone who has studied the stylistic epithets employed with almost meticulous accuracy to indicate the plain style, this evidence carries complete conviction.

Over against such passages, to be sure, we have a strong mass of criticism which differentiates the *χαρακτήρ* Lucilianus from the *χαρακτήρ* Horatianus. More important still, we have the evidence of our own critical judgment, which convinces us that here we have a conception of satire, a wit and humor, standing in strong contrast to that of Horace. To the explanation of this apparent enigma, which really involves no contradiction between the canons of ancient and modern taste, I now turn.

It is true that in indifference to stylistic finish and in the type of humor he often employs, Lucilius shows a marked divergence from the more finished interpretation of the plain style exemplified in the works of Terence, (*par excellence puri sermonis amator*) and in the more serious writings emanating from the Scipionic circle, and in Horace. These divergencies are

partly due to the aggressive temperament of the man; yet it can be shown, I think, that they rest in part upon a freer and looser tradition of the nature and limits of the plain style than we find elsewhere in the Scipionic circle. Naturally, the free satiric form of Lucilius demanded a less rigorous interpretation of the plain style than that affected by Terence in so finished a genre as the New Comedy. Still when all has been said, it comes as a distinct surprise to us who are familiar with the stylistic strictures of Horace upon Lucilius to find that ancient literary criticism almost uniformly groups his writings under the category of the plain style. For the most part, the terms characterizing the style of Lucilius are found in the technical vocabulary which ancient literary criticism employs to give objective characterization to the plain style.

Thus, Lucilius is the model of *gracilitas*, a term reserved for the plain style.⁴⁸ *Humilitas*, another common attribute of the plain style, which does not soar, but is a *sermo repens per humum*⁴⁹ is applied to him by Petronius. Lucilius is *doctus* and *urbanus*.⁵⁰ The former designation is appropriate in view of his wide acquaintance with Greek and Latin literature, with Greek philosophy and rhetoric.⁵¹ Hence, we find Cicero⁵² quoting Lucilius as advocating a broad culture and training for the orator. Lucilius' wit justifies the application to him of the adjective *urbanus*, not perhaps as judged by the strict puristic standards of the later Atticists and of the Augustan age, but certainly as judged by the standards of his own time, and those dominant in the minds of his archaizing

⁴⁸ On the stylistic position of Lucilius in general, see the *testimonia de vita et poesi C. Lucili* in Marx's *Prolegomena* pp. cxxv-cxxxiv, also the article *Molle atque facetum* by C. N. Jackson, in the *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, XXIV:117-137, and the article *Horace, Catullus, Tigellinus* by B. L. Ullman, *C.P.*, X: 270-296. On *gracilitas* see A. Gellius VI:14, 6. Marx, *testimonia*, no. 73; Fronto, p. 113 N. Marx, *testimonia* no. 74.

⁴⁹ Petronius 4. Marx, *testimonia* no. 77. On *schedium* see *infra* p. 101.

⁵⁰ See Cicero, *de oratore* I:72; Quintilian X:1, 94. Marx, *testimonia* nos. 58 and 62.

⁵¹ On the *officia oratoris* which may be connected with the adjective *doctus*, see Cicero, *de oratore* II:115; Quintilian V *praef.* 1, also Hendrickson on the *Origin and Meaning of the Ancient Characters of Style*, *A. J. P.*, XXVI:260, and especially note 3.

⁵² Cicero, *de oratore* I:72. Marx 1241. I can see no valid reason why Marx should be averse to regarding this passage as representing the belief of Lucilius.

admirers in the Augustan age and later empire. To Lucilius, also, are applied the epithets *politus*, *eruditus*, *elegans*,⁵³ which in the rhetorical works of Cicero are used to designate the calm revision, sound scholarship, and discrimination in word and phrase, which play so prominent a part in the ideals of the plain style.

In the judgment of both Cicero and Horace, Lucilius is *facet*. Horace, it will be remembered, describes him as *facet* and *emunctae naris*. Cicero⁵⁴ connects this quality of *facetiae* with the Stoic conception of the *purus sermo*, the goal of the plain style as cherished by the Atticists. Such early Latin writers as Granius, Lucilius, Crassus, and Laelius are cited as combining *facetiae* with *sal* or pungent wit.

This latter quality of *sal*, indeed, borders on *acerbitas*. Thus, in Horace, Satire I:10, 30, Lucilius is said to have rubbed down the city *sale multo*, and in Quintilian X:1, 94, we read: *nam eruditio in eo mira et libertas atque inde acerbitas et abunde salis*. In a sense, therefore, this quality marks the transition from the plain style in the narrower sense of the term to the element of invective, which is associated rather with the grand style.

The *comitas* "geniality" of Lucilius is a quality related to his *urbanitas*. It is recognized by Horace in satire I:10, 64 as a quality commonly attributed to the earlier satirist. Like *urbanitas*, it is in rhetorical theory contrasted with *severitas*, which is associated rather with the grand style, or at least with serious discourse.

Indeed, a comparison of the *de officiis* II:48, the *de officiis* I:132, the *de oratore* III:177, and the *orator* 64 shows that *comitas*, *adfabilitas sermonis*, *mollitudo*, are characteristics of the plain style, the style suited to conversation, to the serious philosophic dialogue, to the half-humorous, half-serious dialogues of Cynics and Stoics, and so progressively to the Latin satirical *sermones*.

The *sermo* was the frank, informal conversational idiom, the unassuming literary form which Lucilius employed. His books,

⁵³ Cicero, *de oratore* I:72; Horace, *Sat.* I:10, 64 perhaps merely an argumentative concession, but implying the prevalence of such a view even in the Augustan period. Porphyrio, *ad Hor. serm.* I:3, 40 says: *Luciliana urbanitate usus*.

⁵⁴ Cicero, *epist. ad famil.* IX:15, 2; Horace, *Sat.* I:4, 7.

as even Horace acknowledges, are self-revelations. They, therefore, like the works of so many writers of the Socratic school, most notably perhaps Xenophon, belong to the category of *ὑπομνήματα* or memoirs.⁶⁵

ille velut fidis arcana sodalibus olim
credebat libris neque si male cessarat usquam
decurrrens alio neque si bene: quo fit ut omnis
votiva pateat, veluti descripta tabella
vita senis.

But beside these qualities of tone and mood, the plain style, as we have seen, made exacting claims upon the grammatical and rhetorical scholarship of its followers. Let us briefly summarize the evidence on these points revealed by a study of the surviving fragments of Lucilius.

We find Lucilius thoroughly conversant with the principles of the Stoic grammatical rhetoric as taught by Diogenes of Babylon. The ninth book affords ample evidence of this, but we may supplement its testimony by other evidence. Thus in fragment 1100, Lucilius says there are 100 different kinds of solecisms and apparently listed them as an aid to a standard of correct usage.⁶⁶ Also in this book we have 16 fragments dealing with barbarisms, mistakes in spelling or pronunciation, with detailed discussion upon the proper spelling of verbal endings or case endings.⁶⁷ We have two humorous fragments 963 and 1130 in which points of pronunciation are discussed; the pronunciation of *pertisum* instead of *pertaesum* in the former case, the rustic pronunciation of *pretor* for *praetor* in the latter case.

In etymology Lucilius shows much interest. This must in large measure be due to the sensitiveness to the accurate use of words resulting from the Stoic interest in etymology. Hence, in 447 we find Lucilius deriving *tragoedia* from *trux*. In 452 the etymology of *iners* from *ars* is explained. In 1160, Lucilius gives the correct etymology of *praetor* (*prac-ilor*) from *praeire*.

We have three fragments in which Lucilius shows his interest in *anastrophe* in the technical Stoic designation for verbal accuracy. In addition, most of the word plays of which Lucilius was fond

⁶⁵ Horace, *Sat.* II: 1, 30ff.

⁶⁶ See Marx comment ad loc.

⁶⁷ Vols. on vowels 351, 356, 357, 358, 362, 364, 367, 369, 371; on prepositions in composition 373, 374, 375; on consonants 377, 379, 381, 382.

may be referred to this category.⁵⁸ In 1190 Lucilius criticizes the metaphorical use of *horrere* in Ennius. Ennius applied the term, the literal meaning of which is "to have the goose flesh", to a battlefield bristling with arms. Lucilius ridicules this trope by saying why not add *algere* "shivers". In 1215 we find an exposition of the difference between *intro* and *intus*, *apud* and *ad*. In 519, perhaps in jest, he seems to allude to the legal definition of the terms *mundus* and *penus*.

In technical grammar, therefore, it is beyond question that Lucilius was vitally interested in the study of the three faults reprobated by the Stoic grammarians, *σολοικισμός*, *βαρβαρισμός* and *ἀκυρολογία*. Moreover, the discussion upon *pertisum* or *pertaesum* suggests that, like Panaetius, Lucilius gave only limited adherence to the Stoic principle of analogy.

Finally, we have two fragments, 1111 and 1241, which demand more detailed study. The first seems to imply that Lucilius, in spite of his apparent carelessness of finish was strongly in sympathy with the best classical models, the *οἱ εὐδοκιμοῦντες Ἕλληνες* of the rhetoric of Diogenes.⁵⁹ Such study was an indispensable prerequisite for the carefully developed simplicity of the plain style. In fragment 1111 we read:

archaeotera . . . unde haec sunt omnia nata.

Here Lucilius seems to be following in the footsteps of Panaetius, whose interest in the minute study of Homer and of the works of Plato was profound. Among such ancient classics Homer occupies a central position. Lucilius shows traces of his influence in at least twelve passages.⁶⁰ In the second passage 1241,⁶¹ a quotation from Cicero (*de oratore* I:72), we have a dictum of Lucilius demanding a training for the orator in all the arts. The *εἰσαγωγή* to Junius Congus, which is related to the *Ars Poetica* of Horace, also contained a discussion upon the choice of words.

Turning now from grammar to the broader aspects of rhetoric, we find Lucilius as a satirist emphasizing the importance of sincerity, frankness, informality, rather than the rhetorical

⁵⁸ Viz., 33, 171, 204, 1128, 1134, 1284.

⁵⁹ See *supra*, pp. 75 f.

⁶⁰ I hope to discuss Lucilius' use of Homer later in a separate treatment of Lucilius' relation to his Greek sources.

⁶¹ See *supra*, p. 90, note 52.

finish of epic poetry or tragedy or a highly ornate prose style.⁶³ Thus in fragment 86, where Scaevola bids his opponent not be too rhetorical, he represents the attitude of indifference to excessive rhetorical elaboration so common in the simple grammatical rhetoric of the Stoics. In fragment 608, Lucilius seems to defend the plain style from the charge of meanness.⁶⁴ In book XXVII,⁶⁵ there was perhaps developed in fragment 693 with its contrast between *res* and *verba*, the favorite Stoic theory of a rhetoric *πρὸς τὰ πράγματα*, insisting on dialectic and clear thinking. Such a dialectic springs in ultimate analysis from the *Socraticae chartae* whose influence in the teachings of Panaetius we have traced.

Although Lucilius does not follow the teachings of the more ostentatious rhetoricians, he is perfectly familiar with the technical figures of this rhetoric. A single example must suffice.⁶⁶ In fragment 181, he characterizes the Isocratean *δμοιοτέλειον* as petty and childish.

Lucilius was also interested, at least theoretically, in the proper disposition of words in a sentence according to rhythm and sense, a process called *iunctura* by the ancients. He seems to have discussed this and other rhetorical problems in book X. Thus fragment 385 evidently refers to *iunctura*, while fragment 378 refers to the antithetical vice of *cacosyntheton*. He has also a lively interest in questions of metre and rhythm, which are discussed in fragments 1168, 1209, and 1294.

From what has been said it is clear that, like Horace, Lucilius made a sharp distinction in vocabulary, metre, and tone between the requirements of the simple and unpretentious *sermo* or discourse of Socratic, Cynic and Stoic origin, and the older epic and tragic forms in the grand style. It seems reasonable to believe that the basis of this distinction is to be found in the general theories of grammar, rhetoric, and style accepted and realized in the writings of the Scipionic circle as the clearest

⁶³ See fragments 587-590, 632.

⁶⁴ See my paper on *Lucilius, Persius, and the Ars Poetica of Horace*, p. 7, for a discussion on *ignobilitas*.

⁶⁵ See *ibid.*, p. 11.

⁶⁶ For Lucilius' use of rhetorical figures and familiarity with rhetorical study see 604, 1117, 1132, 1133, 1137, 378. I must reserve discussion of these matters for a fuller treatment of the whole subject of Lucilius and Horace.

result of the teachings of Diogenes and Panaetius. In particular, in books XXVI and XXX, Lucilius wrote satires discussing these problems in detail, and making an ethical and aesthetic defence of the satiric form, which in a very real sense⁶⁶ anticipate certain of the arguments set forth by Horace in satires I:4, I:10, and II:1. If, then, Lucilius was well informed as to the fundamental principles of the plain style, it is likely that such violations of that style as we may detect in the surviving fragments of his satires must be attributed to a divergent theory of the relation of the loose satiric form to the plain style, rather than to ignorance of its principles, or careless indifference to its laws.

Even in the question of the use of Greek, a practice reprobated by Panaetius and Horace alike, it can be shown that Lucilius recognized some limits to a hybrid bilingualism, for in 15 he makes fun of those who use *clinopodas* and *lychnos* for *pedes lecti* and *lucernas*, in 88 ridicules the Hellenomaniac Albucius, and in 1915 apparently translates the Greek verb *ὑποσκελίζω* by *subplanto*, besides introducing into the Latin language the term *numerus*, as a technical translation for *μέτρον* and *modus* for *ῥυθμός* in 1295. In short, his style was undoubtedly the informal mixture of Greek and Latin current in the Scipionic circle. It is in degree rather than in kind that it differs from the informal style of Cicero's letters.

Furthermore, there are certain passages in Lucilius which suggest that he had some regard for the claims of a pure Latinity. Fragment 1322, a quotation from Quintilian, may be cited as showing that Lucilius, like Pollio, distinguished pure Latinity from provincial usage and attacked a certain Vettius for employing a provincial dialect, probably Sabine, just as Pollio assailed the *Patavinitas* of Livy. Similarly in fragment 594, Lucilius, by saying that he feared the judgment of Scipio and Rutilius and wrote for the people of Tarentum, Consentia, and the Sicilians, seems to take a side shot at the over-pedantic interpretation of *Latinitas* current among some distinguished members of his circle. In this connection, it will be remembered that in fragment 964 Lucilius criticized Scipio for saying *pertisum* instead of *pertaesum*.

⁶⁶ To be treated elsewhere in full, in a book on Lucilius and Horace.

Now that we have discussed the Stoic theories of grammar and rhetoric, have seen the influence of Diogenes and Panaetius in popularizing these theories in the Scipionic circle, and the intimate acquaintance of Lucilius with the Stoic theories of grammar, rhetoric, and style, it remains for us to consider the evidence bearing upon Lucilius' attitude towards the Socraticae chartae or Socratic dialogues, which hold a central place in the aesthetic theories of Panaetius, as the model, *par excellence*, for the philosophic *sermo* or conversation.

At least three passages, 738, 742 and 754, attest the direct influence of Panaetius upon Lucilius. Furthermore, the indirect evidence for the influence of Panaetius upon Lucilius emerges from the critical analysis of the doctrines of Panaetius as to the *sermo* and the ironic humor, and the comparison of this evidence with the position assigned to Lucilian satire by ancient rhetorical critics and with the actual critical theories of Lucilius himself. As to the Socraticae chartae, however, we have explicit evidence that Lucilius also looked upon them as the most important models for his *sermones* in fragment 710 where Lucilius definitely mentions these writings:

nec sic ubi Graeci? ubi nunc Socratici carti? quidquid quaeritis, etc.

This passage occurs in a satire in book XXVII dealing with literary criticism, and, as I have shown elsewhere,⁶⁷ treating certain topics in close relation to those discussed in the *Ars Poetica* of Horace. Here, especially, we must compare Horace's *Ars Poetica* 310-312:

rem tibi Socraticae poterunt ostendere chartae
verbaque provisum rem non invita sequentur.

Horace here shows that the source of moral knowledge is the philosophy of Socrates and the Academy. The Roman poet draws his subject matter from this philosophy, and as a natural consequence his style as well. But with this study must be associated familiarity with the Greek poets, who combine inspiration with style. So Lucilius, referring to the Greek poets, says "nec sic ubi Graeci" implying that they are great classical models, just as in 1111 he insisted on the study of the

⁶⁷ See my paper on *Lucilius, Persius, and the Ars Poetica of Horace*, p. 11.

earlier writers of Greece, whom the Stoic rhetoric looked up to as models and classified as *οἱ εὐδοκιμοῦντες Ἕλληνες*. Moreover, we know that Horace was a devoted adherent of Panaetius and of the Socratic dialogues from his own explicit testimony in ode I:29, 13 where Iccius is satirized for first buying up all the works of Panaetius and the Socratic school and then abandoning them for a military career.

The first-hand intimacy of Lucilius with the teachings of Socrates himself, and with the philosophers and philosophy of the Academy, affords strong corroborative evidence for the essential correctness of my interpretation of the passages just discussed.⁶⁸ Moreover, Lucilius had himself studied in the Academic school, possibly in Athens itself, and was apparently an intimate of Clitomachus, the head of the Academy, who dedicated to him a book, as Cicero informs us in the *Academica* II:32, 102.⁶⁹

In spite of these many influences to restraint, moderation, and careful finish, emanating from Diogenes, Panaetius, and the other members of the Scipionic circle—and these influences have been overlooked by modern scholars, who have accepted too literally the strictures of Horace—it remains essentially true that the satires of Lucilius are a *carmen maledicum ad vitia hominum carpendum*, because of the place he accorded the disturbing element of invective within the plain style. In the part thus assigned to invective Lucilius often transgresses the limits associated with the liberal jest by Panaetius, and follows the unrestrained type of humor favored by the popular impromptu Cynic discourses. Moreover, invective, so far as stylistic theory is concerned, belongs rather to the grand style than to the plain style by virtue of its lack of restraint, absence of subtle humor, and boldness of diction. In fact, critics, both ancient and modern, from Horace on, have laid such stress on these qualities that, in spite of his scholarship, sanity, and breadth of intellectual sympathies, Lucilius has suffered the fate

⁶⁸ In such fragments of Lucilius as those on friendship in book XXIX, viz., 830, 834, 908, 909, 902, 905, 906, on which see Cichorius, *op. cit.*, pp. 177-179; for Lucilius' interest in the history of philosophy, see 755, 754, 753, 757, 762, apparently forming a satire on a banquet of philosophers, as Cichorius has seen, *op. cit.*, pp. 44-46.

⁶⁹ Cf., also Cichorius, *op. cit.*, pp. 11 f., 40 f., 46 f.

meted out to the aggressive humorist in every age, that of having his calmer words and more restrained counsels ignored.

Now invective, according to the rhetorical theories of the ancients, was related not to the plain style, but to the grand style. It depends for its effect upon *amplificatio* or fullness of utterance rather than upon the *brevitas* affected by the plain style. The *auctor ad Herennium* IV:8, 11 speaks of *amplificatio* in connection with the grand style. Here, as Ullman has seen,⁷⁰ the thought is of the threefold division of *mollitudo vocis* (III: 13, 23), into *sermo*, *contentio*, and *amplificatio*. *Sermo*, as we know, is associated with the plain style, while *contentio*, which corresponds pretty closely to our controversial discourse, is described as an *oratio acris*. In III:13, 24 of the *auctor ad Herennium* one side of *amplificatio* is described as an *oratio acris, quae in iracundiam inducit*, and later in 24, as an *oratio quae aliquid peccatum amplificans auditorem ad iracundiam adducit*. Panaetius shared this view as to angry outbursts, for in the *de officiis* I:136 he reprobates all *perturbationes* as contrary to the general principle of appropriateness, urges that anger be avoided, and that courtesy be shown to those with whom we talk. In cases where reproof is needed, Panaetius permits a more emphatic tone of voice, more forcible and severe terms—the words *verborum gravitate acriore* belong rather to the vocabulary of the grand style—and even an assumption of anger. But we must show that this anger is designed to effect a reform in the character of the person thus reproofed; real anger must be far from us.

The definitions, *oratio quae in iracundiam inducit* and *oratio quae auditorem ad iracundiam adducit*, fit admirably the element of wrathful invective, which plays so important a part in Lucilian satire, as Juvenal I:165 ff. and Horace *Sat.* I:4, 3, and II:1, 68 clearly perceive. When the style of the satirist—whether he be a Lucilius or a Juvenal—is surcharged with invective, we have a boldness of diction, a sweep, *amplificatio*, alien to the reserve of passion advocated by Panaetius, and often a bitter abandon, equally alien to the restrained humor of the *εἰρων*, the type of humorist held in such esteem by Panaetius and in some of his moods even by Lucilius himself.

⁷⁰ *Op. cit.*, pp. 270-296.

Such an attitude of mind and such a theory of the admissibility of invective into the canon of humor is bound to affect the diction of the satirist. The theoretical adherent of the *purus sermo* of the Stoics cannot breathe freely in so pure an atmosphere. Hence, the *sermo purus* is contaminated by a considerable infiltration of the *sermo plebeius* and the argot of the camp, as may be perceived by anyone who will compare the diction of Lucilius with that of Horace. Gallic words, Etruscan words, Syrian words, and words from the Italic dialects, Oscan, Peligian, Praenestine, Sardinian, and Umbrian, even bits of Greek dialect slang, are found in the pages of the earlier satirist. This gives the "punch" which the ancient *subbasilicani* valued as much as the modern man on Broadway.

Horace is a sound critic as to these facts. Invective and the plain style are incompatible, for, as Cicero in the *orator* 64 declares of the plain style: *nihil iratum habet, nihil invidum, nihil atrox*. The style of Lucilius, on the other hand, is racy of the camp, the soil of Italy, and the melting pot of the Roman capital. The theory of humor favored by the writer of such a style, friendly to bold invective, and equally sensitive to the diction of the Scipionic circle and that of the forum, breaks through the more limited definitions of *iocosum* and *ridiculum* favored by the Stoic rhetorical theory, and exemplified by the humor of Scipio, Laelius, and Terence. Frequently, therefore, Lucilius found it impossible in practice to accept the more restrained definitions of the laughable current in the peripatetic school from the days of Aristotle and promulgated in the Scipionic circle by his friend Panaetius. His inspiration, except in those important satires where he is consciously theorizing and in satires of simple narrative, goes straight back through the Cynic and Stoic popular philosophers to Eupolis, Cratinus, and Aristophanes with their complete freedom of speech (*libertas* or *παρρησία*).

Moreover, we must remember that all the members of this circle, living in an age of the rapid assimilation of Greek culture, were unfamiliar with the later refinements upon the Stoic theory of the plain style developed by the meticulous studies of such later Roman Atticists as Calvus, Catullus, Brutus, and Messala. In particular, the members of the Scipionic circle

seem to have laid great stress upon the humorous anecdote in a fashion which should appeal to us Americans. It can be shown that book XI of Lucilius contained a miscellany of such good stories. By the time of Augustus, however, we find a more refined appreciation of the claims of the more subtle humor, which like an atmosphere pervades Horatian satire.

In the three titles which he selects for his work, *sermo*, *ludus*, and *schedium*, Lucilius shows that the influence of the Cynic popular discourse of satirical tone held the whip hand over Greek rhetorical theories. The term *sermo* is apparently a translation of the Greek *διατριβή*, the term applied to a half-improvisatory genre in conversational form, best represented to us by the Cynic philosopher, Bion of Borysthenes. It is broad enough, however, to cover the serious but informal dialogues of Plato, Aeschines, Xenophon, and the other Greek writers who continued the Socratic tradition. It occurs in fragments 1016 and 1039. Its use by Lucilius in view of the theoretical discussion developed by Panaetius on the content, sequence, and humor of the *sermo* is highly significant of the interest and enthusiasm of Lucilius for this form.

But Lucilius also employs the word *ludus* of his satires in fragment 1039. This term refers originally to the light, informal play of humor, so characteristic of the plain style, and indeed a fundamental criterion to distinguish it from such productions in the grand style as epic or tragedy. The term is also employed informally by Horace, as in I:10, 37, where he says *haec ego ludo*; and by Persius in V:5: *Pallentes radere mores doctus et ingenuo culpam defigere ludo*.

In this latter passage we have clear evidence of Aristotle's distinction between *βωμολοχία* or scurrility and *εὐτραπελία* or refined humor. It will be remembered that one of the MS titles of the Menippean satire of Seneca upon the death of Claudius is *ludus de morte Claudii Caesaris*. Moreover, *ludus* may be justified as a title for Lucilius' and Seneca's satires upon the basis of the limited recreative function assigned to humor in life by ancient rhetorical theory, as set forth in Aristotle's poetics and ethics and as restated in the Scipionic circle by Panaetius, whose doctrine is preserved to us in the

pages of the *de officiis* of Cicero.⁷¹ In fact the Latin term *ludus* may be an actual translation of the Greek term *παίγνιον*, which is the name given to a loosely constructed Greek satirical form current in the works of the popular philosophers of the Hellenistic period. It will be noticed that the definition of Anacharsis:⁷² *παίζειν δ' ὅπως σπουδάξῃ* is the warrant for the literary form *τὸ σπουδαιογέλοιον* and is reëchoed in Horace's famous paraphrase of that term: *ridentem dicere verum quid vetat?*

On the other hand, the term *schedium* from the Greek *σχέδιον* which means anything hastily knocked together, like a raft for instance,⁷³ recalls the improvisatory element in Cynic and Lucilian satirical composition. It is therefore an admirable designation to indicate the method of one who, as Horace said, could dictate two hundred verses an hour standing on one foot. It is probably from a wish to avoid such implications of improvisation and careless composition that Horace deliberately refrains from applying the term *satira* to his *sermones* in book I.

This more Academic conception of the province of humor in the plain style, using the term Academic in the original sense, may be further illustrated by certain passages in the ancient rhetoricians, which will serve to bring into clearer light the importance of the line of cleavage, which, sometimes in theory and even more often in practice, separates the satires of Horace from those of his master Lucilius.

Cicero in the *de oratore* II:236, a passage which seems to contain the theoretical justification for Horace's criticism of Lucilius in such passages as *Sat.* I:10, 14 ff., tells why wit is superior to biting invective. It seems probable that Horace knew this passage in which Cicero gives his decision in favor of wit: *quod ipsum oratorem politum esse hominem significat, quod eruditum, quod urbanum, maxime quod tristitiam ac severitatem mitigat et relaxat odiosasque res saepe, quas argumentis dilui non facile est, ioco risuque dissolvit.*

Again the *auctor ad Herennium* III:13, 23 describes *iocatio* as *oratio quae ex aliqua re risum pudentem et liberalem potest comparare*; a definition which at once recalls the distinctions of

⁷¹ See *supra*, pp. 80 ff.

⁷² Mullach, *Frag. Phil. Gr.* I: 233, no. 22.

⁷³ On *schedium*, see the paper by Ingersoll in *C. P.*, VII:59-65.

Aristotle and Panaetius between the liberal jest or *εἴτραπελα* and the scurrilous jest or *βωμολοχία*.

Did space permit, it would be instructive to analyze Cicero's discussion on the *ridiculum* in the *orator* 88-89. It parallels most of the points characterizing the liberal jest we have already enumerated and affords an admirable picture of the Horatian type of ironic humor in distinction from the type of aggressive humor represented by Lucilius. It traverses in briefer form the ground covered in the *de oratore* II:217 ff. The distinction made in these two passages between *cavillatio* (*facetiae*) and *dicacitas* probably goes back to the distinction made by the peripatetics between *γέλως* and *χάρης*. It will be remembered that Horace in satire I: 4, 13 ff. also assails the quality of *dicacitas*, which he differentiates from the humor truly appropriate to the satire or *sermo*.

Finally, in the *de oratore* II:253-289 we have an enumeration of the different varieties of the ridiculous, which may be brought into relation with the Panaetian theory of humor propounded in the *de officiis* I and with Horace's theory of humor as set forth in his critical satire I:4, I:10, and II:1.

In spite of the evidence of such passages the rift between Horace's theory of the plain style and the humor appropriate to that style is not exclusively the result of the aggressive iconoclasm of Lucilius.

If we would understand the nature of Lucilius' attitude towards the plain style, and the apparent flaw which vitiates so many of his theories, we must clearly understand that we have in the rhetoric of Cicero a recognition of the doctrine of nuances within the plain style. It is precisely because Horace's quarrel with Lucilius and with the contemporary defenders of Lucilian satire rests upon this conception of nuances within the plain style that the conflict is waged with such bitterness. It is in fact a quarrel within the family. Cicero, *orator* 20, is especially illuminating in this connection. Of the writers of the plain style in general Cicero says: *et contra tenues acuti omnia docentes et dilucidiora non ampliora facientes, subtili quadam et pressa oratione limati*. But the adherents of this style like those of the grand style fall into two classes; the first class, and here Lucilius belongs in most respects, is thus described:

in eodem genere alii callidi, sed impoliti et consulto rudium similis et imperitorum. The other class, and here clearly Horace belongs, is thus described: alii in eadem ieiunitate concinniores, id est faceti, florentes etiam et leviter ornati. Here *callidi* suggests the shrewdness or adroitness in argument so characteristic of the Socratic method. Similarly, in the *de oratore* I:93 Charmadas, in arguing for the dialectical rhetoric of the Stoics, uses the term *callide* in contrast with *copiose* evidently of the shrewd restraint and argumentative adroitness practised by all true masters of the plain style, who prefer to lure their opponent to his own defeat rather than to overwhelm him by the wealth of their resources.

A closer application to Lucilian satire may be made of the phrase *consulto rudium similis*, for certainly his use of the term *σχεδιον* as a description of his satires because of their hasty construction is admirably paraphrased by these words. *Impolitus*, connoting a lack of polish, may perhaps be used for the indifference to the labor of the file, so characteristic of Lucilius, who certainly is not *pressa oratione limatus*.

As for the *imperitorum*, we may notice Lucilius' affectation of speaking not as a *doctus* or expert poet, but as a man of general culture who addresses his friends. This point of view appears in such a passage as book XXVI:592, in the pretense of Lucilius of dreading the judgment of Scipio and Rutilius, while he writes for the people of Tarentum, Consentia, and Sicily, untutored in Latin.

On the other hand, the second nuance, although somewhat less definitely, may be applied to Horatian satire. The writers who follow this nuance still work in the same dry medium *in eadem ieiunitate* but they are *concinniores* or as we should say better craftsmen. By this quality of *concinnitas* is meant a beauty of style produced by the skilful ordering of words and clauses, in short the *curiosa felicitas*, which constitutes Horace's undying claim to fame. The term seems indeed to be synonymous with *iunctura*, as we may see by comparing Quintilian IX:4, 32. The importance of *iunctura* is especially emphasized by Horace himself in the *Ars Poetica* 47 as a nice tool in the hands of the poet:

Dixeris egregie notum si callida verbum
reddiderit iunctura novum.

Horace is also *facetus*, a term associated with the permissible *genus liberale iocandi* and as such peculiarly applicable to Horace, but which may be used as in Quintilian IV:3, 20 simply in the sense of *decor* or appropriateness and a certain cultivated taste (*excultā quadam elegantia*). Finally he permits polish in moderation (*leviter ornati*) an excellent characterization of the quality of *urbanitas*, of which Horace makes so much.

This term *urbanus*⁷⁴ probably developed as a technical rhetorical term towards the close of the republic as the result of the discriminating linguistic studies of the Roman Atticists. It connoted not only wit and cleverness, but also to a much greater degree elegance and refinement.

Now this conception of the *urbanus*, and the related, but in some respects different, type of the *εἰρων* stand in pretty close relation to the theory of the plain style. The term *urbanitas* implies a type of humor worthy of the *εὐειθερός* or should we rather say of the *κἀλὸς κἀγαθός* the alert and intelligent citizen of the Greek city state? But refined humor does not exhaust its meanings. We may rather argue that just as *Latinitas* is the equivalent in the technical vocabulary of the Stoic rhetoric for *Ἑλληνισμός* so *urbanitas* is the equivalent for *δοσειωτής*. In fact in the Ciceronian and Augustan ages this term sums up better than any other the ideals which the Roman Atticists associate with the plain style.

Hence, Horace in satire I:10, 9 ff. associates the *urbanus* definitely with the plain style because he restrains his strength (*parentis viribus*). Even in the linguistic sense there is an element of *urbana dissimulatio* about this more finished nuance of the plain style, owing to its studied simplicity, a simplicity which looks easy of attainment, but in reality demands the constant use of the file. It is just here that the related conceptions of the *urbanus* and the *εἰρων* with their narrower relations to wit and humor interpenetrate the theories of technical composition. Horace understands this perfectly.⁷⁵ Thus Pedius

⁷⁴ Compare Hendrickson in *C. P.*, XII: 88-92.

⁷⁵ It can be definitely established, I believe, that Horace's criticisms upon the satires of Lucilius in his satires I:4, I:10; and II:1, are in the main

Poplicola and Messala sweat out their cases in an effort to sustain a standard of pure Latinity I: 10, 27. But the clearest statement of what we may call the principle of linguistic irony is in the *Ars Poetica* 240 ff.:

ex noto fictum carmen sequar ut sibi quisque
speret idem sudet multum frustra que laboret
ausus idem.

In short, the stylistic method, ideals, and ironic humor of Socrates admirably fit the refined procedure of Horatian in distinction from Lucilian satire. This insinuating advance into his subject and into the hearts of his readers is admirably characterized by the rhetorical application of irony to the plain style of the *sermo* made by Cicero in the *de oratore* III:203: tum illa, quae maxime quasi inreplit in hominum mentis, alia dicentis ac significantis dissimulatio; quae est periucunda, cum in oratione non contentione, sed sermone tractatur. Persius must clearly have had this ideal of the *εἰρων* in mind when he gave his immortal characterization of Horace as a satirist:

omne vafer vitium ridenti Flaccus amico
tangit et admissus circum praecordia ludit.

the result of his adherence to the more refined nuance of the plain style we have been describing.

THE OLIVE CROWN IN HORACE, *CARM.* I:vii, 7

ANDREW RUNNI ANDERSON

Laudabunt alii claram Rhodon aut Mytilenen
aut Epheson bimarisve Corinthi
moenia vel Baccho Thebas vel Apolline Delphos
insignis aut Thessala Tempe.
Sunt quibus unum opus est intactae Palladis urbem
carmine perpetuo celebrare et
undique decerptam fronti praeponere olivam.
Plurimus in Iunonis honorem
aptum dicet equis Argos ditisque Mycenae.

5

As a parallel to the lines italicized in the foregoing portion of Horace, *Carm.* I:vii, most editors cite Lucretius, I:927 ff.:

iuvat integros accedere fontis
atque haurire, iuvatque novos decerpere flores
insignemque meo capiti petere inde coronam
unde prius nulli velarint tempora musae.

W. A. Merrill, however, in his investigation *On the Relation of Horace to Lucretius*¹ makes the statement that the two passages have little in common. The parallel is denied by Schoell,² who sees a reminiscence of the Horatian passage in Ovid, *Trist.* I:vii, 33-4:

hos quoque sex versus in prima fronte libelli
si praeponendos esse putabis, habe.

To Schoell *fronti* of the Horatian passage refers neither to the brow of the poets or enthusiasts implied in lines 5 and 6 nor to that of the goddess Pallas, but line 7

undique decerptam fronti praeponere olivam

is the description of the *frontispiece*, so to speak, of the book that deals with the glories of the city of Pallas. A more unpoetic interpretation could hardly be imagined, and while the verbal resemblance at first seems to be rather close, fuller reflection will show a considerable gap between *fronti prae-*

¹ *University of California Publications, Classical Philology*, I:120.

² *Archiv f. lat. Lex.*, VII:441 f.

ponere of Horace and *in prima fronte libelli*—*praeponendos* of Ovid.

What the passage seems to need, therefore, is to be set free from the distorting influence of doubtful parallels and to be interpreted in the light of the context, the poem itself, and the facts of ancient life. The crux of the passage is obviously to be found in the interpretation of the phrase *fronti praeponere*. Assuming that the text is sound (the conjectures of Erasmus, Gale, and Bouhier will be mentioned later), and that *praeponere* here does not differ widely from *imponere*, the interpretations of the passage may be most conveniently approached through that of *fronti*. Besides the interpretation of *fronti* given by Schoell as stated above three others seem possible:

- 1) *fronti* refers to the brow of the poets or authors implied in *quibus* (5), *opus* is a literary work. (Bentley)
- 2) *fronti* refers to the brow of *intactae Palladis* (5), *opus* means *studium* "interest." (Düntzer)
- 3) *fronti* refers to the brow of the eulogists of Athens, who need not necessarily be poets or authors, *opus* means *studium* "interest." (Ritter)

The choice would seem to be a rather close one between 2 and 3; the present investigation would essay to show that 2 deserves greater prominence than it has hitherto been given.

HISTORICAL REVIEW OF INTERPRETATIONS

As far as known it was Erasmus who first perceived that the real difficulty with the passage centered in *praeponere* (7). Finding no parallel for *praeponere* in the general sense of *imponere*, Erasmus and his followers assigned to it the more general meaning *anteponere*, *praeferre* "prefer," and emended the line to read

undique decerptae frondī praeponere olivam,

"to prefer the olive to leafage plucked from every (other) source," which, on the testimony of his pupil Glareanus, Erasmus interpreted "omnibus arboribus praeponere solent olivam, arborem Atheniensibus gratam, quasi diceret, quidam otium litterarium, quod Athenis est, omnibus voluptatibus anteferre non dubitant." Others have interpreted the reading of Erasmus more simply as follows: *ceterarum omnium urbium laudibus Athenarum praeconium praeferunt*.

With the exception of the conjecture of Gale, no further contribution was made to the understanding of the passage until the time of Bentley, who two centuries later thus summarized the alignment of scholars in the intervening period: *Ac veteres quidem libros tuentur Turnebus & Torrentius cum paucis; pro Erasmo acerrime pugnant Lambinus, Marcellus, Dan. Heinsius, Dacierius aliique.* He discussed the conjecture of Thomas Gale,

undique decerptam fonti praeponere olivam,

"to prefer the olive culled from every source to the fountain," thus harking back to the contest of Poseidon and Athena for the city. This however Bentley rejected³ in favor of the MSS, and while he was unable to cite any parallel example of *praeponere* in the sense of *imponere*, still by citing Val. Flac. III:436:

glaucasque comas praetexere frondes,

and Seneca, *Med.* 70:

praecingens roseo tempora vinculo,

he showed on general grounds that this meaning was not unreasonable, and added the remark: *Cum certe, si rem ipsam consideres, nulla corona imponatur quin et praeponatur.* Bentley's interpretation of *praeponere* has been accepted by practically all subsequent scholars, and justly; for *prae* in composition sometimes has a weakened meaning, cf. Tertullian, *de Cor.* 7: *Hercules nunc populum capite praefert, nunc oleastrum, nunc apium.* Cf. also Catullus, 64:194-5:

Eumenides, quibus anguino redimita capillo
frons exspirantis praeporat pectoris iras.

³ While Bentley was probably correct in rejecting the conjecture of Gale, his main argument against it was based on bad archaeology; for he tried to show that it was only the late and inferior authorities who said that it was a *fountain* that Poseidon offered, whereas according to his statement the preferable ones agreed that it was a *horse*! Boettiger, *Amalthea*, II: 310n (1822) shows that the horse as associated with Poseidon was foreign to Athenian mythology, and, accepting Gale, takes Bentley sharply to task for reading *serum* for *fretum* in Ovid, *Metam.*, VI:77:

medioque e vulnere saxi
exsiluisse fretum; quo pignore vindicet urbem.

See also Boetticher, *Baumkultus*, p. 423 ff.

Bentley's general interpretation is:

Sunt, inquit, poetae qui integra & iusta volumina conscripserunt de laudibus Athenarum; sive, quibus unum opus est de laudibus Athenarum perpetuum carmen a prima urbis origine ad sua tempora deducere: atque ea ratione

undique decerptam fronti praeponere olivam,
hoc est, ex argumento undiquaque exhausto coronam sibi poeticam quaerere.

But may not the equation *praeponere* = *quaerere* be a bit far-fetched? Bouhier (1715) emphasized Bentley's interpretation by altering the text from *celebrare et | undique to celebrare | indeque*. The use of the olive for poets' wreaths is unusual, and since it would be an act of arrogance on their part to anticipate the Napoleonic by the practice of self-coronation, this part of Bentley's interpretation seems open to doubt. Gesner remarked (and Shorey has followed him): Non tam poetarum studia diversa praedicare videtur Flaccus, quam hominum iudicia de locis quibusdam celebrioribus indicare. Among the lovers of Athens are many that are not poets, and many that could not win a poet's crown. We must, therefore, be on our guard against taking *unum opus* (5)⁴ as referring to a definite literary work or *carmine perpetuo* (6) as a definite continuous poem.⁵ The words of Horace are rather to be taken as showing the general effect of such praise upon the listener. The laudators of Athens seem ever to be singing her praises.

⁴ [Acro]: ac si diceret: unum studium est laudibus dicendis operam dare certos, et exinde gloriam quaerere laudando tantum Athenas quas vocant urbem Minervae velut proprium civitatis nomen.

⁵ Orelli objects to this as not giving full significance to *unum opus* (5) and *carmine perpetuo* (6) and cites Ovid, *Métam.*, I:4:

ad mea perpetuum deducite tempora carmen.

Thus their first and only work would be to write a continuous poem dealing with Athenian history (sic) from the earliest times down to their own, and they would never get so far as to write an *opus secundum*. Attempts to identify *unum opus* with any work of which we have record are futile—Merkel, *Prolus. ad Ovid. Ibin*, p. 370, suggested Euphorion's *Μορφία ἡ ἄρακτα*, and others have suggested various Atthides, e.g., those of Hegesinos mentioned in Paus., IX:29, 1, or the work of Heliodorus in XV books *περί ἀκροπόλεως* mentioned in Athen., VI:229E, and the type of literature mentioned by Lucian, *de Salt.*, 40—and were in the very nature of things doomed to failure.

Far more worthy and more typical encomia on Athens than the dreary works mentioned above are found in the following places: Pindar, *Frgt.* 76 and *Pyth.* VII:1 ff.; Pericles' funeral oration in Thuc., II:35 ff.; Soph., *O. C.* 668 ff.; Eurip., *Med.* 824 ff.; Arist., *Nub.* 299 ff.; Demosth., VI:11 ff.; XVIII:202 ff.

Thus there is in the lines no real irony; Horace is showing the same deference to those who felt the spell of Athens that he would expect to be shown to himself in his fondness for

domus Albunae resonantis
et praeceptus Anio et Tiburni lucus et uda
mobilibus pomaria rivis. (12-14)

Ritter (1856) introduced a modification of the interpretation of Bentley:

Scilicet praeter urbem canunt deam, cui sacra est oliva et cuius praesidio gaudent Athenae, idque produnt oliva undique (*ὅθεν δὴ ποτὲ*) decerpta et circa caput redimita, qua profitentur se Palladis esse laudatores.

Ritter cited Horace, *Epist.*, II:i, 109 ff.:

pueri patresque severi
fronde comas vincti cenant et carmina dictant.

A better parallel for this interpretation might be quoted from our own ode, line 21:

Teucer . . . uda Lyaeo
tempora populea fertur vinxisse corona,

where Teucer shows that he puts himself under the protection of Hercules, god of wandering, by wreathing his temples with poplar, sacred to that god. Similarly Seneca, *Herc. Fur.*, 912 ff.:

HERC. populea nostras arbor exornet comas,
te ramus oleae fronde gentili tegat,
Theseu.

I am indebted to Miss Bräunlich for a fine parallel in support of this interpretation, namely Ovid, *Metam.*, VI:161 ff.:

(Manto to the Theban women) "lauroque innectite crinem:
ore meo Latona iubet." paretur, et omnes
Thebaides iussis sua tempora frondibus ornant.

Good though the interpretation of Ritter unquestionably is, I am inclined to think that there is another that is still better. Dillenburger (1843) had asked the question "Quod aliud caput potest intellegi nisi ipsorum poetarum?" I take this seriously and answer "Palladis ipsius." The interpretation was mentioned by Duentzer (1849) but not accepted by him. "Some

there are whose only task it is to glorify the city of the virgin Pallas with unbroken song and to place upon (or before) *her* brow the olive culled from every source," meaning figuratively to refer to Pallas the manifold greatness of Athenian achievement and all the charm of the Attic land, just as in lines 8-9 the one who lauds Argos and Mycenae will be found to do so "in Iunonis honorem." It would thus become evident why Horace used the periphrasis *intactae Palladis urbem* (5): it was not only to serve as a picturesque equivalent for *Athenas*, but also to indicate the natural antecedent of *fronti*. The fact that *fronti* is singular may not be accidental, cf. *Carm.* I:i, 29 *doctarum hederæ præmia frontium*.

The objection will immediately be made that Athena is never represented as actually wearing a crown. I answer therefore that *præponere* should not hastily be identified with *imponere*. May not Horace have had special reason for using *præponere*, and may there not have hovered before his mind some such conception as that represented on the east pediment of the Parthenon, where a winged Victory held before Athena a crown in her honor? See the well curb now in Madrid (Baumeister, *Denkm.* no. 172), and also the Athena group of the great frieze from Pergamon (*ibid.*, no. 1420).

My argument is based on the supposition that the text is sound. Possibly we might emend to *proponere* in the sense of *offer* or *propose*; cf. Thuc., II, 46. ἡ πόλις ὠφέλιμον στέφανον τοῖσδε τε καὶ τοῖς λειπομένοις τῶν τοιῶνδε ἀγώνων προτιθέῖσα.

Even if this archaeological evidence were lacking, it would have been perfectly reasonable for Horace (assuming that *præponere* means *imponere*) to have conceived Athena as crowned because of the fact that the city-goddesses of the East, the Fortune of Antioch, for example, as well as the eponymous Dea Roma conceived on the model of the Athena Parthenos of Phidias were frequently represented as crowned. It remains that I complete my paper by citing select evidence, first in regard to the crowning of divinities, and second in regard to the use of the poet's crown.

THE CROWNING OF DIVINITIES

According to Pliny, *N. H.* XVI:9 the honor of being crowned was originally the exclusive prerogative of the gods:

Antiquitus quidem nulla (corona) nisi deo dabatur—ob id Homerus caelo tantum eam et proelio universo tribuit, viritim vero ne in certamine quidem ulli—feruntque primum omnium Liberum inposuisse capiti suo ex hedera. postea deorum honori sacrificantes sumpserunt, victimis simul coronatis. novissime et in sacris certaminibus usurpatae, in quibus hodieque non victori dantur, sed patriam ab eo coronari pronuntiatur.

Pliny's statement is probably in general true; however, other authorities suggest other gods, vid. ftn. ad loc. in Riley's translation. The crowning of images of the gods is well attested both in literature and in art, e.g., Rouard, *Inscr. en Vers du Musée d'Aix*, p. 16:

tempore veris
floribus intextis refovent simulacra deorum.

Proclus, in *Rempubl. Plat.* (398A) p. 42 ed. Kroll: *μύρον αὐτῆς* (sc. *τῆς ποιητικῆς*) *καταχέας, ὡς τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἀγωνάτοις ἱεροῖς ἀγαλμάτων θέμις, καὶ ὡς ἱερὰν στέφας αὐτήν, ὥσπερ καὶ ἐκεῖνα στέφειν ἦν νόμος.*

From this and other citations that might be given it would seem reasonable that when a god is crowned it would preferably be with the leafage sacred to him; cf. Pliny, *N. H.* XII:2: *Arborum genera numinibus suis dicata perpetuo servantur: ut Iovi aesculus, Apollini laurus, Minervae olea, Veneri myrtus, Herculi populus.* To this might be added the vine and the ivy to Bacchus, cf. Verg., *Ecl.* VII: 61 f.; Phaedrus, III:17.

As instances of the crowning of divinities the following may be cited:

ATHENA: the Panathenaic *εἰσεσώρη* in honor of Athena Polias was made chiefly of leafage from the sacred olive, cf. Mommsen, *Feste der Stadt Athen*, p. 57, 6). Two Bosporean nobles who had been voted golden crowns to be bestowed upon them at the Panathenaea consecrated them to Athena Polias, cf. Mommsen, *op. cit.*, p. 129, 2); Baumeister, *Denkm.*, no. 172 and 164. Closely analogous to Athena Polias are the city-goddesses of the near East, e.g., the Fortune of Antioch by Eutychides in the Vatican and also represented on coins. The idea of the personification of cities goes back fundamentally to that of Athena Polias as the eponymous embodiment of the city of Athens, and together these operated powerfully to form the similarly eponymous Dea Roma, for which see below.

CYBELE (corona muralis): Lucretius, II:606 f.; Ovid, *Fasti*, IV:219; Varro, ap. Aug. *de Civ. Dei.*, VII:24.

DEMETER (CERES) corona spicea: Horace C. S. 30; Tib., I: i, 15; *ibid.*, II: i, 4; Baumeister, no. 458; coin of Messene, vid. Bury, *History of Greece*, fig. 153; coin of Delphic Amphictiony, *ibid.*, fig. 179.

DIONYSUS (BACCHUS) ivy: Pindar *frgt.*, 75, 11; Euripides, *Bacchae*, *passim*; *Phoenissae*, 652 f.; Horace, *Carm.*, III:xxv, 20 (vine) as also *ibid.*, IV: viii, 33; Tibullus, II: i, 3 (vine); cf. Milton's "ivy-crowned Bacchus"; Pliny, *N. H.*, xvi: 9; coin of Cydonia, fig. 189, Bury, *op. cit.*

DEA ROMA: represented as crowned by *πύρρος* on coins of the Italian Locrians of the year 204 B.C., vid. Eckhel, *Doctr. Num.*, I:176 and *CIL*. X:16, Baumeister, nos. 1126 and 1599. Represented as crowned by the genius populi Romani on coins of the time of Sulla, vid. Babelon, *Monn. Consul.*, I: 401 ff. In the sculptural representation of Venus et Roma the latter except for being seated was conceived on the model of Athena Parthenos of Phidias, Victory on hand, holy serpent under shield, vid. Wissowa, *Rel. u. Kultus d. Römer*, p. 282. Such personification is not unknown even in modern times, e.g., Strassburg and the seven other French deities represented by statues in the Place de la Concorde. Also Frederick Palmer, writing in *Everybody's Mag.* xxxi: 475 (Oct. 1914), "The statue of the city of Liège bore around its neck the great bronze cross of the Legion of Honor which France had conferred on the valorous city."

ZEUS (JUPPITER) wild olive or oak, sometimes olive? or laurel: Represented in Paus., V:11, 1 as wearing crown of olive worked in gold (statue by Phidias). In the same temple at Olympia Nero dedicated to Zeus three crowns of wild olive and one of oak, Paus., V:12, 8. It is a well-known fact that when the Roman emperors impersonated Zeus they wore crowns of oak, e.g., Tiberius, Hekler, p. 177; Claudius, *ibid.*, 180; Caligula, *ibid.*, 182b; Nerva, *ibid.*, 230. Bury in his *History of Greece* explains a number of coins (fig. 134, 152, 175) as representing "Zeus Laureate." But can we be sure that in each of these the wreath was not intended to be of wild olive, as at the Olympic festival?

APOLLO: See Bury, *op. cit.*, fig. 126, 131, 133, 142, 146, 169.

THE POET'S CROWN

When the wearing of crowns ceased to be the exclusive prerogative of the gods, they came to be worn also by the priests or even votaries of the god. Poets are here to be classed as priests, and when they were crowned, it was with the leafage sacred to the god who presided over the kind of poetry in which they individually showed their inspiration. The poet's crown

* Vid. Paley's note *ad loc.* Strangely enough in the Loeb translation Evelyn-White translates *δαφνῆς* "olive"!

I: xv, 37:

sustineamque coma metuentem frigora myrtum,
atque a sollicito multus amante legar.

Ars, II: 733:

finis adest operi; palmam date, grata iuventus;
sertaque odoratae myrtea ferte comae.

Strictly neither the olive nor the oak would be used for poets' wreaths for neither Athena nor Zeus presided over departments of literature in any such way as did Apollo or Dionysus or Aphrodite. However, olive crowns worked in gold were among the prizes in the ἀγῶν μουσικός at the Panathenaea, cf. Mommsen, *op. cit.* p. 65, 2). Vergil in *Georg.*, III:21:

Ipse caput tonsae foliis ornatus olivae
dona feram,

hardly wears the olive as poet. However, in the Alban festival instituted by Domitian in honor of Minerva the crown was one of olive; and in the Capitoline festival instituted by the same emperor in honor of Juppiter it was of oak. These, however, seem to be exceptional. Vid. Suet., *Dom.* 4:4; Martial, IV:1, 5 ff.; IX:23, 1 ff.; IX:24, 5 ff.; IX:35, 9 ff.; Statius, *Silv.*, III: 5, 28 ff.; IV:2, 65 ff.; IV:5, 22 ff.; V:3, 227 ff.

It may in this connection be pointed out that in the institution of the poet laureate in England laureation seems to go back to the crowning of Petrarch and to the latter's mistaken notion that Statius had been crowned with the *laurel*; vid. Edmund Kemper Broadus, *The "Crowning" of Statius*, in the *Nation*, vol. 101 (July 22, 1915), p. 117.

THE ETERNAL CITY

MODERN PHASE

GRANT SHOWERMAN

At dawn on the morning of May 6th, 1527, the forty thousand German, Spanish, and Italian soldiers of the Constable of Bourbon stormed the walls of the Leonine City, bearing with them their mortally wounded and already dying leader. Pope Clement took refuge in the Castel Sant' Angelo. By nightfall the feeble resistance offered by the Romans in the Trastevere and at the Ponte Sisto had been overcome; the Germans were in the Campo dei Fiori, the Spaniards in the Piazza Navona, the Italians near the bridge, and all Rome was at the mercy of an army composed of adventurers the only possible safeguard against whose rapacity and brutality had been removed by the death of their commander. By midnight, the weak-hearted defenders of the degenerate city not having dared to molest them, they realized that Rome was theirs to be treated according to the practices of war.

Then began the horrors of a sack worse than the sacks of Goth and Vandal. Before dawn the city was lurid with the smoke and flame of burning houses and resonant with the shrieks of wounded men and violated women. When Clement looked from Sant' Angelo at break of day, it was upon a waste of blackened ruins.

For eight days no form of suffering such as is wont at the worst to befall cities taken by storm failed to be visited on the wretched population. The city was pillaged from attic to cellar; the search was continued even in the sewers, suspected of being the depository of treasure. Every visible object of value was seized, every citizen taken was held for ransom. Neither high nor low escaped. Many paid for their freedom only to be retaken and compelled a second time to purchase liberty. Torture of every description was applied. Thousands fled, thousands were slain, and corpses filled the streets.

And yet the passion of avarice was not the most terrible. Noble ladies, nuns, and little girls fell a prey to the fierceness of a soldiery knowing no mercy. Churches were profaned in the most revolting manner. The whole city was a turmoil of rapine, pillage, drunkenness, debauchery, lewdness, murder, sacrilege, and disease, and its population despoiled of every earthly possession. The actual pillage brought to an end from exhaustion of plunder, pestilence added terrors of its own. For the month before Clement's surrender, for the six months that followed before his flight northward in December, and for the ten months of the papal absence, disease, death, and despair hovered over the city; if violence was less employed, it was only that the incentives to its use were no longer there.

When finally, on the sixth of October, 1528, seventeen months after the terrible experience, the Pope could return, four fifths of the city of Rome were empty. Pestilence, famine, and the hand of the enemy had caused the death of a score and a half of thousands of persons, and hardly fewer had disappeared by flight. The eighty-five thousand of the city of Leo the Tenth had been reduced to thirty-two. Hospitals were crowded with the wounded and the sick, and beggars filled the streets; rubbish and the ruins of thousands of burned buildings choked the thoroughfares. The deluge of rain which descended upon the scant papal party was hardly more violent than the torrent of tears which poured from the eyes of the unfortunate Clement as he made his sorrowful progress through the city to throw himself in anguish and despair before the desecrated altar of Saint Peter's.

But the fugitive population began in time to come back, and the Eternal City rose once more from its ashes. If its sufferings had been greater than in the times of Alaric and Genseric, its recovery also was more rapid. It entered upon no second long process of decay and decline. The very next papal administration saw the continuation of the work on Saint Peter's and the Vatican, the appointment of Michael Angelo as chief architect, painter, and sculptor, the strengthening of the city's defenses, the further excavation of ancient remains, the erection of the Palazzo Farnese, the construction of the staircase of the Palazzo del Senatore on the Capitoline,

and the removal of the statue of Marcus Aurelius to its present position.

The reigns of the popes of the second half of the century also were marked by the addition of many structures which lend character to the modern city. From the time of Julius III date the Villa di Papa Giulio and the church of Sant' Andrea. Paul IV left little more than the gate of Sant' Angelo as his contribution to the architecture of the city. Pius IV employed Michael Angelo to plan the Porta Pia and to convert part of Diocletian's baths into the church of Santa Maria degli Angeli. Under Pius V, the church of the Gesù began to rise. Gregory XIII was more active than his predecessor, but in Sixtus V arose the greatest builder of the century. The Aqua Felice, the Lateran Palace, the portico of the Scala Santa, the erection of the obelisks before the Lateran and Saint Peter's, in the Piazza del Popolo, and in the Piazza dell' Esquilino, the repairing of the columns of Marcus Aurelius and Trajan and the erection of the statues of the Apostles upon them, the residence portion and the library wing of the Vatican—these are some of the results of his zeal. By the end of the hundred years succeeding the visit of the hostile army, the population had not only risen to its former size, but had increased to over one hundred thousand.

More had been lost from the city, however, than mere population and buildings. The sack of 1527 marked an epoch in the history of Roman and Italian culture. The brightness of the Renaissance was indeed darkened throughout the length and breadth of Italy by the clouds of war which swept over the peninsula; but at Rome, where the storm burst with greatest fury, its light was for the time extinguished utterly, and never did it regain its former brilliance. The revels of the court of Leo were ended; their actors, insofar as they were connected with art, learning, and manners, were dispersed, together with many of the incomparable treasures with which they had enriched the city, to the four corners of the world; and the bright-hued life of culture and display which had filled its gorgeous palaces, and even its solemn temples, like an insubstantial pageant faded, left scarce a rack behind.

The travail of the city was not all in vain. Once more had Rome lost her life to save it. As in the latter days of the Empire

she had gradually yielded up her life to communicate to the barbarian world the life of civilization, now again she perished and gave to the world of modern times her art and learning. Scattered over the face of Europe, her sons carried with them the fame and culture of the city and peninsula, and gave an impulse to culture in every clime.

It was a different Rome whose streets Clement trod after the return from Viterbo. The spirit of Leo the Tenth had forever departed from it. The city of pagan brightness and festivity was succeeded by the city of Loyola and the Jesuits, the Inquisition, and the Index Expurgatorius. The Reformation without the Church was accompanied by a reformation within. Coming as it did at the heyday of licence at Rome, the humiliation and prostration of the papacy was so complete and so timely as to seem a manifestation of divine wrath. The life of the court now no longer blazed with scandal. Orthodoxy and conduct came suddenly into their rights. Before a half century had passed, the world was surprised at the spectacle of a pope not only refusing to favor his relatives, but even forestalling criticism by their disgrace. Hardly less novel was the combination once more, in the person of Pius V, of pope and ascetic, with an austerity of conduct one day to be rewarded with canonization.

Through the long period from the Renaissance to the readjustments of the latter half of the nineteenth century, comparative soberness and quiet were the lot of the ancient city. Something of the severe spirit of mediaevalism, though without the worst features of its life, had fallen again upon her. Feudalism no longer made the streets of the city and the ways of the Campagna unsafe, though brigandage was long in dying out; in the quarrels of the great families, open violence, at least, was a thing of the past. The authority of the Church over the territory to which it had laid claim since the time of Pepin seemed fully established, and the ecclesiastical state enjoyed more of the peace and order of organized government than had hitherto been its fortune. The temporal government of the popes had never been left so much to itself; however influential in the councils of Europe's rulers, it had never taken so little visible part in their activities. Both the virtues and the

vices of the Church at Rome were less loudly heralded to the world. Its abuses were of peace rather than war, of administration rather than of personal conduct, of provincial import rather than national, and were only on occasion the subject of comment on the part of the outside world.

One such comment from without, that of Charles de Brosses, written in 1740 after a visit to Rome, may be taken as indicative of the nature, even if exaggerative of the animus and extent, of the abuses that characterized the papal administration: "The government is as bad as it is possible to conceive. You feel that here is realized the antithesis of the Utopias that Machiavelli and More delighted to construct. Imagine, if you can, a population in which one fourth is composed of priests, one fourth of statues, another fourth of idlers, and a state where neither agriculture, commerce, nor mechanics exist, in spite of its people living in the midst of a fertile province, on the banks of a navigable river; where the ruler, always aged, with few more years to live, is, as often as not, absolutely incapable of independent action and is surrounded by relatives whose one idea is to 'make hay while the sun shines,' and where, at each change in the pontificate, fresh thieves appear on the scene to supplant those who are sated with plunder, for here anyone may become a scourge to society, provided he be backed up by influential friends, or within reach of an asylum."

But whatever the remissness of individual popes in the government of territory subject to them, the stability of the papal state was maintained by the influence of the powers of Europe, while its rule was less productive of domestic disorder because of the spirit of reformation which had purged the court of its worse vices. The popes of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, whatever their limitations, were of benevolent intention.

With the opening of the nineteenth century, the spirit of mutation which was affecting all Europe touched Rome also, and the Eternal City once more emerged from her provincial life and entered the arena of world politics. The events of the first seventy years of the century are familiar matter—the erection of the Kingdom of Italy in 1805 by Napoleon, and the consequent awakening of the spirit of Italian unity; the Emperor's

declaration of the end of papal temporal power in 1809; the return of Pius VII from captivity in 1814; the reinstatement of the Jesuits and the Inquisition after forty years of suspension; the reaction, the readjustment of Italy, and the tyranny of Austria; the unheeded Memorandum of the five Powers in 1831, insisting on reforms in the papal state; the rise of Piedmont and its struggles against Austria; the determined opposition to liberalism by Pius VII, Leo XII, Pius VIII, and Gregory XVI; the lifting of hearts on the accession of Pius IX in 1846; the first lay ministry at Rome in 1848; the Statute of Charles Albert; the blaze of enthusiasm in the March uprising, when for the first time in all the centuries Italy stood united in a single purpose; the disheartening defeat at the hands of Austria; the accession of Victor Emmanuel; the Roman Republic of 1849, and the flight of the Pope; his reinstatement by Oudinot and the French army the same year, followed by the seventeen years' occupation; the rise of Cavour; the war of 1859, and the cession of Lombardy; Garibaldi and the Thousand; the war of 1866, and the cession of Venetia; the irresistible growth of sentiment in favor of Rome as the capital of the kingdom, culminating in the breach of Porta Pia on the twentieth of September, 1870, and the abolition of the temporal power; the Italian Parliament at Florence on December 5; the entry of Victor Emmanuel into Rome on the second of July, 1871, his occupation of the Quirinal palace, and his utterance of the memorable words: "We are at Rome, and here we remain."

In the interval between the sack of 1527 and the abolition of the temporal sovereignty of the pope in 1870, nearly every trace of the Rome of the Dark Ages had disappeared in the process of building the new Rome. The circuit of the actually inhabited part of the city had gradually widened until many a deserted field and garden had been covered, and the still vast emptiness of the great area of Aurelian's city had been partially filled.

The building and populating of the city, however, was a slow process. With a great part of their wonted revenues cut off by the Reformation and the loss of allegiance in England and Germany, pontiffs could no longer plan and execute the magnificent schemes of the earlier days, though the imposing colonnade

of Saint Peter's, the founding of the Museo Pio-Clementino, the attempts to drain the Pomptine Marshes, the embellishment of the fountains of Trevi and Piazza Navona, with other like undertakings, bear eloquent witness to their ambitions.

But growth was nevertheless steady. A century after the sack, the population had risen to over one hundred thousand. At the end of the eighteenth century, it had reached one hundred and fifty thousand. Reduced to one hundred and seventeen thousand during the Napoleonic troubles, it soon increased again, and entered upon a still more rapid growth. In 1870 Rome contained over two hundred and twenty-five thousand inhabitants.

It was in the period after 1870, however, that the most marvellous increase took place. To the army of clericals connected with the old papal régime was now added the larger army of *impiegati* in the service of the Italian Government, and in the wake of peace and railway construction came transient multitudes of tourists and pilgrims, with all the permanent population necessary for their maintenance. Vast building enterprises were inaugurated to supply the needs of the inflowing numbers, and great changes of topography occurred. Large areas in Monti and the northern *Rioni*, and in the field of Nero, were built over; regular streets, broad and well paved, took the places of the country paths and lanes of the Renaissance, and many a beautiful private garden and orchard gave way to blocks of monotonous modern buildings. The picturesque gardens of Sallust, with their groves and charming irregularities, were levelled and transformed into squares of plain houses. The broad Via Nazionale, now almost the heart of the city, was the result of a similar transformation; and groups of suburban dwellings and tenements represent a like activity in the hitherto quiet fields outside Aurelian's great wall. Over the north and northeastern portions, and in the more adaptable suburban areas, has been reared the new Rome, with a population which has increased from the two hundred and fifty thousand of 1870 to the five or six hundred thousand of the first decades of the twentieth century.

The changes apparent in twentieth century Rome, however, are not merely those of numbers and area. The change in the

character of the city's life has been no less pronounced. The present Rome of half a million differs from the papal Rome of fifty years ago hardly less than the city of that period differed from the Rome of the Renaissance.

How great has been the transformation can be appreciated only by those who have seen the city in both these recent phases. Rome has suddenly become a great modern city—modern in spirit as well as in appearance. The location there of the Government, and the advent of the railway, have changed it from a provincial into a cosmopolitan city. Instead of leisurely approaching Rome in a coach or diligence from Civit  Vecchia, the visitor of today is whirled into a modern station filled with the smoke of monster locomotives. The rattle of carriages over the streets has been largely replaced by the clang of the electric car. A half dozen daily newspapers are cried in the streets, and modern methods of advertising are everywhere. Disorder has disappeared from the city and its environs, and the brigands that of old haunted the papal territory have taken their place in legend. Rome is among the cleanest and best kept of cities, with a death rate as low as that of any modern capital.

Welcome as have been many of the changes, however, they have been accompanied by less desirable transformations. To those who were familiar with the Rome of the old papal day, the sense of gain lacks little of being neutralized by a sense of loss, for together with modern improvement has come the disappearance of much that was picturesque. The secluded, almost monastic life of the old city of the popes, with its flavor of mediaevalism, has made way for the matter-of-fact uniformity of the modern capital city. Gay coaches no longer parade the streets with their burden of pope and cardinal; only within the precincts of the Vatican may still be seen, if seen at all, the gorgeous relics of the old-time splendor. In place of the papal troops now march the soldiers of the Italian army. The tourist comes rushing in by train, encompassed by crowds of other tourists. Instead of leisurely dreaming in romantic solitude among ivy-covered ruins, like his predecessor of three score years ago, he hurriedly sees the sights of the city and dashes on. The native costumes of street and Campagna have become things of the past, to be seen only on models in the artists' quarter.

The Carnival is the mere ghost of its old self. The Ghetto has disappeared. Not even the picturesqueness of dirt and neglect has escaped sacrifice to the spirit of modern cleanliness. Not only has color faded from the street, but has grown less vivid in the countenances of the people. The machine of modern life runs at full speed. Everywhere is the *fumum et opes strepitumque Romae* so much disliked by the genial poet of antiquity. The twentieth century spirit of method has extended even to the care of the ancient remains, and the Rome of fifty years ago, with grassy ruins clad in trailing clouds of ivy and shrubbery, has changed to a Rome of monuments in the crannies of whose naked walls not a blade is allowed to have root.

Those who remember the old régime, however, are few, and rapidly becoming fewer. Newer generations, with no sense of the metamorphosis which has taken place, feel no regret, and are as much under the spell of the city as have been all other generations. The student, his understanding illumined by the vision of so much in her streets, museums, and libraries which concerns the past of all nations; the traveller, dazed by the wealth of historic association of which he obtains but a superficial glimpse; the pilgrim, awed and inspired by the magnificence and the antiquity of the religion he loves—all depart with veneration and regret, and if a kindly fortune grants them the longed-for return, it is with a great wave of affection sweeping over the soul that they are borne past grey Soracte into the brown reaches of the Campagna and see once more the great Dome swing into sight. Venice they may remember for moonlit lagoons, lapping waters, and *dolce far niente*, Florence for geniality and for her warm hues of the Renaissance, Naples for picturesqueness and gaiety; but the feeling for Rome which sways their hearts is different. It is not her beauty which wins them, though she is beautiful; nor her peace and quiet, though she sets the spirit free in a peace which passeth understanding; nor the fascination of her art, though in that she is not lacking. The charm which Rome exercises upon the senses is indeed great; but it is not first of all the senses that she takes captive. Rome's dominion is of the spirit. She is ever the "city of the soul." There resides in her atmosphere a subtle

and indefinable spiritual quality that gives her a sovereignty over the hearts of men unlike that of any other city in the world.

For of all places in the world Rome is the most universal in the appeal to human interest. She is still the capital of the most widespread empire in existence. In her streets are daily to be met the pilgrim subjects of that empire, from every clime and of every color. In her churches may be witnessed services according to the rites of nations most widely separate in location and in character. She is the goal of profane pilgrimage as well. The languages of the world are spoken within her walls. She is as truly as ever the Inn of the Universe.

But Rome is not cosmopolitan merely in the ordinary sense. Modern culture is not all she represents. She stands as well for all the past. She represents the sum of human experience in the western world. From the beginning of history in Italy to the present day, she has passed through and participated in all the vicissitudes of ancient and modern times. Rising as older civilizations fell, Roman civilization continued and perpetuated what was best in them. Gradually expanding until her realm included all Latium, all Italy, all that was possible in those times of Europe, Africa, and Asia, besides the islands of the sea—all the known world—Rome came to include within her borders all the life of westward-marching civilization. Whatever had evolved from the experience of mankind in the most diverse and widely distant climes—from the experience of the Egyptian, the Asiatic, the Greek, the Carthaginian, the barbarian of Europe—passed into the keeping of the city which ruled them from the banks of the Tiber. She was the heir of all the ages. The words of the eloquent historian of the Holy Roman Empire may be used of the City as well as of the Empire: "Into her all the life of the ancient world was gathered."

And she not only became possessed of what the world could give; she set her seal upon it. Her genius for what was practical led her to select from the mass of material that became hers all that could be of use in the constitution of the new civilization. The art, literature, science, philosophy, inventions, and institutions of her subject states she took to herself, stamped

them with the seal of practical value, conserved them, and sent them forth for the healing of the nations of modern times.

For Rome was not only the conserver of what was worth while in ancient days, but the dispenser of what has entered into modern life. She gathered together the precious metal of ancient civilization, fused and coined it anew, and put it once more into circulation. She was the lens which received, condensed, and transmitted the rays of human experience. She was the bridge to which all the ways of the old pagan times converged, and from which diverged all the ways of Christian times. She was the channel into which the streams of ancient civilization flowed together to mingle their waters before being swept on to divide and subdivide into the currents of modern civilization. The legacy of preceding ages, administered and increased by her, became the inheritance of ages succeeding. "Out of her all the life of the modern world arose." Whatever is held dear in the culture of our own day—in art, literature, learning, in legal or religious institutions—is traceable first to Italy of the Renaissance, and then to ancient Rome, where it was born or adapted to the needs of practical experience. The generations of today are still subjects of the Roman Empire. Her line has gone out through all the earth, and her words to the end of the world—to Africa, to Gaul, to Spain, to northern and eastern Europe, to the British Isles, to America, to Japan and the Philippines, to Asia. Romanized Hellenism has all but girdled the earth.

And not only has Rome been the channel through which has flowed the current of occidental civilization, but she has never lost her hold upon the life of the world. Memphis and Thebes, Babylon and Nineveh, representing great civilizations, perished before Rome had come to her heritage, and have lain dead through all the ages under an ever-increasing mantle of dust. Athens disappeared for centuries from the world's visible activities, a hamlet of Turkish hovels. But Rome has been unlike all these. It was not idle fancy, but prophetic intuition, that gave her the name of *VRBS AETERNA*: THE ETERNAL CITY. Repeatedly conquered and put to the sack, phoenix-like, she has ever risen again, and resumed her part in the affairs of men. She has never ceased to be

dwelt in, has never ceased to be intimately connected with the world's life. She has always been a capital. With few of the physical, commercial, or strategic advantages of great cities, she became the military and political capital of the ancient world; when that supremacy had passed, she became the spiritual capital of the mediaeval and modern world; and when Italy had finally freed herself from the bonds of the foreigner and was ready to become for the first time in history a national unit, it was Rome, despite the opposition of the papal world, despite the superior material claims of other great cities of Italy, for which the citizens of the peninsula and the onlookers of the whole world clamored as the capital of the new state.

Thus it is that the Eternal City is the one place in the world where the student may be stimulated to pass in review the whole course of western history. Nor is it the stimulation of a mere abstraction. The "lone mother of dead empires" has preserved more than merely site and name in common with the city of the past. Of all the long ages through which she has played her prominent part—from the Palatine settlement to the present day—there is no period of which she does not present some visible sign in the monuments within her walls. Of all the various lands whose culture she utilized in the fabric of her own civilization, of all the widely separated climes upon whose life she has reacted—from Egypt and Greece to the states of modern Europe—there is none of which she does not afford concrete representation somewhere in her streets, museums, galleries, and libraries. The study of the life and monuments of Rome is a study of human culture and its sources, and their appreciation means the appreciation of Caucasian history. Rome is the epitome of western civilization.

And of all the periods into whose life the imagination of the beholder is stimulated to enter, the most absorbing and the most fascinating is that of antiquity. Rome of the Renaissance is indeed bodied forth by its architecture, but the life of the period is nevertheless for the most part hidden away in palace and gallery. Rome of the Dark Ages exists only in ruined towers, in the older churches, and in musty papal documents which never see the light. The Rome of the Empire, however, is everywhere visible. Great areas in the southern part of

the city—the Forum, the Palatine, the Aventine, the Caelian—are only the regions of antiquity, still vacant of the life of which the Dark Ages despoiled them, and containing little save the ruins of their times. The wide fields of Monti themselves are not yet entirely covered by the modern city; and in the newest and most recent districts, where at first sight nothing seems visible older than the present régime, a stroll however short will bring one upon the ruins of two thousand years ago.

Not even the casual visitor escapes the spell of the ancient city. Confused and overwhelmed though he may be by the multitude of monuments which call up in his mind only dim and shadowy imaginations of the past, he departs none the less filled with a reverent sense of the age and authority of the city and her institutions. But the student enters into communion with ancient Rome and lives her life. His mind dwells ever in the past. Daily his eye is met by a thousand things reminding him of antiquity.

It may be a few blocks of the Servian wall which confront him, imbedded in modern masonry in the midst of structures of the past two score years, or ivy-covered in some garden; or an Imperial arch in the midst of habitations on the Esquiline; or a remnant of the Republic as he threads a narrow thoroughfare; or a battered column, standing deep in the ground beside a street wall; or in some alley the arch of a portico, buried almost to its spring. Or he may attend a service in the Pantheon, and look up through the apex of the dome into the same sky whose scintillating golden-blue depths met the worshipper's gaze in Agrippa's or Hadrian's time, or sit in patient study of the wreck of the Forum, or walk in contemplative mood apart from men some sunlit morning among the more picturesque ruins of the Palatine, finally losing all consciousness of self and the present as he sits in voiceless solitude upon what is left of the palace of Severus and lets his vision sweep across the reposeful fields of the Campagna to the slopes and summit of the Alban Mount. Or it may be the sight of still yellow Father Tiber that provokes the inner eye until he is in mystic communion with the far-off time; or of white little Tivoli, supine on its hillside; or of cool Praeneste far away in the gap toward the Volscian coun-

try; or of Monte Cavo, dark with the Alban herbage of spring-time; or of Soracte, white-shining with the deep snows of winter.

But it is not only the actual material and literary remains of antiquity which cause him to dream dreams and see visions. The life of modern Rome itself is full of traditions, some more superficial, some less, which illuminate the life of the ancient day. The winecarts of the Alban vineyards still make their way to and from the city. Flocks and herds still roam the grassy pastures, and the simple folk of the Latian hamlet still make of seedtime, harvest, or vintage, as in the olden time, a festal season. The same beautiful white cattle, wide-eyed, black-muzzled, grey-flanked, with long and sweeping horns, draw the plough and the wagon of the Campagna, as perfect an offering to the gods as when in the time of Horace and Propertius they stood waiting at the altar, garlanded with flowers and holy with sacrificial fillet. The high priest of the Church of Rome still calls himself Pontifex Maximus. The Vestal is perpetuated in the nun. In place of the thousands of shrines to pagan deities which stood in the ancient streets are wayside shrines innumerable to Madonna and Saints. The spirit of ancient ceremonial, with many of its details, survives in the beautiful ritual of the modern Church, many of whose temples are the one-time abodes of the dispossessed gods of ancient times. Pulcinella and the Dottore are the lineal descendants of the ancient farce. The SPQR of the Republic still greets the eye on official notices, and the *Regio* survives in the *Rione*. The modern house, like the ancient, is rectangular and centers about the court, its life looking rather within than without. Its corridors are often lighted by bronze or terra cotta lamps in the ancient style, filled with oil the same as that used by the remotest ancestors of the present generation. On the table of the Roman of today is the same clear, cold, mountain water that his ancestors drank, brought in from the same sources, over the same routes, and sometimes in the identical channels employed by the Roman of Frontinus' time. His heart is made strong and glad by bread and wine from the same fields and vineyards which his citizen-soldier forefathers cultivated, and his face made to shine by oil from the same olive slopes. The very language he

speaks, the best beloved and most beautiful child of the ancient tongue—*matre pulchra filia pulchrior*—has hardly ceased to be Latin.

Nor is the character of the modern Roman without many a reminiscence of that of the Roman of long ago. It is true that in the invasions which have continued through twenty centuries of contact with the nations of the earth—invasions both of peace and of war—the blood of the ancient stock has been mingled with many a foreign element, and that the old-time types of the Republic had begun to disappear from the capital long before modern history began, and must be sought now, if anywhere, in the seclusion of the mountain hamlets of Latium and the Sabines; yet it is true also that the Roman of today displays not a few of the traits of his ancient sires. The same spirit of democracy animates him, not only in political relations, but in conditions of daily life. With all their poverty, the cities of Italy, and especially Rome, contain no separate areas so totally given over to pauperism and crime as to merit the name of slums. A single block, or a single building, may shelter all classes of society, from princely blood in *piano nobile* to *basso popolo* in the cellar. Their social life by necessity separate, there is nevertheless between them more than the ordinary bond of sympathy. On the occasion of popular gatherings upper and lower classes mingle together in the crowd, elbow to elbow, the former unpretentious, the latter unconscious, and both good-natured and affable. What the spirit of Italian democracy is may best be realized by one who enters the peninsula after a sojourn in one of the more despotic countries of the north. Underlying the formation of political parties, the advocacy and debate of political measures, the whole administration of the public service, and especially the waging of war, is felt the spirit of the people—the same spirit that is visible in the pages of Livy and Cicero, and has run like a thread through all Roman history. Due to it now, as they were then, are both the best and the worst aspects of political and social life in Italy.

The same lively temperament, too, which characterized the Romans of Livy's pictured page, the same vivacity of emotion, whether of anger, mirth, grief, or compassion, is to be seen in

their modern descendants in city and country. The Camera dei Diputati, with its tumultuous displays of excitability, makes the passionate popular assemblies of Cicero, Clodius, and the Gracchi live again. The same tendency to sudden passion and unpremeditated violence, to almost instant pacification and reconciliation, to extremes of hopefulness and despair, is still to be seen, in both individual and assembly. But the same ever varying and mutable nature is also tempered by the same profound gravity that was at the root of Roman character in its sternest days, and that gave Virgil's lay its charm of sober and stately dignity. Not to be described or analyzed, it may nevertheless be appreciated by one who sojourns for a time in Naples, and comes from that gay and explosive community to the comparatively monumental calm and repose of the Roman atmosphere. Underneath all the apparent lightness and instability of the Italian character—and the Rome of today depends upon the whole peninsula for life and character, as did the Rome of antiquity—there lies a certain austerity, the quality which lay at the foundation of the heroism of the Punic wars, which inspired the martyrdoms of the Church, and which was still present in the nineteenth century to make possible the freeing of Italy. The dignity of the Italian Senate, with its grave and distinguished membership, goes far toward recalling the time when the Roman Senate was called an assembly of kings. The need of the nation in the great crises of modern times has not failed to find response in deeds of valor and consecration worthy of record beside those of Regulus and the Decii.

The old-time simplicity and frugality also survive among the masses of the people, even in the changing life of cities. The modern Roman loves as well as did Horace the unbought enjoyments of life—the genial pleasures of the holiday, the sunny gardens of the Pincio or the Janiculum, the open-air concert in park or piazza, the little excursion outside the gates, the simple repast under the dense arbor of some unpretentious *osteria*. Wine is as much a part of his diet as bread, but drunkenness a vice he almost never indulges. The ancient delight in the spectacle is as strong as ever in him. A parade, a great funeral, is still the occasion of as much climbing up to towers,

windows, and chimney-tops to sit in patient expectation as when great Pompey passed the streets of Rome. Roman passion for the drama is as great as in ancient times, and equalled only by the genius of Italy's sons for its presentation. The statement of Mommsen that "an acute sense of the outward and the comic, and a delight in gesticulation and masquerade have ever been the leading traits of Italian character," and that "in rhetoric and histrionic art especially no other nation equalled or equals the Italians," meets with ready assent from those familiar with the life of the Roman street.

The flame of Rome's destiny burns serenely and clear. The greatness of her past has made her future forever sure. That she will ever again possess the supreme political and military importance once hers can hardly be conceived. With the conquest, amalgamation, and civilization of the world, and with her preservation of its cultural unity during the Dark centuries through her Church, she fulfilled her mission in that field. In the world of the arts and learning, too, it may be that she has performed the task assigned to her by Providence in the encouragement, conservation, and dissemination, through the same instrumentality, of the intellectual and aesthetic achievements of Greek, Roman, and Renaissance civilization. Of her mission in the religious realm, it may here be said only that she will continue long to be the capital of the great masses of Christendom.

But whatever her political, intellectual, or ecclesiastical part in the affairs of the future, Rome will never lose her importance in the history of civilization. In the domain of the spirit she will indeed be the Eternal City. So long as the civilization of Italy, Europe, and the Western world shall endure, she will continue to be the one point on the surface of the earth where the Aryan may best pause to contemplate the ages of experience through which his race has passed, and best meditate upon the frailty of human nature, the mutability of fortune, the woe and yet the nearness of antiquity, the continuity of history, and the Divine purpose in the affairs of men.

BRITAIN IN ROMAN LITERATURE

FROM JULIUS CAESAR TO HADRIAN

KATHARINE ALLEN

The most clearly defined stages in the Roman conquest and occupation of Britain, down to the end of the reign of Hadrian, may be summarily indicated as follows:

1. The expeditions of Julius Caesar in the years 55 and 54 B.C.

2. The purpose of Augustus, real or imagined, to complete the work begun by Caesar, and the abandonment of this purpose after his progress through Gaul and Spain, 27-25 B.C.

3. The expedition of the Emperor Claudius and his general Aulus Plautius in 43 A.D., which, with the later campaigns of Plautius down to 47 A.D., resulted in the partial conquest of the southern part of the island and its erection into a province.

4. The gradual extension of Roman control westward and northward, under nine successive governors, through a period of thirty-one years, until it probably embraced most of England up to a line considerably north of York and Chester, including at the extreme north the powerful tribe of the Brigantes.

5. The campaigns of Agricola from 78 to 85 A.D. in the reign of Domitian, which carried the Roman arms northward into the forests of Caledonia beyond the Forth and Clyde, and the Roman vision to the remote island of Thule.

6. A period of thirty-five years between the activities of Agricola and Hadrian, of which almost nothing is really known.

7. The British expedition of Hadrian, 121 A.D., of which the most conspicuous achievement was the construction across the island from the mouth of the Tyne to the Solway of at least part of the formidable barrier which bears his name today.

The chief contemporary source of information for the first of these periods is of course the *Bellum Gallicum* of Caesar (4, 22-36; 5, 1-22). Portions of the *Agricola*, the *Histories*, and the *Annals* of Tacitus deal with events of the later periods which fell within the lifetime of the author. Descriptions of Britain and

its peoples, along with the narrative of its conquest, are found in these works, and also in the *History* of Diodorus Siculus, contemporary with Caesar, the geographical works of Strabo in the Augustan age and Pomponius Mela in the time of Caligula and Claudius, and in the encyclopedic *Naturalis Historia* of the elder Pliny, dating from the early years of the Flavian period.

At the same time, in literature both prose and poetry whose purpose stands in no relation to the dissemination of historical, geographical or ethnographical information, Britain frequently appears, introduced incidentally, under various aspects, now for one purpose and now for another. It is the aim of this paper to note, so far as may be, the way in which the progress of Rome in the exploration and domination of this distant region is reflected in the incidental allusions of general literature, contemporaneous with the successive stages of this progress.

For Roman Britain, alluring to the imagination as the most northerly and westerly of the possessions of Imperial Rome, and to the historic sense as forerunner if not forebear of our own ancestral Saxon and Norman Britain, is even in the best-known periods of its existence the "dim land of doubts and shadows" which Professor Haverfield¹ has pictured in the last paragraph of his volume on Roman Britain, and the glimpses given by mere chance allusions thus acquire an interest more than commensurate with either the amount or the apparent importance of their content.

Caesar, Tacitus tells us (*Agr.* 13), "showed Britain to posterity." But it seems probable that not Caesar but Lucretius first introduced Britain into Roman literature, in the lines (6, 1106) where, discussing the origin of diseases, he typifies the extreme north and south by Britain and Egypt respectively:

Nam quid Britanni caelum differre putamus,
Et quod in Aegypto est, qua mundi claudicat axis?

The first indications, however, of an interest in the relation of Rome to Britain appear in writings of Catullus and Cicero. Catullus in his eleventh poem alludes definitely to Caesar's activities in Britain,

¹ *The Romanisation of Roman Britain*, second edition.

Sive trans altis gradietur Alpes
 Caesaris visens monimenta magni
 Gallicum Rhenum, horribile aequor, ultimi-
 mosque Britannos,

introducing in the last verse, *ultimosque Britannos*, a motif echoed in the *ultima Occidentis insula* of his twenty-ninth poem (vss. 4 and 12), and recurring again and again in the literature of all the years that follow. The remoteness of Britain from Rome was obvious enough, but the Roman writers never cease to harp upon it.²

Catullus, however, introduces another motif which dies away in his own age, almost indeed in his own lifetime, when he proclaims his faith in the wealth that Britain has in store for her masters by comparing her in this respect (45, 21) with the Orient,³

Unam Septimius misellus Acmen
 Mavolt quam Syrias Britanniasque,

and regrets (29, 4) that this wealth is likely to be the reward of the worthless Mamurra:

Quis hoc potest videre, quis potest pati,

 Mamurram habere quod comata Gallia
 Habebat ante et ultima Britannia?

Catullus perhaps did not live to see this vision of a British Eldorado wholly fade. But Cicero, in a letter (*Fam.* 7, 7) written early in 54 B.C. (the second, probably, in which he makes any mention of Britain), remarks on the rumored absence of gold and silver in the island, and advises his friend Trebatius, under these circumstances, to capture a British chariot⁴ and come home as soon as possible. Later in the same year he expresses himself still more strongly (*Att.* 4, 16, 13)⁵ as to the unremunerative character of Britain. It will furnish no booty except slaves, he says, and those not of the best: *etiam illud cognitum est, neque argenti scripulum esse ullum in illa insula, neque ullam spem praedae nisi ex Mancipiis. Ex quibus nullos puto*

² Cf. Gummere, *Am. Phil. Assn. Proc.* 1918, 39, xxix.

³ The expeditions of Caesar to Britain and Crassus to Syria were no doubt the immediate occasions of this combination.

⁴ Cf. *Fam.* 7, 6, 2.

⁵ Cf. *Att.* 4, 18, 5(17, 3); *Q. Fr.* 3, 1, 10.

te litteris aut musicis eruditos expectare. Trebatius, indeed, might have found himself at the top of the legal profession if he had actually crossed to Britain (*Fam.* 7, 10, 1)⁶ and (*Fam.* 7, 11, 2) as a British jurisconsult might furnish a striking character in one of the mimes of Laberius. But even if Britain is not likely to increase the material resources of Rome, Cicero recognizes that it may none the less add to her literary wealth, and in letters to his brother Quintus, stationed there with Caesar in 54 B.C., he expresses this idea somewhat enthusiastically: modo mihi date Britanniam, quam pingam coloribus tuis, penicillo meo (*Q. Fr.* 2, 13 (15, a), 2). Te vero ὑπέθεω scribingi egregiam habere video. Quos tu situs, quas naturas rerum et locorum, quos mores, quas gentes * * * habes! (*Q. Fr.* 2, 15 (16), 4). In a more serious vein (*Att.* 4, 15, 9; *Q. Fr.* 2, 15, (16), 4) he shows his concern for his brother's safety amid the untried dangers of land and ocean.

With the exception of *Fam.* 7, 11, written in 53 B.C., the letters in which the foregoing passages occur all date from the year 54 B.C. In another letter of the year 53 (*Fam.* 7, 14) there is a casual allusion to Britain, but after this the island is not mentioned again till 45 B.C., when in a letter to Cassius (*Fam.* 15, 16, 2), it is introduced by way of illustration into a discussion of Epicurus' theory of vision: si insulam Britanniam coepero cogitare, eius εἰδωλον mihi advolabit ad pectus? To about the same time, also, belong two references in the *de natura deorum*, one (2, 88), an allusion to the barbaric character of the inhabitants, the other (3, 24), to the tides of the ocean that washes its shores.

Augustus, in the early years of his principate, allowed the world to believe that he meant to complete the conquest of Britain begun by his adoptive father, and even before the battle of Actium, a sort of literary recruiting campaign seems to be started with a view to the sending of an expeditionary force to Britain. Horace (*Epod.* 7, 3) refers to the Briton as still unconquered:

Parumne campis atque Neptuno super
Fusum est Latini sanguinis.

⁶ Cf. *Fam.* 7, 16, 1.

Non ut superbas invidas Carthaginiis
 Romanus arces ureret,
 Intactus aut Britannus ut descenderet
 Sacra catenatus via?

Virgil, writing not far from the same time⁷ (*Georg.* 1, 29), goes a step farther, hinting at the part that Augustus is expected to play in the drama of whose first act Julius Caesar had been protagonist:

An deus immensi venias maris ac tua nautae
 Numina sola colant, tibi serviat ultima Thule
 Teque sibi generum Tethys emat omnibus undis?

In the third book of the *Georgics* (3, 24) is an allusion to a stage curtain embroidered with figures of Britons represented as lowering and raising it, which might have performed a service similar to that of the modern poster, in arousing and keeping fresh the people's interest in the "western question" of the day, while the anonymous author of the panegyric on Messala (writing conjecturally, between 31 and 27 B.C.) suggests Britain as a field for the exercise of the ambition of his hero:

Te (Messalam) manet invictus Romano Marte Britannus.

Augustus' expedition to Gaul and Spain gave new impetus to imperialistic propaganda and prophecy. Horace, in odes written probably between 27 and 25 B.C., just before or within the time of this expedition, assumes unquestioningly that Britain is the ultimate goal of the journey. *Fortuna* (*Od.* 1, 35, 29) is besought to protect the emperor in his distant venture,

Serves iturum Caesarem in ultimos
 Orbis Britannos,⁸

and his promotion to the position of a god is prophesied (*Od.* 3, 5, 3) when he shall have stretched the boundary line of the empire to include the Persians and the Britons:

Praesens divus habebitur
 Augustus adiectis Britannis
 Imperio gravibusque Persis.⁹

⁷ In *Ecl.* 1, 66, written about 41 B.C. Britain is merely introduced as representative of the extreme west, "penitus toto divisos orbe Britannos."

⁸ Cf. Hor., *Od.* 1, 21, 13.

⁹ Cf. Hor., *Od.* 3, 4, 33 ff., and Prop. 2, 27, 5, not certainly of this date, but having nothing in it to preclude it.

Augustus returned to Rome in 24 B.C., leaving Britain unmolested, and military activity ceased for the time being on the western front under the more compelling pressure of needs in other quarters. The hoped-for British expedition had not materialized, and it is interesting to note that the poets contract the span of their geographical ambitions in accordance with this fact. Virgil (*Aen.* 8, 727) fixes the western limit of the world not in Britain but in Gaul,¹⁰ when in his description of the shield of Aeneas he sets off against the Euphrates in the east a Gallic coast tribe, *Morini extremi hominum*, and Horace (*Od.* 4, 14, 47), writing probably about 14 B.C., counts among the admirers of Augustus the Ocean which dashes against the coast of distant Britain,

Beluosus qui remotis
Obstrepat Oceanus Britannis,

emphasizing thus the same boundary that the emperor himself sets to his realm in the *Monumentum Ancyranum*: *Gallias et Hispanas provincias . . . Oceanus a Gadibus ad ostium Albis fluminis.*

Even now, however, the memory of the distant island would seem to have been kept green in the minds of Romans by not infrequent allusions to the characteristics of the land itself and its peoples. Propertius (2, 1, 75) depicts Maecenas in a British chariot,¹¹ and remonstrates with Cynthia (2, 18, 23) for imitating the Britons in the use of paint or dyes for personal embellishment—alluding later to the color (*caerulus*) used by them. Ovid notes this same proclivity of the islanders (*Am.* 2, 16, 39) in the epithet *virides* applied to them. The obscure poet Grattius, writing probably within this period, mentions the hunting dogs of Britain (*Cyn.* 175), and Ovid (*Am.* 2, 16, 39) implies his view of the characteristics of the island by grouping it with Scythia and the Caucasus, and likening to these abodes of dreariness his own Sulmo in the absence of Corinna. In the last book of the *Metamorphoses* (15, 752), a work not completed at the time the poet was exiled to Tomi in 8 A.D.,

¹⁰ In *Aen.* 1, 287 the same boundary is indicated:

Caesar

Imperium Oceano, famam qui terminet astris.

¹¹ Propertius also, like other poets, set off (4, 3, 9) Britain—"Britannia picto curru," against the East—"tunsus et Eoa decolor Indus aqua."

eulogy of the first Caesar's British expedition, among others of his deeds, is cleverly exaggerated and turned to account for the benefit of Augustus—for to have conquered the Britons in their sea-girt home (remarkable as this was) is not more noteworthy than to have been the father of Augustus.

We are told by Tacitus (*Agr.* 13) that Tiberius continued Augustus' policy of disregard of Britain—*longa oblitio Britanniae etiam in pace*. Britain, however, does not disappear from literature, meagre as was the literary output of this emperor's reign. Velleius Paterculus (2, 47, 1 and 2, 46, 1) and Valerius Maximus (3, 2, 23) both make the most of it as contributory to the fame of the first great Julius, and give opportunity for the glory of the predecessor thus won to descend in the minds of the readers to following generations in the persons of Augustus, as member of that gens, and Tiberius as its reigning representative.

The ineffectiveness of Caligula, nimbly fickle in temperament, content with spoils of the Ocean gathered on its hither shore, left the British opportunity open to his successor Claudius, who won in that remote region almost the only laurels that did not fade in the gathering. "British tribesmen conquered, kings captured, and Vespasian pointed out to the Fates," is Tacitus' terse synopsis (*Agr.* 13) of Claudius' exploits, and this subjugation of kings and tribes is noted in the inscription from the arch of Claudius, now in the garden of the Barberini palace in Rome, and is implied in a brief statement of Pomponius Mela (3, 6, 49): *quippe tam diu clausam (Britanniam)¹² aperit ecce principum maximus nec indomitum modo ante se, verum ignotarum quoque gentium victor*. In the Lyons inscription these details are not noted, but emphasis is laid on the extension of the empire outside the narrow circle of Mediterranean lands, "*et iam si narrem bella, a quibus coeperint maiores nostri, et quo processerimus, vereor ne nimis insolentior videar, et quaesisse iactationem gloriae prolati imperi ultra Oceanum,*" and in eight poems in the Latin Anthology, perhaps by Seneca, this is the aspect of Claudius' expedition made most prominent—the conquest of the Ocean itself overshadowing that of petty

¹² Cf. Sen., *ad Polyb.* 13, 2.

kings and tribes. The Ocean sees the altar of Claudius set up in a land beyond its waters—the limit of the land is not the limit of the emperor's power (*Epigram* 29);—the Ocean, once the boundary of the Roman world (31) is now within its limits (33);—it has yielded to Claudius as to none before, and conquered Britain is laved by waters that belong to Rome (35);—the sun now rises and sets within the circle of the Roman realm;—the uttermost barriers of Nature have given way, man has won the freedom of the seas, and the Roman people are encircled by a Roman Ocean (34):

Cernite semotos Latia sub lege Britannos!
Sol citra nostrum flectitur imperium.
Ultima cesserunt adaperto claustra profundo
Et iam Romano cingimur Oceano.

The famous lines in Seneca's *Medea* (375 ff.) are prophetic of chapters yet to be written in the romance of distant discovery and adventure begun by Claudius,

Venient annis saecula seris,
Quibus Oceanus vincula rerum
Laxet et ingens pateat tellus
Tethysque novos detegat orbes
Nec sit terris ultima Thule,

and the Pseudo-Senecan *Octavia*, though certainly not written till after the death of Nero, is true to the attitude of its alleged author in its emphasis of the subjugation of the Ocean (26):

Modo cui totus paruit orbis
Ultra Oceanum
Cuique Britanni terga dedere,
Ducibus nostris ante ignoti
Iurisque sui.
Coniugis, heu me, pater, insidiis
Oppresse iaces,
.....
Claudi, cuius imperio fuit
Subiectus orbis, paruit liber diu
Oceanus et recepit invitus rates.
En qui Britannis primus imposuit iugum,
Ignota tantis classibus texit freta
Interque gentes barbaras tutus fuit
Et saeva maria, coniugis scelere occidit!

Seneca's *Apocolocyntosis*, too, containing three references to Claudius' British exploits,¹³ with mock-heroic enthusiasm presents to view (12, 2) the Ocean trembling before the majesty of the Roman power, and the emperor bidding the Brigantes submit their necks to Roman chains.

The introduction of the Brigantes marks a new stage in the literary treatment of Britain. Up to this time specific localities and peoples are seldom named, but from this time on they appear with comparative frequency,¹⁴ and in a general way the prominence given to them individually stands in direct relation to the progress of the Roman arms to the north, though it is noteworthy that the literary frontier, perhaps on the principle that *omne ignotum pro magnifico est*, keeps steadily somewhat in advance of the geographical frontier. In the passage just quoted, for example, it is implied that the Brigantes were conquered, and by Claudius in person, whereas it was long after he had left the island that Ostorius Scapula, the successor of Aulus Plautius, quelled certain disturbances among this people, and their real subjugation, if even then so strong a word should be used, was not effected till the time of Petilius Cerialis, in the reign of Vespasian.

Didius Gallus became governor of Britain two years before the death of Claudius, and continued in office into the reign of Nero. Four other governors, Quintus Veranius, Suetonius Paulinus, Petilius Turpilianus and Trebellius Maximus, served successively in this reign, but the progress of the conquest of Britain was not rapid under any one of them. The sovereignty of Rome extended over little more territory at the end than at the beginning of the period, and Caledonia, which makes its first appearance in the *Pharsalia* of Lucan (6, 67) is, appropriately to the actual conditions of Roman control in Britain, pictured as far remote from the well-known Roman settlements in the southeastern part of the island, represented by Rutupiae on the Kentish coast:

Aut vaga cum Tethys Rutupinaque litora fervent,
Unda Caledonios fallit turbata Britannos.

¹³ 3, 3 contains a satirical reference to bestowing citizenship upon the Britons; 8, 3 to the temple of Claudius in Britain.

¹⁴ The Brigantes again, Juv. 14, 196; Rutupiae, Luc. 6, 67; Juv. 4, 141; the Orkneys and Ireland Juv. 2, 161; Caledonia and Thule frequently.

We have indeed the statement of Suetonius (*Nero* 18) that Nero took so little interest in Britain that he contemplated withdrawing the Roman legions stationed there. Lucan, however, though preeminently the court poet of the time, could hardly avoid introducing it into a poem where Julius Caesar figures so prominently as in the *Pharsalia*. Once (2, 570) he emphasizes the ignominious side of the first invasions of Britain, in the words of the scoffer Pompey,

Rheni gelidis quod fugit ab undis
Oceanique, vocans incerti stagna profundi,
Territaeque excitis ostendit terga Britannis?

but in two passages, a brief personal comment (3, 76) and a speech in the mouth of a loyal centurion (1, 369), are expressions that might have been borrowed from the Claudian period:

Ut vincula Rheni,
Oceanoque daret! Celsos ut Gallia currus
Nobilis et flavis sequeretur mixta Britannis!

Haec manus, ut victum post terga relinqueret orbem,
Oceani tumidas remo compescuit undas!

In none of these lines, however, is there a hint of vicarious glory for the reigning representative of the Julian race, such as is seen in the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid (15, 752) cited above for the Augustan age.

Vespasian had served in Britain under Aulus Plautius, and through this campaign had been "pointed out to the Fates." When he came to the throne aggressive activity was renewed in Britain—*magni duces, egregii exercitus, minuta hostium spes*¹⁶ (Tac. Agr. 17), and after the ineffective year of Vettius Bolanus' command, progress was continued northward through the conquest of the Brigantes by Petilius Cerialis and Julius Frontinus. This movement in the direction of Caledonia is reflected in the recurring use of its name in general literature. In Vespasian's own reign it is found in the *Argonautica* of Valerius Flaccus, who probably began to write at a time very near the

¹⁶ Josephus apparently even inclines to forget or ignore all previous achievements in Britain. He makes the statement (*Bell. Iud.* 3, 1, 2), that Vespasian has recovered by his arms Britain *τέως λαθάνουσαν*, while in a speech put in the mouth of Titus (6, 6, 2) he emphasizes the difficulty of the conquest:—*καὶ τί μείζον ὠκεανοῦ τείχος κώλυμα ὅν περι-
εργάζονται ἡμετέροι τὰ Ῥωμαίων ὄπλα προσκυνοῦσι*.

beginning of the campaign of Cerialis, and after this its appearance is frequent,¹⁶ often as a designation for Britain as a whole. In the passage just alluded to (Val. Fl., 1, 7) Britain is ruthlessly plucked from the crown of the Julian gens, where it had shone for so many years, and set in that of the new dynasty under the appellation (*Caledonius Oceanus*) particularly appropriate to the northward trend of the military successes of the period:

Tuque O pelagi cui maior aperti
Fama, Caledonius postquam tua carbasa vexit
Oceanus Phrygios prius indignatus Iulos.

The elder Pliny, who was laboring upon his *Naturalis Historia* throughout a considerable part of the reign of Vespasian, and gathered and included in this work many scattered bits of information—or misinformation—about Britain, remarks (*N. H.* 4, 102) on the slowness of Roman progress, and indicates definitely the frontier established under Vespasian: *triginta prope iam annis notitiam eius Romanis armis non ultra vicinitatem silvae Caledoniae propagantibus*.

Agricola's activities in Britain began at the end of the reign of Vespasian and continued through four years of that of Domitian. Three striking achievements marked these years, the invasion and partial conquest of Caledonia, the circumnavigation of the island by the Roman fleet, and the effecting of a high degree of Romanization in the southern portions of the province. There seem to be but two references to the island actually contemporary with Agricola's command there—a trivial couplet among the *Apophoreta* of Martial (14, 99) representing "a barbarian basket from the painted Britons," and an allusion (*Lib. Spec.* 7) to a Caledonian bear. But in the years immediately following the great commander's return to Rome Britain becomes conspicuous in literature, and the outstanding accomplishments of his command there are clearly reflected. Agricola's Caledonian conquests stand back of the fact that Caledonia now becomes increasingly popular as a designation for Britain as a whole. It is so used by Martial

¹⁶ Mart., *Lib. Spec.* 7, 3; *Epig.* 10, 44, 1; Sil. 3, 598; Stat., *Silo.* 5, 2, 142; Flor., *Epit.* 1, 12, 3.

Martial (10, 44, 1) applies it as an adjective to the Britons: Quint. Caledonios Ovidi visure, Britannos / Et viridem Tethyn Oceanumque patrem

(10, 44, 1), Silius Italicus (3, 597), and Statius (*Silv.* 5, 2, 142). Silius gives this name even to the portion invaded by Claudius, and Statius, in a poem (*Silv.* 3, 2, 142) addressed to a son of that Bolanus who was governor of Britain 69-71 A.D., as he is setting out on an extended journey, represents a native of Caledonia pointing out to the young man the still visible records of his father's work, although Bolanus as a matter of fact had not even entered that territory:

Quanta Caledonios attollet gloria campos,
Cum tibi longaeuus referet trucidis incolae terrae!
'Hic suetus dare iura parens, hoc caespitum turmas
Adfari; late speculas castellaque longe
(Adspicis?) ille dedit cinxitque haec moenia fossa;
Belligeris haec dona deis, haec tela dicavit
(Cernis adhuc titulos?), hunc ipse vocantibus armis
Induit, hunc regi rapuit thoraca Britanno!

Caledonia had, through the energy of Agricola, ceased to be a merely imaginary "farthest north" for Rome. The circumnavigation of Britain by his fleet furnished a new literary frontier, Thule,¹⁷ ("dimly seen," yet even so brought more clearly than heretofore before the eyes of Rome), in place of that which his land expedition had converted into a geographical reality. It becomes now the fashion not only to allow Thule to take the place of Britain and Caledonia as the *ultima rerum* but to refer to Britain in general under that name.¹⁸ Statius (*Silv.* 5, 2, 54, the poem just quoted) even carries Bolanus to Thule:

Tu disce patrem, quantusque negantem
Fluctibus occiduis fesso usque Hyperione Thylen
Intrarit mandata gerens.

The Orkney Islands, too, which Tacitus (*Agr.* 10) represents Agricola as visiting and conquering, and Ireland, which Agricola seems to have considered invading, appear together in a satire of Juvenal (2, 161) which, according to Haverfield,¹⁹ was written shortly after the termination of the reign of Domitian:

¹⁷ Thule figures in poetry occasionally before this time, as *ultima Thule* Virg., *Georg.* 1, 30; Sen., *Med.* 375.

¹⁸ Sil. 3, 597; Stat., *Silv.* 3, 5, 19; 5, 1, 91; 4, 4, 62; 5, 2, 55; Sil. 17, 416; Juv. 15, 112.

¹⁹ *CLR.* XII, 1898, p. 51. Friedländer dates it in the later years of Trajan.

Arma quidem ultra
Litora Iuvernæ promovimus et modo captas
Orcadas ac minima contentos nocte Britannos.

That Britain was an island had been known long before this time, but, according to Tacitus (*Agr.* 10), the question was settled to the complete satisfaction of the Roman mind only by its circumnavigation by the fleet of Agricola: hanc oram novissimi maris tunc primum Romana classis circumvecta insulam esse Britanniam adfirmavit. This new knowledge is set off against earlier ignorance of the subject by Quintilian, when, in speaking (7, 4, 2) of Britain as a subject for *Suasoriae*, he remarks that if Caesar be represented as deliberating whether or not to invade Britain, he would be considering "quæ sit Oceani natura? An Britannia insula?" adding "nam tum ignorabatur."

The Romanizing of southern Britain accomplished in so marked degree under Agricola's administration according to Tacitus (*Agr.* 21)—hortari privato adjuvare publice ut templa fora domos exstrueret . . . principum filios liberalibus artibus erudire . . . ut qui modo linguam Romanam abnuebant eloquentiam concupiscerent . . . idque apud imperitos humanitas vocabatur, cum pars servitutis esset, etc., though not so conspicuously nor so promptly reflected in literature as his deeds as soldier and explorer, is not altogether neglected. Martial boasts (11, 3, 5) that his poems are read even in that remote land,

Dicitur et nostros cantare Britannia versus,

and (11, 53, 1) compares a British lady with the women of Greece and Rome:

Claudia caeruleis cum sit Rufina Britannis
Edita, quam Latiae pectora gentis habet!
Quale decus formæ! Romanam credere matres
Italidas possunt, Atthides esse suam.

The reigns of Nerva and Trajan and the few years of Hadrian's reign that preceded his expedition to Britain are practically a blank so far as knowledge of Britain is concerned. The parts of Tacitus' *Histories* which concerned the campaigns of Agricola and the years immediately following them have been lost, but in the introduction to the work (*Hist.* 1, 2) the implica-

tion of the words *perdomita Britannia et statim missa* is clear. The few and brief allusions found in general literature support this implication.²⁰ Verses of Martial (12, 8, 9) written early in the reign of Trajan, represent Britain in the bad company of several other countries which were either actually giving trouble to Rome at that time, or were particularly prone to do so:

Parthorum proceres ducesque Serum,
Thracēs, Sauromatae, Getae, Britanni,
Possum ostendere Caesarem; venite!

Juvenal, (4, 126) writing at some time between the death of Domitian and the accession of Hadrian, represents one of the flatterers of the former emperor as finding in the abnormally large size of a turbot presented to him by a fisherman an omen of marvelous success in war, the capture of a king or the overthrow of a British chief:²¹

"Omen habes," inquit, "magni clarique triumphī.
Regem aliquem capies, aut de temone Britanno
Excidet Arviragus,"

The *de vita Caesarum* of Suetonius was dedicated to Septicius Clarus, *Praefectus Praetorio*, probably at the very time of the starting of Hadrian's British expedition, but there is in its accounts of Caesar and Claudius and Vespasian in Britain no suggestion that the reigning emperor is likely to follow in their footsteps. So, too, in the *Epitome* of Florus, assigned commonly to the early years of Hadrian's sovereignty, though Caesar's deeds in Britain are duly lauded, there is nothing to suggest contemporary events in the island. Florus' comparison (1, 12, 3) of the Ciminian Forest in the time of the Samnite Wars with the forests of Caledonia, emphasizes the still impenetrable state of the latter, "Ciminus interim saltus in mediō, ante invius plane quasi Caledonius vel Hercynius," and his estimate of the hard-won province of Britain from a practical standpoint is evident in the words (1, 47, 4) "quippe sicut Galliam, Thraciam, Ciliciam, Cappadociam, uberrimas validissimasque provincias,

²⁰ So also, for the early part of the reign of Hadrian, Spart., *Vit. Hadr.* 5, 2: Britanni teneri sub Romana ditione non poterant.

Front. *de bell. Parth.* N. p. 217: avo vestro Hadriano imperium optinente quantum militum a Iudaeis, quantum a Britannis caesum!

²¹ In the same satire (v. 141) appear oysters from Britain: Rutupino edita fundo ostrea.

Armenios etiam et Britannos, ut non in usum, ita ad imperii speciem magna nomina adquisisse pulchrum ac decorum."

The fourteenth satire of Juvenal belongs in the time of Hadrian, and was probably written after the time of his British venture. That the poet had this in mind cannot be proved, but he at any rate chooses to suggest (v. 196) as a field for the experience that may lead to military preferment, the particular part of Britain in which the emperor's most important and remarkable work was done,

Dirue Maurorum attegias, castella Brigantum,
Ut locupletem aquilam tibi sexagesimus annus
Afferat,

and in his fifteenth satire, commonly assigned to about the same period, as in the epigrams of Martial of earlier date, there is a hint (v. 111) of the developing civilization of the island:

Nunc totus Graias nostrasque habet orbis Athenas,
Gallia cauidicos docuit facunda Britannos,
De conducendo loquitur iam rhetore Thule!²²

But it is to Florus that we owe the most undisputedly contemporaneous allusion to Hadrian in Britain—the jingle quoted by Spartianus (*Vit. Hadr.* 16, 3),

Ego nolo Caesar esse
Ambulare per Britannos
.....
Scythicas pati pruinas!—

scant recognition in the great adventurer's own day of the important work whose crowning achievement the biographer sets forth briefly but effectively in the same *Vita* (ch. 11) where the verses are quoted: Britanniam periit; in qua multa correxit, murumque per octoginta milia passum duxit, qui barbaros Romanosque divideret.

In a study of this kind, where the material is at best not abundant and where dates are often conjectural, it is easy to read too much into expressions which may be due to mere chance, to the demands of rhetoric, or to the special purposes of individual authors. The specific names, too, may at times have been

²² In the same poem (v. 279) are pictured Roman merchant ships on the western Ocean, and in the tenth satire the British whale, *balaena Britannica*, (v. 14), represents figuratively the huge fortunes of certain Romans of Juvenal's day.

chosen for their metrical value, rather than because of any real interest in them. But even if details cannot always be proved, the general trend of thought and feeling from generation to generation seems clear, and at no time does there seem to have been any real *oblivio Britanniae* in the consciousness of Rome. The fresh interest and curiosity and the misconceptions natural in relation to a newly discovered country appear in the poems of Catullus and the letters of Cicero. The vision of conquest by Augustus, strengthening and fading, the passive interest of the late Augustan Age, the exaggerated enthusiasm of the time of Claudius, the more definite knowledge of the years of occupation that followed his invasion, the great achievements of Agricola, the expedition of Hadrian to Britain and the disturbances that led to it may all be seen, some dimly, some clearly, in the incidental allusions of writers of these successive periods.

A STUDY OF PINDAR

ANNIE M. PITMAN

Travelling in an inland, southern country, I came, once, upon a ridge of barren foothills which rose rough and irregular to a fair height, outlined against the sky. The range stretched for miles, a brilliant contrast to the monotonous, almost living, desert sand in the distance, and even to the vivid green of the nearer desert wheat fields. For though the sun was bright everywhere, it fell with peculiar strength upon the higher land and drew from it a tangible, uncolored brightness. To the "indifferent divine light" the hills yearned and to the unclouded sky above, yet leaned in content upon the common earth. The wind blew free—compelling; the air was instinct with incentive to follow the uncertain footpath, seen clearly only on the peaks; the impulse was always to keep on, not to rest or loiter, but to go forward into the open wonder of the splendor and clear light. Somewhat similar is the exhilaration of Pindar's poetry, as of a journey in the wind and sun, that touches the senses with constant revelation of magnificence and elevation; the soul, as it leads to the summit of delight whence comes the assurance that life is divinely planned.

Although Pindar's long life fell in the period when a united Hellas emerged from the Persian Wars, he apparently took no part in that development. As great figures in other ages, he was outside the life of the people—the one duty that he recognized was "to give heed unto the prophet Muse and show her meaning forth." In this service he expressed all the exuberance of his spirit, its enthusiasm, and onward sweep. Otherwise he was self-contained, with an aloofness which his naturally religious temperament fostered. He was apart from men, but heard the revelations from the gods. "The divine part of man," he says, "sleeps while his limbs are active, but when his body rests, in dreams the soul declareth the judgment that is to be, cometh ill or cometh good," and as though he had in truth been endowed from the shrine at Delphi, he "looked out

upon the manifold pageant of human life and set forth a high ideal of religious faith, public and private obligation, a monarch's duty, and a poet's privilege."

Between Pindar's philosophy and his expression of it there is a wide divergence in originality. Primarily Pindar was a poet,—ὁ λυρικός the Greek canon says, a writer of the dignified Dorian ode for victors in the national games—a form of poetry which in his hands came to brilliant and unsurpassed perfection. Here he shows great originality; he is not original as a thinker; in part because he did not live close to his fellow men and was not disturbed by their problems; his doubts were not intense enough to drive him to "deep questioning" and his instinctive reserve made him accept uncertainties with that silence which he often praises: "Seek not to be Zeus," "Mortal things are enough for mortal beings"; in part because by inheritance, training, and disposition it was easy for him to believe sincerely in the backward-looking faith of the Greeks. For Pindar the present was not the dawn of a to-morrow; it was a still beautiful though waning part of its own divine day—a day when "the most high Zeus" was still "the cloud-compelling king of the immortals," "hurler of sure-smiting thunderbolts"; when men prayed for the protection of Apollo who "knoweth whereto each deed leads; who watcheth over every bud that bourgeons in the spring, and counteth the sands in sea, in river where the winds blow rough across the waves; who understandeth what is to befall mankind"; when "the corn was red where Demeter passed" and "Persephone's white horses guided all men to the goddess' feast." His faith in these gods Pindar avows repeatedly and it is "in the spirit of this faith, the faith that created the Parthenon," that he develops the philosophy in accordance with which man may live acceptably to the gods and avoid ὕβρις, to which Ἄτῃ succeeds. The thought of ὕβρις is constant in the odes because a victor in the moment of triumph might be overproud and "might forget to set god above every other as the one who grants the praise." Pindar praises the victors, but no praise is given absolutely. Immediately comes the warning, as when he bids the Aiginetan victor "let no boast be heard, for Zeus ordereth now this, now that, and Zeus is lord of all"; or when he reminds a newly-elected mayor

to remember in his wealth and comeliness and success that "there must be a winding sheet for mortal limbs, and in the end the earth must be their vesture." Or again, Pindar praises the beauty of the victors; a Greek first could write of "the strong-limbed bloom divine of boys," and of Jason when he came to receive his kingdom "as a wondrous warrior, armed, in hunter's dress that fitted close his splendid limbs; a leopard skin across his shoulder thrown, to turn the beating storms; his heavy locks unshorn and beautiful, soft rippling down his back." But the beauty to be envied is when "merit goes hand in hand with grace." Wealth follows prosperity among desirable good things; still gold is the second most valuable possession only when it is acquired with honesty and used with wisdom. The wealth of Phalaris and of a Croesus was very different, and in America Pindar would have made fine distinctions. The safe course is the one that follows the Delphic injunction *μηδὲν ἄγαν*. The earliest ode reproves the attempt to reach "the brazen heavens which are not to be scaled by man"; in one of the latest occurs the precept "be restrained, and live with moderation." The same shadow falls across one entire group—the brilliant odes for Hiero—the dark background, the poet's expression of *μηδὲν ἄγαν*. The lust of the eyes, the pride of life may be the lure in the world, but the goad in it is the knowledge of the uncertainty of human success, and of human endeavor, *τί δέ τις; τί οὐ τις; σκιᾶς ὄναρ ἀνθρώπου*. "The destiny that is born with man is arbiter of all his deeds" nor "can whatever is destined be escaped." In such limitations man has need of toil and patience; he must endure and be courageous; he must be generous even to his enemies; and must render any service for his father or for his brother as Pollux "readily rejected the privilege Zeus offered that he might give life to Castor"; he must scorn pleasure in which justice has no part, and success not won by effort; he must be well reported of by men, and be content with the goods the gods provide; he must share his joys with all, his sorrows with none, and be reverent and cheerful. So Pindar set forth the virtues of the ideal Hellene. But his philosophy had further reaches unwavering, though vague. *τί θεός*; he says, "What is god?"—again *τί δέ τις*; "What is man?"; and the relation between the two,

What is said? The solution he failed to find, but his confidence in his interpretation remained unshaken. Toward the end of his life he writes: "There is one race of men, one of gods, and one of gods and men are the two; yet altogether different and yet one. There is nothing; but the brazen heaven above, a shining immortality into everlasting. Yet none the less, all mortal beings share the mighty strength and stature." (Myers) This was the belief which was deepened by the mysteries of Orphism, and it was the development of the idea of immortality which was the basis of which Pindar was quite possibly a student. Immortality was much in his thoughts. With a firm belief that the end of toil is death, and that death is not the end, he asserts that there is left one thing to mortal man, an idea of life, and it alone is the reward. The most complete expression of this belief is the poem which has been called a poem "for the dead," but which is not a funeral sermon, but reveals the belief that there where men toil back the gates of the other world.

For the honored of the children of Zeus one beneath the earth
 a life of ease and ease necessity; but with equal nights always
 the good inherit a life that knows no toil—
 no labor, no strength of hand, nor even from the waters
 of the sea they have assistance. But with the honored of the
 gods they are bound to swear their oath and turn not back live
 the gods before suffering not to be looked upon.
 They are bound to stand three times, abiding on either side of
 the gods, and they are bound to stand together from injustice, journey (in the
 night) to the watch tower of Kronos. There across
 the sea the breeze from ocean, and golden flowers
 the wind from the mainland on goodly trees, and some the
 gods are bound to stand in their arms they wreath and with garlands,
 and some the gods are bound to stand in their arms they wreath and with garlands,
 and some the gods are bound to stand in their arms they wreath and with garlands,

represented not the shadowy and un-
 known world that Odysseus found but a kingdom
 where the night of the sun when it is night above. Its
 garden is a garden of roses where cedars give their
 fruit and the fruits are abundant. Some there delight

in riding, some in wrestling, some in dice, and some in music. And among them hath grown up fair-flowering prosperity. Fragrance is spread through all the lovely places, and far seen are the fires as the spirits offer constant sacrifice of every kind upon the altars of their gods. Such passages have led the great modern student of Pindar to say, "Though the poet has not brought immortality to light, his feeling hand has found it in the darkness of Persephone's kingdom."

Pindar's philosophy, like his poetry, is occasional; he formulates no creed; rather he interprets the religion of an orthodox Greek with the contemplative judgment of a sincere personality. His sober-minded opinions we must come at through poetry brilliant in phrase and image, startling in originality and bold splendor. Above the teaching in any ode there sweep the rich harmony and music of the verses, the beauty of picture after picture, and the flaming glory of Pindar's language. The fact that the form of the odes is conventional is lost among the vivid similes and heaped up comparisons which constitute Pindar's most striking characteristic. An ode is "a new winged hymn," "a varied garland of sweet scented flowers," "an arrow from a well-filled quiver," "a lofty column whiter than Parian marble"; or—more characteristically—it becomes "the tide that sweeps to the victor"; then it changes to "a boat that rides upon the tide and is whirled eddyingly about"—and then to the "sails upon the boat that are spread for praise." Pindar liked life and motion. An ode filled with echoes of the wind that blows at sea begins, "No worker in marbles am I, to shape a statue that it may stand forever motionless upon its base. Rather on all the merchant ships and in the pinnace from Aegina mayst thou journey, oh my song, to carry to all lands the message of victory." And he liked illustrations. Between objects most unlike—as a goblet of wine and a poem—he saw similarities; and no sense of the unusual ever deterred him from using the figure. With extravagance he lets image succeed image till a splendid picture is spread out, or he elaborates a single figure with details for several points of comparison. It is what Quintilian calls the poet's "bounteous abundance." He wrote from a fullness that even the monotony of doing the same thing again and again could not exhaust. Each ode comes with new

imagery and new interpretation, revealing—especially in the opening—the great originality of the poet.

As from the hand of his wealthy friend one taketh a goblet beaded with the dew of the vine—a gift for the young bridegroom—that he may make his pledge of home to home, an all-golden treasure of possessions, to the honor of his guests and the glory of his son, and maketh one among the watchers envious of the harmonious marriage, so do I send the nectar I have drawn, the gift of the Muses—the sweet fruit of my soul—to the winners in the games, and I pay homage to the men who have conquered at Olympia and Pytho.

Or in an image that has the splendor which is characteristic of Pindar "Golden pillars shall we set up in the well-built forecourt of our house (of song) as when one builds a wondrous palace, for the porch of the work begun should glisten from afar." This is the beginning of one of the odes radiant with light, and the four golden pillars of the theme shine throughout. A homely figure from ploughing he uses, and shifts the image twice in a few lines, and still the invocation reveals his "supreme dominion." In Symond's translation it is:

Listen, for verily it is of beauty's queen or of the Graces, that we turn the glebe, approaching the rocky center of the deep voiced earth; when for the blest Fumenidae and stream-washed Acragas, yea and for Xenocrates is built a treasure house of Pythian hymns in the golden vale of Apollo. That, no rain of winter driving on the wings of wind the pitiless army of rushing cloud, no hurricane shall toss, storm lashed with pebbles of the upturned beach, into the briny ocean caves; but in pure light its glorious face shall speak the victory that brings a common fame on thy sire, Thrasybulus, and thy race, remaining in the windings of the Crisaean valleys.

Abundant as is the rich inventiveness of his figures, characteristic as is the press of thought, Pindar could write simply, and could touch lightly. He saw the "red anemones of spring," the violets and roses strewn before the choruses of Semele; he calls white coral "the lily that blossoms in the dews of the sea." With gentle grace he describes the baby, Iamos:

For he was of Pausanias's son Apollo was the father—and that of mortal men he should be a prophet distinguished among men. But as yet none knew him, nor child or heard of him, for he had been hidden among rushes and numerous snakes—his tender body soft sunk against the yellow and purple petals of wild pansies.

The exquisite beauty in the phrases is equalled by a rich sense of rhythm in the sound. Though the music of the odes is

lost, the loss is less for Greek than for many languages because a language that from the earliest times has been set to music comes in the hands of a lover of music to be itself a song. Pindar delighted in long musical compounds, inventing where he found no words at hand, especially for epithets; and we read χρυσалаκάτοιο Ἀμφιτρίτας; φοινικόπεξαν Δάματρα; αἰολοβρόντης Ζεύς. Homer's fair-cheeked Leto becomes λιπαροπλοκάμου Λάτους. The pillars with which Delos was made a permanent island in the Aegean are called in one expressive word ἀδαμαντοπέδιλοι. The opening verse of one ode is a single word, τρισολυμπιονίκαν; the same quality in longer phrase is frequent: καὶ πέραν πόντοιο πάλλοντ' αἰετοί, "And beyond the ocean far the eagles sweep." The beauty Pindar loved as a Greek, the splendor he loved as an aristocrat are illustrated everywhere in his language. His words are splendid with color and with excess of light until his page is radiant. He exhausts all a translator's synonyms for gleaming, glistening, as he did the Greek words themselves; almost he exhausts the imagination. He would have been in perfect sympathy with the modern poet's "golden lie the meadows, golden run the streams, and the fields and waters shout to him golden shouts." With the same restless variety the poet unfolds his narratives. The love of Apollo for the nymph Kyrene is an idyl exquisite in the Greek, and should perhaps not be taken from its setting.

Now the white armed Kyrene loved not the walkings to and fro before the loom, nor circling in the dance, nor home keeping with her friends, but with bronze-tipped arrows and with the sword she hunted, and she slew wild beasts. Surely long and undisturbed was the peace she secured for her father's herds, but upon her eyelids the welcome bed-fellow, sleep, rested only a little time as dawn crept on. Once alone, her broad quiver empty of its darts, she struggled with a mighty lion. 'Twas then Apollo saw her. Straight called he Cheiron from his dwelling. "Leave thy sacred cave, son of Philaris, the might of the Woman and her great power marvel at; what a contest does she struggle in—her head steady—her woman's heart undefeated by her trial—nor by fears is her spirit tempest tossed. Whose daughter is she? From what race has she been carried off to dwell in the hollows of shadowy mountains? Of boundless courage gives she proof. Is't right to stretch my noble hands to her—come say—and gather the honied flower of love?" And the inspired Centaur made straight answer; "To be her husband art thou come to this wooded glen, and thou art to take her beyond the sea to the wonderful garden land of Zeus where thou

shalt make her queen of a city, after that thou hast assembled the island people to the hill that rises from the plain. Africa glad at heart shall receive thy fair famed bride in golden palace in her broad-meadowed country; and straightway she shall give her tillage land to be her own—a stretch where fruit trees grow in every kind, where beasts for hunters range." And with his words the god fulfilled the joyous rite of marriage. When gods will, quick is the accomplishment and the ways thereto are short.

For sixty years Pindar was the official poet of Greece; with unabating skill he embodied in poem after poem the victor and the victory, the hero's clan and reputed ancestry, the informing tenets which underlay such success, lifting the transient onto the plane of the permanent. He wrought with light and music and color; with brilliance and sweep and grace; with poise and strength and faith, but he remains an unread poet of Greece. Succeeding generations need from him his messenger, Echo, that they may not willingly let his poetry die, even as Echo defied the bars set to Persephone's kingdom and carried to a father the news that his son while still a boy had won the great glory of an Olympian victory.

Oh ye whose lot it is to dwell where the waters of Cephissus bless the home of fair steeds, ye graces of gleaming Orchomenos, queens much sung of, wardens of the Minyan race from of old, hear when I pray. For through favor from you, both joys and all things pleasant are fulfilled for mortals, if wise, if fair, if honored any man may be. For not even do gods apart from the holy Graces consent to be the lords of chorus or of feast. Stewards of all things in heaven are the Graces, and round about the throne of Pythian Apollo of the golden bow in unending honor they do reverence unto the father of Olympus.

Oh queen Aglaia and Euphrosyne delighting in song, daughters of the mightiest god, hear ye now—and thou, Thalia that lovest singing, listen as thou seest this festival procession with gracious favor move lightly (toward the temple). For in Lydian measure, with meditated strain, I come to sing Asopichus, in that through thee the Minyan city gains an Olympian victory. And thee, oh Echo, I bid hasten to the black-walled home of Persephone to carry to the father the splendid message, to seek out Kleodamos and tell him how his son even in his boyhood—at Olympia, where the famous precinct enfolds her fountains—hath won for his brow the wreath that crowns glorious endeavor.

Κεφισίων ἰδμάτων
λαχοῖσαι αἶτε valere καλλιπῶλον ἔδραν,
ἃ λιπαρῆς δολιδμοὶ βασιλειαί,
Χάριτες Ὀρχομενοῦ, παλαιγόνων Μινυῶν ἐπίσκοποι,
αὖθι', ἐπεὶ εὖχομαι. σὺν γὰρ ὑμῖν τὰ τε τεργνὰ καὶ
τὰ γλυκὴ' ἀνεται πάντα βροτοῖς,

εἰ σοφὸς, εἰ καλὸς, εἰ τις ἀγλαὸς ἀνὴρ.
 οὐδὲ γὰρ θεοὶ ἀγνῶν Χαρίτων ἄτερ
 κοιρανίοισιν χοροῦς οὔτε δαίτας. ἀλλὰ πάντων ταμίαι
 ἔργων ἐν οὐρανῷ, χρυσόταξον θέμῃαι παρὰ
 Πύθιον Ἀπόλλωνα θρόνους,
 ἄετας σέβοντι πατρὸς Ὀλυμπίου τιμάν.

ὦ πότνι Ἀγλαΐα
 φιλησίμολπέ τ' Εὐφροσύνη, θεῶν κρατίστου
 παῖδες, ἑπακοῦτε νῦν, Θάλα τε
 ἑρασίμολπε, ριδοῖσα τόδε κῶμον ἐπ' εὐμενεί τυχῆ
 κοῦφα βιβῶντα. Λυδῷ γὰρ Ἀσώπιχον ἐν τρόπῳ
 ἐν μελέταις τ' αἰδῶν ἱμολον,
 οὐνεκ' Ὀλυμπιόνικος ἂ Μινύεια
 σέυ ρέκατι. μελαντευχέα νῦν δόμον
 Φερσεφύνας ἐλθέ φαχοί, πατρὶ κλυτὰν φέρουσ' ἀγγελίαν
 Κλεῖδαμον δορρ' ἰδοῖς υἱὸν εἴπης, ὅτι φοι νέαν
 κόλπῳ παρ' ἐνδόξοις Πίσας
 ἑσπεφάνωσε κυδίμαν ἀέθλων πτεροῖσι χαίταν.

LUCRETIUS—THE POET OF SCIENCE

M. S. SLAUGHTER

The remark of Froude that "Epicureanism was the creed of men of science in the time of Julius Caesar" is nearer the truth than most of the generalities of that brilliant apostle of error. In the modern view, men of science have no right to any creed. Yet the choice of Epicureanism was made by thinking men chiefly on the basis of its science.

The philosophy of Epicurus, as expounded by Lucretius, insisted on a mechanical origin of the universe, on the reign of natural law and the exclusion of the gods from participation in the affairs of man. It was a clear call to reason and freedom from illusion. Its calm acceptance of the facts of life made a strong appeal to the refined and cultivated intelligence. There was nothing frivolous, nothing dissolute, about the Epicureanism of Lucretius. And, although he urged the philosophy as a means of personal salvation, the nature of the solution proposed—a study of the causes of things—possessed all the virtue of a disinterested pursuit of knowledge.

The Romans were never inclined to meditate on questions of philosophy apart from conduct. They worked back from practical needs toward ideas which might satisfy those needs. And at no time was the demand for a philosophical basis of conduct so keenly felt as in the period covered by the life of Lucretius. Men of ideas who were not men of action revolted from the conditions under which they were compelled to live. They saw in politics only selfishness and sham. Society was in truth more than usually hollow. From the turmoil of politics and the degradation of society some escape must be found. "Men are lost," said Lucretius, "wandering hither and thither, groping for the way of life" for, he later added, "all life lies grovelling under the heavy weight of superstition."

The conditions of the times intensified the Roman's natural interest in the practice of philosophy. The catch words of the various schools are plentifully sprinkled through the pages of the

literature of the period. *Virtus* and *Voluptas* seem like entities as the debate waxes between contending parties. Epicureanism had been first in the field, but after the coming of Panaetius and Posidonius to Rome (in the second century before Christ) the rivalry with Stoicism was continuous. The Stoic ideal and the old Roman character seemed identical and the natural affinity expressed itself in a wide acceptance of the doctrines of the Porch. We all know how the creed of the Stoics hardened and became rigidly mechanical and lent itself to the ridicule of men like Horace, who respected its teachings but laughed at its follies. Men of high seriousness and unquestioned sincerity were enrolled among the followers of Epicurus, though his teachings suffered much at the time and have suffered since from the Roman connotations of the ideal expressed in *Voluptas*. There was no natural affinity between *Voluptas* and the old Roman character. Furthermore, the fact that Epicureanism taught a mechanical origin of the universe and so would abolish all worship of the gods brought it into conflict with tradition, and challenged the opposition of all adherents to superstition, political and religious. It substituted for the cant with which the age was saturated a frank recognition of the workings of natural law. It made no attempt to reconcile science and religion. Strife with superstition was not incumbent upon the Stoic, but in the teaching of Lucretius superstition was the result of fear and the combat with grovelling fear was exalted into a holy crusade. The *furor arduus* of Lucretius is due to his "unsparing wrestle with false divinities," his hatred of the doctrines by which men were bound under the heavy weight of superstition. This *terrorem animi tenebrasque* could be dispelled not by the rays of the sun nor the bright shafts of day, but by regard for the aspect and law of nature.

It is not an altogether cheerful solution that Lucretius offers. A great modern critic, himself an apostle of disillusion, has declared it to be on that account inadequate. A knowledge of the causes of things is but a sombre cure for the ills of life. Yet Virgil could say, "*Felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas*" (happy is he who can understand the causes of things)—because such knowledge enables one to put under one's feet the fear of greedy Acheron. For Lucretius the conflict with the powers of darkness was too

strenuous to admit of relaxation: his enthusiasm was too high for tolerance.

Although the application of science to the solution of the problem of existence was the chief interest of Lucretius, the setting forth of the principles of his science in the first two books of the *De Rerum Natura* gave him great pleasure, and the consciousness of the truth of what he taught betrays a Roman pride in his own superiority. "There is nothing sweeter," he says, "than to hold the serene high places well fortified by the doctrines of wise men whence one can look down and see others wandering about in search of the way of life;—can see the contest of intellect, the rivalry of birth, the striving night and day with utmost effort to rise to the heights of wealth and power."

This was the personal reward for the student of a philosophy which was to free mankind from the binding chains of error; and in so far as the *edita templa serena* are to be gained only by a life of study, withdrawn from the arena, the conception is individualistic and aristocratic. Lucretius himself, true to this ideal, drew apart from active life and consecrated himself to the pursuit of knowledge. He was not unaware of the events of these years, for he says that in his country's day of trouble he cannot with untroubled mind give himself entirely to his work and he prays the forces of nature to grant the Romans the blessings of peace. He did not alienate himself from interest in his fellows—indeed his heart is surcharged with zeal for their salvation—but he made himself the representative of a chosen following, the interpreter of a part of the life of his time, rather than the representative and interpreter of all the people. Their immediate concerns he wisely left to insurgent politicians and peripatetic candidates for political preferment—not quite all of whom are reserved for our own times—and chose for himself, as he had a right to do, a life of retirement and intellectual labor.

Our knowledge of Lucretius' life rests on scanty tradition and our inferences drawn from his poem. From the latter we may conclude that he was a man of wealth and aristocratic birth, a typical Roman of the old school, stern, uncompromising, firm of purpose—*constantem et tenacem propositi virum*. We find in his poem other qualities less typically Roman—a tenderness of feeling and sympathy with men and nature, a love of simplicity and a freshness of spirit, which unfortunately was dampened and clouded by an

atmosphere of gloom at times as he presses home with all the power of his eloquence the gospel of death—the gospel he would have men accept as a relief from degrading fear.

Lucretius made of the philosophy of Epicurus, whose ideal had been quietistic and even ascetic, a vigorous propaganda against the ills that beset mankind. The Greek would hardly have sympathized with the fervor with which his most illustrious follower and disciple plead his cause—the cause of science. Epicurus, we may well believe, would have felt more sympathy with the chastened and tempered Epicureanism of Horace or the mild pessimism of Omar Khayyam.

Of the great task he has undertaken Lucretius says:

I am well aware that my subject is obscure but the great hope of praise and the dear love of the muses have entered my heart. Inspired by them, I trace the pathless ways of the Pierides never before trodden by the foot of man. I rejoice to approach new fountains and drink. I rejoice to pluck fresh flowers and seek for my head such a crown as the muses never before have granted to man. And this because I teach of mighty things and seek to free the minds of men from the narrow chain of superstition and because on so dark a theme I pen lucid verses touching all with the muses' grace. This grace I seek because men are wont to draw back from a subject like mine, and I long to hold their minds by my verses until they see the whole nature of the universe and how it has been fashioned forth.

The principles underlying the atomic theory as set forth by Democritus and Leucippus, and repeated by Epicurus and Lucretius with the single addition of the doctrine of the *Swerve* in the original downward movement of the atoms to account for the formation of the world, are too familiar to call for repetition. The dissolution of the various combinations of atoms in the process of time with the conservation of the atoms themselves must be accepted as true: "If this be not true, if consuming time destroys all matter," Lucretius asks, "whence does Venus bring back animal life kind by kind into the light of day, how does daedal earth nourish this life when brought back, how do springs maintain the rivers and the sea, and how does the ether feed the stars?"

It is not strange that the ancient scientist, ignorant of the methods of modern scientific research, went astray and arrived at absurd conclusions in the development of his system. He is not alone in this experience. Lucretius falls into ridiculous error in insisting upon the infallibility of the senses as the basis of the

doctrine of sense-perception. His illustrations of the theory of vision are childish and he shows his worst side to a modern scientist when he insists that there may be more than one correct explanation for the existence of natural phenomena; when he goes so far as to assert that the more explanations the better, since every additional explanation makes it less necessary to suppose the gods responsible for anything.

But lapses like these are insignificant when one considers the wide reach of his scientific imagination. His conception of the infinity of space, of the infinity of matter and the infinite number of worlds, his veneration of the aspect of nature and his faith in her laws, his unfaltering reiteration of the fixed order of things and the mutual dependence of phenomena, his willingness to follow his observations to their logical conclusions at whatever cost to personality, the magnitude of his ideas and his rectitude of mind exalt him above the criticism that would carp at certain notions which to the sophisticated modern seem incredibly naïve. The quality of his mind lifts him into the rarified atmosphere, unattainable in this twentieth century, where science and poetry are one.

O Science, lift aloud thy voice that stills
The pulse of fear and through the conscience thrills—
Thrills through the conscience with the news of peace—
How beautiful thy feet are on the hills!

As Lucretius develops his scientific argument, revealing the power of his constructive imagination, it becomes evident to the most casual reader that his treatment of nature is everywhere pervaded by the spirit of a poet. Aesthetic appreciation goes hand in hand with accuracy of detail and clearness of exposition. The balance between the two is not always attained. The high water mark is reached in the tribute to Venus with which the poem opens—not the Venus of mythology, nor of the family of Memmius, but Venus the kindly principle invading and invigorating all life, presiding at the birth of all things.

Kindly Venus, joy of men and gods, mother of our race, thou dost rule the ship-bearing sea under the gliding stars of heaven, thou dost rule the fruitful earth, for through thee all the race of living things is conceived and rises to see the light of the sun. The winds and the clouds of heaven flee thy coming. . . . For thee daedal earth puts forth sweet flowers, to thee are due the bright smiles of the sea, for thee the serene heaven shines with full light shed abroad. As soon as the spring days come and the be-

getting breath of the west wind sweeps unbarred over the land, the birds of the air feel thy presence and are smitten with thy power. Then the wild herds leap about the happy fields and swim the swift rivers. Captured by thy grace they follow whithersoever thou leadest. Over seas, mountains, and flowing streams, green pastures and the leafy homes of birds, breathing sweet love into the heart of all things thou dost cause the generations to multiply kind by kind. And thou alone dost govern the whole nature of the universe and without thee not anything kindly or loving can come to the divine shores of light.

It is not alone in such a flight as this that one realizes the poet's genuine sympathy with nature's manifestations—a sympathy born of loving observation and constant contact with her in out-of-door life. To illustrate the rapid motion of bodies of light he says:

primum aurora novo cum spargit lumine terras
et variae volucres nemora avia pervolitantes
aera per tenerum liquidis loca vocibus opplent,
quam subito soleat sol ortus tempore tali
convestire sua perfundens omnia luce. (II:144-8)

When Aurora is sprinkling the earth with fresh light and many birds are flitting about the pathless woods in the sweet morning air and filling all the land with their liquid notes, how suddenly does the rising sun at such a time clothe all things with his abundant light!

When he would illustrate the sense of sight he describes "a puddle of water not deeper than a finger breadth which lies between the stones of the street and offers a view beneath the earth as deep as the great stretch of heaven is high above it, so that you seem to see clouds and the bodies of birds far withdrawn into the wonderful sky beneath the earth."

To bring home to his readers the double doctrine of perpetual movement—the racing speed of atoms and of worlds—and of the eternal balance and peace of the whole universe, Lucretius has made use of two similes which, by the vast difference between them, give proof of the range of his poetic power. One is noble and majestic, the other simple and homely. Both are true in observation and forceful in their illustrative significance. The former was used by Mr. Mackail in his *Lectures on Poetry* to clarify the two-fold aspect of poetry as a movement and a substance—a perpetual flux and a solid entity, continuous and in a sense unchangeable. The simile is that of a great army filling a wide plain with the glitter and thunder of its movement. "Yet there is some place on the

mountain heights from which they seem to stand still, a steady brightness on the plain." Side by side with this elevated passage is the other illustration of the same idea; a description of a flock of sheep on the hillside, cropping the tender grass sprinkled with fresh dew, while the lambs, having satisfied their hunger, frisk about in constant motion. At a distance all seems motionless and still.

Lucretius' sympathy with nature is fresh and real. His interest in all life transcends the scientist's interest in the origin, growth, and powers of the world; it is the interest of the poet, of one whose science is touched with emotion. Starting with an all-comprehending vision of life and birth and death, he does not stop short of a sympathetic concern for the lowest animals.

Often at the beautiful altars of the gods a calf falls stricken for the sacrifice and pours out the life blood from her heart. And the bereaved mother wandering over the green fields knows the tracks of the hoofs. She scans all places to see if she can anywhere find the lost one. She fills the leafy woods with her moanings; again and again she gives up the search and goes back to her stall filled with grief at her loss. Nor do the soft willows and grass fresh with dew comfort her, nor the rivers running level with their banks. Nor are other calves in the happy pastures able to divert her mind and take away her pain.

But the chief concern of Lucretius, above and beyond his scientific explanation of the universe and his poet's love of life, was his conception of the nature of the human soul. To that everything leads up. All of his intricate and prolonged reasonings about the nature of things are but a preparation for that—to make it clear that not even in the soul of man is there any room for the gods. The antagonism of Lucretius to the religion of his day is not to be satisfied by anything less than the final and complete separation of the gods from the affairs of men and the consequent overthrow of their worship. He does not deny the existence of the gods. Indeed, in his allusions to them, there is mingled no little awe and reverence, a feeling of respect for beings of a superior nature and fortune who live outside the reach of human prayers and are oblivious to man's fate.

When once thy reasoning made clear the nature of things, terrors fled away, the walls of the universe parted asunder and I saw the whole range of nature throughout a limitless void. I saw the divinity of the gods and their blessed abodes;

Where never creeps a cloud, or moves a wind,
Nor ever falls the least white star of snow
and the ever cloudless ether covers all. They smile in the abundant
light diffused about. Nature supplies their every need and nothing ever
comes to mar their sacred everlasting calm.

nam simul ac ratio tua coepit vociferari
naturam rerum, divina mente coorta,
diffugiunt animi terrores, moenia mundi
discedunt, totum video per inane geri res.
apparet divum numen sedesque quietae
quas neque concutiunt venti nec nubila nimbis
aspergunt neque nix acri concreta pruina
cana cadens violat semperque innubilis aether
integit, et large diffuso lumine ridet.
omnia suppeditat porro natura neque ulla
res animi pacem delibat tempore in ullo. (III: 14-24)

According to his accepted philosophy, Lucretius must have
combated any religion that interfered with the exercise of man's
reason and the actions of the laws of nature. He says:

It is not a mark of piety to be seen with veiled head to turn aside to
some stone and rush to many altars, nor to lie prostrate on the ground and
stretch open palms before the shrines of the gods, nor to sprinkle altars
with the blood of many animals, nor to add vow to vow, but it is of more
worth to look on all things with a mind at peace—

Sed mage parata omnia mente tueri;
but this is not possible unless the heart is pure—

At bene non poterat sine puro pectore.

We can hardly imagine Lucretius with his lofty aspirations and
poetical temperament satisfied with the state religion of Rome,
and his antagonism to religion gains intensity and fervor from the
fact that the form of worship he was opposing was degrading, in
many of its features, alike to morals and intellect. As revived by
Augustus in its purest form, the state religion of Rome appealed to
Virgil as worthy of his own best efforts towards its re-establish-
ment. Virgil's faith flags at times, but the mild melancholy of his
si qua est fides is in strong contrast with the spirit of Lucretius'
fierce antagonism.

Epicureanism has solved the problem of life after death by one
of its doxia—bluntly but effectually—

When we are, death is not; when death is, we are not. Therefore
death is nothing to us.

The fear of death as a motive of action and the dread of what comes after death Laetius would utterly abolish and thus bring peace into men's minds. He would have men desire and actually possess the sweet and perfect calm in which the gods dwell. He exhorts them to accept the inevitable as a blessing and dismiss their foolish solicitude about their future fate. In a magnificent passage near the end of the third book he declares that after death nothing shall move our senses, not even if the earth be mingled with the sea and the sea with the heavens.

Nū igitur mors est ad nos neque pertinet hilum,
quandoquidem natura animi mortalis habetur.
et velut anteacto nil tempore sensimus aegri,
ad configendum venientibus undique Poenis,
omnia cum belli trepido concussa tumultu
horrida contremuere sub altis aetheris oris,
in dubioque fuere utrorum ad regna cadendum
omnibus humanis esset terraque marique,
sic, ubi non erimus, cum corporis atque animai
discidium fuerit quibus e sumus uniter apti,
scilicet haud nobis quicquam, qui non erimus tum,
accidere omnino poterit sensumque movere,
non si terra mari miscebitur et mare caelo. (III:830-842)

The lamentations of the living for the dead are described in a noble passage, which the roll of the hexameter converts into a solemn requiem.

"Now no more shall thy happy home receive thee, nor thy dear wife, nor shall thy sweet children run to snatch kisses from thee and touch thy heart with silent sweetness. No longer canst thou furnish protection to thy dear ones and to thy flourishing fortunes. One wretched day has taken away from thee all the prizes of thy life, poor man." Thus men speak and they do not add, "But thou shalt desire none of these things. Thou indeed art wrapped in death and for all future time shalt be wholly free from anguish; but we who stand about thy bier, we give ourselves to uncontrollable weeping and no day takes from us our sorrow unending."

Iam iam non domus accipiet te laeta, neque uxor
optima nec dulces occurrent oscula nati
praecipere et tacita pectus dulcedine tangant.
non poteris factis florentibus esse, tuisque
praesidium. misero misere,' aiunt, 'omnia ademit
una dies infesta tibi tot praemia vitae.'
istud in his rebus non addunt 'nec tibi earum
iam desiderium rerum super insidet una.'

quod bene si videant animo dictisque sequantur,
dissoluant animi magno se angore metuque.—
"tu quidem ut es leto sopitus, sic eris aevi
quod superest cunctis privatu' doloribus aegris:
at nos horrifico cinefactum te prope busto
insatiabiliter deflevimus, aeternumque
nulla dies nobis maerorem e pectore demet." (III:894-908).

"It is this fear of death," he urges, "this dread of Acheron, which troubles men's lives to their inmost depths and colors all things with the blackness of death, destroying all pleasure. All the avarice and ambition and wicked lust in the world can be traced to this fear, because of this men overstep the bounds of right, are eager to amass wealth, and fear and hate their brothers. Yet for all their getting of riches they know not happiness. There is ever an unrest in their hearts. Men are blind and cannot see that nature craves for herself only that pain be absent from the body and care from the mind. Nature cares not for panelled ceilings and gilded roofs, for the house smiling with silver and glittering with gold. You burn with no less fever if you toss about on pictured tapestry than if you lie under a poor man's blanket". . . . "But," he concludes, "why do you doubt the correctness of my philosophy? All life is really a struggle in the dark. For just as children tremble and fear all things in thick darkness, so we in the daylight sometimes fear things which are no more to be dreaded than those which children imagine to be true."

For the first time in Latin literature, we catch a glimpse in Lucretius of that world weariness—*odium lucisque videndae*—which was to descend later upon the minds of men. Yet the *taedium vitae* which he so well describes is not, as Matthew Arnold would have us think, a reflection of the poet's personality. It is an observation of what he sees about him. Horace, whose reputation for cheerfulness is well-established, follows Lucretius in a similar description, and, in *Obermann*, Matthew Arnold has copied Lucretius faithfully. This *taedium vitae* would disappear, maintains Lucretius, if men would apply their minds to science.

If when the mind is heavy with care man could see from what cause it arises, he would not spend his life as he does now always seeking a change of scene, if perchance he may be able to lay his burden down. Tired of his home he rushes out of his palace only to return suddenly, soon finding that he fares no better abroad. He drives in mad haste to his country place, as if the house were on fire. He yawns as soon as he crosses the threshold or sinks heavily into sleep and seeks forgetfulness, or hastens back again to the city. Thus he flies from himself and does not know the cause of his disease. If he could see this he would leave all else and strive to understand the nature of things—

Naturam primum studeat cognoscere rerum.

This, I repeat, is observation, not experience. To the man burdened with the commonplaceness of life he recommends the study of nature:

Nothing is so easy of belief that it does not at first seem difficult, nothing so great, so wonderful that men do not gradually cease to stand in awe of it. Look at the pure, bright light of heaven and the wandering stars and the moon and the dazzling light of the sun. If these were now for the first time suddenly revealed to man, what could be more strange and less likely to win his belief? Nothing I think, so strange would seem the sight. And yet how seldom is anyone, wearied as men are with satiety of seeing, moved to look up to the bright regions of heaven. Come now, give yourself to the contemplation of nature. Cease to be terrified by the novelty of the study. Weigh all things, and learn to separate the true from the false. Since the sum of space is unlimited outside beyond the walls of this world, the mind seeks to know what there is yonder then toward which man's spirit yearns and his mind reaches in free and unembarrassed flight.

The world is doomed to destruction because like all other things it is the result of a chance combination of atoms and is therefore subject to dissolution. It came up from nothing by natural processes. Life on the earth is of gradual growth. Earth in her time of strength brought forth man; no golden chain let down the human race from heaven.

Stage by stage, from its primitive beginnings, Lucretius traces the progress of the human race. It is an account which Tylor in *Primitive Culture* can quote with approbation and which many later sociologists are glad to borrow. Where so much, even now, is left to the imagination, one may be pardoned for preferring Lucretius to more recent theories. Compare the modern "hollow-bone theory" of the invention of music with the explanation of the same thing by Lucretius:

Men imitated the liquid notes of birds long before they knew how to sing finished songs, and the whistling of the wind through hollow reeds first taught man to play upon the pipe. Then gradually he learned sweet plaints, which the flute under the beat of the players' fingers poured forth through the pathless groves and the inmost glades of the forest in desert places divinely still.

At liquidas avium voces imitauer ore
ante fuit multo quam levia carmina cantu
concelebrare homines possent aurisque iuvare.
et aephyri, cava per calamarum, sibila primum

agrestis docuere cavas inflare cicutas.
 inde minutatim dulcis didicere querellas,
 tibia quas fundit digitis pulsata canentum,
 avia per nemora ac silvas saltusque reperta,
 per loca pastorum deserta atque otia dia. (V:1379-1387).

Master as Lucretius was of vivid representation and sustained argument, great as he was in his unfaltering pursuit of truth, the *De Rerum Natura* depends chiefly for the vigor of its inspiration upon the flash of his poetic genius, the *vivida vis animi* which illuminates the details of his philosophy and raises the poem to its commanding position in the literature of Rome.

The glory of the sum of things inspires him to enter upon the pathless way of the Pierides. He is of those who sing because they must. Like Jeremiah his bones burned within him and the truth as he saw it was poured forth in language such as had never before been heard at Rome and never was again in all its rugged strength and splendid virility. His style, pure and dignified, if sometimes rhetorical, is free from the conceits of the popular and affected Alexandrianism of his day. There is in him no trace of the seeking after the phrase which belongs to the studied attitudinizing of court poetry. "Whatever definition of poetry we may borrow from the poets," says John Morley, "the tense, defiant, concentrated, scornful, fervid, daring and majestic verse of Lucretius is unique and his own."

The recognition of this poetic gift, together with a renewed interest in the subject matter of the *De Rerum Natura*, explains the increased admiration for Lucretius at the present time. He has never been a popular poet. There are few references to him in Latin literature, and in the Middle Ages he drops out altogether not to re-appear again until he lives in the thought of Giordano Bruno and Gassendi. In French scepticism of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, he plays the roll of master and prophet. In our own time, Tylor and Tyndall and Huxley pay homage to his scientific spirit and bear witness to the value of his observations and his speculations. The future epic of modern science may well begin, as has been suggested, with the lines of Lucretius:

res non posse creari
 de nihilo, neque item genitas in nil revocari.

If the prolonged reasonings on the structure of the universe grow wearisome at times, even unreadable, as Mommsen asserts, if they sometimes bury out of sight the charm of his nature allusions, they are never able to obscure the impressive personality of the poet: his moral earnestness, his intense enthusiasm, his capacity for sympathy, his largeness of view and strength of imagination.

When the imperfect knowledge of the time is understood and its inadequate methods of science, one cannot too much respect the vision and far-reaching hope of this man who could see that the sum of things is ever changing, that mortals live by dependence on each other, and that the generations of men, like runners, hand on the lamp of life to those coming after them. His theme was the advancement of human knowledge; not the place of Rome in the world, but the progress of the race toward perfection. His intellect spanned the centuries and comprehended vast areas of human life. His faith in the power of knowledge was unbounded. "One thing after another will grow clear, nor will dark night seize the road and hide from our sight the ultimate bounds of nature; so does one thing light the torch for another."

Namque alid ex alio clarescet nec tibi caeca
nox iter eripiet quin ultima naturai
pervideas, ita res accendent lumina rebus. (I:1115-1117).

AN EGYPTIAN FARMER

W. L. WESTERMANN

"Lucius Bellenus Gemellus to his sonn Sabinus, greeting.

"Aunes thee donkey driver hes bought a rotten bondle of hay for twelve drachmas, and it is a little bondle and the hay rotten and the hole thing broken up like dung. Sabinus, Psellus son, of Psinachis, the one with you, hes brought a letter of the prefect to Dionysis the strategus, to learn from him,

(Three broken lines. But old Gemellus cannot forget his indignation over the matter of the hay.)

"Where did you putt the receipt for the hay and the contract of his lone of the mina? You wil send thee littl key and tel me where they lie inn order that I may take them out so that I may hav them if I am about to reckon with him. Now do not niglect this. Takke care of yurself. Rigards to Epagathus and those who love us truly. Goodby. Choiak 12th.

"For the Saturnalia you wil send ten cocks from the market and for the birthday of Gemella you will send feesh and . . . and one artaba bread wheat.

(On the left margin, at right angles, Gemellus adds:) "You wil send the animals to carry manure to the vegetable garden at Psinachis and the manure carts, since Pasis is croaking that it must not be broken into bitts by thee water. And let them fetsh his hay. You wil send the animals strateway."

(On the back): "Deliver to Sabinus his sonn from Lucius Bellenus Gemellus."¹

The above is a translation of a letter of a prosperous old farmer living in the Fayum in Egypt about the year 100 of our era. It is fairly difficult to give a correct impression of the atrocities of the old gentleman's Greek, in spelling and grammar. The attempt will not be repeated.

¹ Grenfell, Hunt, Hogarth, *Fayum Towns and their Papyri*, (P. Fay.), London, 1900, no. 119.

The group of letters which passed between Gemellus and members of his family was unearthed in the winter of 1898-99 in the ruins of a small village in the northwest corner of the Fayum. The Gemellus documents consist of thirty-five letters, two contracts, and one column of an account of wages paid for help on a farm which belonged to Gemellus.² Of these the editors of the Fayum papyri have published fourteen letters, the account of wages, and one of the contracts. The remainder are briefly noted in the "descriptions" at the end of the volume.³ P. Fay. 260, a contract for a loan of 140 drachmas made by Gemellus, was later published in full by Wessely.⁴

The chief persons met with in the Gemellus letters are: Lucius Bellienus⁵ (Bellenus) Gemellus himself, head of the family; his brother Marcus Antonius (?) Maximus;⁶ his son Sabinus, to whom or by whom a number of the letters are written; two other sons, Harpocraton and Lycus, whose names appear but seldom;⁷ a fourth son, whose name is lost in a break of the papyrus;⁸ Epagathus, a highly trusted slave⁹ who managed several of the small farms of Gemellus; Geminus, probably also a trusted slave;¹⁰ Gemella, presumably a married daughter of old Gemellus;¹¹ and a little boy whom Gemellus speaks of affectionately as "the little one." This child was in all probability the old gentleman's grandson, son of Gemella.¹²

The letters written by Gemellus cover the period from the last years of Domitian¹³ to the fourteenth year of Trajan,¹⁴ A. D. 110. In the year 99 Gemellus made a contract with a young woman named Thenetkoueis, of the village of Euhemeria, to

² P. Fay., 102, introduction.

³ *Ibid.*, 248-49, 252, 254-55, 259, 260-61, 265-73, 274-77.

⁴ Wessely, C., *Studien zur Palaeographie und Papyruskunde*, (Stud. Pal.), IV:117, Leipzig, 1905.

⁵ In P. Fay., 110, the nomen is distinctly spelled Bellienus. See Plate V and cf. Preisigke, *Berichtigungsliste der griech. Papyrusurkunden*, 2 p. 131. Cf. also P. Fay., 122, Βελλιήνος Σαβίνος.

⁶ P. Fay., 252.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 123.

⁸ *Idem*, l. 27.

⁹ διὰ Ἐπ[α]γά[θ]ου π[αι]δαρ[ί]ου in Stud. Pal. IV: 117 disposes of the assumption (P. Fay., p. 262) that Epagathus was a nephew of Gemellus.

¹⁰ P. Fay., 121.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 110, introduction.

¹² *Ibid.*, 113, ll. 14-15, ἐπὶ τὰ τετρακοστὰ τοῦ μικροῦ . . . οἱ υἱοὶ Γεμέλλου.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 110, 111. P. Fay. 259 also falls in the principate of Domitian.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 118.

carry olives to his olive press. He then gave in his age at "about 67 years."¹⁵ The last letter which we have from him was therefore written at about the age of 77. His handwriting had become shaky,¹⁶ but he is still actively engaged in farm work. "I am manuring six arourae at Psennophris."¹⁷ Just as he had done ten years before, he still follows closely and gives detailed instructions as to the conduct of the work upon his other farms.

Born about A. D. 32, Gemellus was probably of hybrid Greco-Egyptian descent. For the new lands of the Fayum, reclaimed by the irrigation project of Ptolemy Philadelphus, had been settled particularly with Greek soldier colonists. He had served in one of the two Roman legions stationed in Egypt,¹⁸ no doubt the customary twenty years, and had been discharged as a veteran.¹⁹ It was this service which gave him his Roman name, the badge of his Roman citizenship, for the enlisted *peregrini* received Roman citizenship upon their entrance into the army;²⁰ and there is but a small chance that Gemellus could have been of citizen parentage²¹ or have otherwise received citizenship before his enlistment.

We cannot tell how many or what ones of Gemellus' small farms he had inherited, what ones he may have bought while enrolled in the legions, and what ones were granted him as reward for his military service. Certain it is, however, that this service, which we may safely place in the height of his physical manhood, from about A. D. 50 to A. D. 70, had brought him solid returns in veteran grants of land.

In other ways, also, the experience in the Roman army must have left its mark upon a man naturally shrewd and keen, as was Gemellus. It was there that he must have become acquainted with the Saturnalia, a purely Roman festival already well

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 91, l. 12.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 110, introduction.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 118, ll. 21-22.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 91, l. 11; ἀπολυσίμωι ἀπὸ στρατείας ἐγλεωνο(), which the editors are inclined to interpret as ἐγ λεγώνος.

¹⁹ Meyer, Paul, *Heerwesen der Ptolemäer und Römer in Aegypten*, p. 113, n. 426.

²⁰ Wilcken, U., *Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde*, I: 1, pp. 55, 393.

²¹ Cf. Lesquier, J., *La recrutement de l'armée romaine d'Égypte*, in *Revue de Philologie*, 28: 9, 10.

established in the Roman army in the late Republican period.²² It was, no doubt, his military service which had impressed upon Gemellus the advisability and taught him the methods which he employs in keeping *en rapport* with the little bureaucrats of his nome. The two legions stationed in Egypt in the first century were united in a single camp near Alexandria.²³ The advantages of observation at this, the center of the Roman régime in Egypt, are obvious. That Gemellus had learned the lesson of keeping in close touch with the highest officials of the Arsinoite nome is evident in his correspondence. In the letter we have quoted, he is able to tell his son Sabinus something of the contents of an epistle of the prefect of Egypt to the strategus, Dionysius(?) (Dionysis, as Gemellus spells it). The matter related apparently to the advance by the government of hayseed to the peasants, but the exact sense is just here obscured by breaks in the papyrus.²⁴ In 108 A.D. he informed Sabinus that Elouras, the royal scribe of the nome, through a letter of His Highness the prefect, had been appointed to fulfill the duties of the office of Erasmus, the strategus. "If you think best send him an artaba of olives and some fish, since we have need of him."²⁵ In the fall of the year came the great festival of the Isis cult, beginning Athyr 17 (November 12),²⁶ in which the death and resurrection of Osiris were represented. Upon this occasion Gemellus customarily sent presents to certain officials, especially to the strategi or local governors.²⁷ Apparently he was punctilious in the matter of these calculated amenities, punctilious rather than lavish, as the gift to the royal secretary shows. The royal secretary of the nome was an important personage, but Gemellus was a Scotch spender.

Of the thirty-five letters of the Gemellus family correspondence found in the single house at the site of ancient Euhemeria,

²² P. Fay., 119, 28. Cf. von Premerstein, A., *Klio*, III: 11-12.

²³ Meyer, P., *Heerwesen*, p. 152.

²⁴ P. Fay., 119, ll. 13-16, τοῦ χρόνου ἐπὶ σποράν.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 117, ll. 3-8.

²⁶ Lafaye, G., *Histoire du culte des divinités d'Alexandrie*, Paris, 1884, p. 126.

²⁷ P. Fay., 118, ll. 13-15, καὶ ἀγόρασον ἡμῖν εἰς ἀποστολὴν τῆς Εἰσελούς οἱς ἔχομεν συνήθειαν πέμπειν, μάλιστα τῶν στρατηγῶν. This is a good example of Gemellus' Greek, which did not improve with his advancing years. It is dated Athyr 10.

the name of the person addressed can be determined in twenty cases. Twelve²⁸ of these twenty letters are addressed to the slave Epagathus, six to Sabinus. The conclusion of the editors of the Fayum papyri seems warranted²⁹ that Epagathus resided in the house at Euhemeria and that Sabinus must have been located there upon several occasions.³⁰

Gemellus himself lived at a village called Aphroditopolis.³¹ He had seven farms of which we know. He himself managed the ones near Aphroditopolis and Psennophris.³² Four of the remainder, those near the villages of Euhemeria, Dionysias, Apias, and Senthis, were under the direct management of the slave Epagathus,³³ with continual and exacting oversight on the part of Gemellus. The remaining place was a vegetable garden at Psinachis under one Pasis,³⁴ who "croaks"—to use the picturesque phrase of Gemellus—when the manure carts do not come on time.

The town of Aphroditopolis in which Gemellus lived was situated in the division of Heraclides of the Arsinoite nome, at least fourteen or fifteen miles eastward and perhaps a little north of Euhemeria³⁵ which the steward Epagathus made the center of his farming operations. Psennophris, since it also was operated directly by Gemellus, must have been nearer to Aphroditopolis than to Euhemeria. Otherwise it would have been managed by Epagathus. There should be no hesitancy, therefore, in identifying it with the Psennophris known to have been situated in the division of Heraclides.³⁶ Euhemeria³⁷ is definitely known to have been in the division of Themistes. Dionysias, Apias, and Senthis are to be placed also toward the west end of

²⁸ Accepting Epagathus as the addressee in P. Fay., 118.

²⁹ P. Fay., 110, introduction.

³⁰ The dated letters addressed to Sabinus are of 100 and 108 A.D.

³¹ P. Fay., 115, 120.

³² Aphroditopolis: P. Fay., 120, *κολάζωμαι αὐτῶν εἰς Ἀφροδίτην πόλιν*. Psennophris: P. Fay., 118, *βάλλωι ξε ἀρούρας εἰς τὴν Ψεννόφριν*.

³³ Euhemeria: P. Fay., 110, 3-15; 111, 5-7; et *passim*. Dionysias: P. Fay., 110, 16-18; 118, 10, 24-5. Apias: P. Fay., 112; 120. Senthis: P. Fay., 112, 8-11.

³⁴ P. Fay., 119, ll. 33-4.

³⁵ Grenfell, Hunt, *Goodspeed, Tebtunis Papyri* (P. Teb.), II: p. 372 and plate III.

³⁶ P. Teb., II: 410.

³⁷ P. Fay., 25.

Lake Moeris,³⁸ some place near to Euhemeria, in the same division. Psinachis, also, lay in the division of Themistes.³⁹ The garden there was not in the group operated under the management of Epagathus (or Sabinus) from Euhemeria. Yet draft animals and dung carts were sent thither from the farm at Euhemeria.⁴⁰ My impression is that it lay in the eastern part of the division of Themistes, closer to Aphroditopolis than to Euhemeria. The known holdings of Gemellus extended therefore over a distance of at least twenty-two miles, probably more, from Aphroditopolis to the village of Dionysias near the western end of Lake Moeris.

Each of these "farms" consisted of one or more plots around a certain village. This was the customary method of land holding in Egypt. At Psennophris one of the plots was of six arourae (three and three-fourths acres). This was planted in vegetables or with olive trees, as Gemellus was manuring the Psennophris property, and the grain fields were not manured in Egypt, except by pasturing the animals upon the plots before the planting season. All that we know of the farm at Psinachis is that there was a vegetable plot there.

The village of Euhemeria was the center of operations for the four farms situated near that village and near Dionysias, Apis, and Senthis, respectively. Apparently the storehouses and draft animals were largely centered at Euhemeria for the whole of Gemellus' holdings. For it is from the manager at Euhemeria that straps are ordered for the driver at Aphroditopolis⁴¹ and yokebands "out of the box of skins which you have at your place."⁴² Olives are stored there and requisition made by Gemellus upon these stores for gifts to his brother,⁴³ or to the magistrates of the nome to gain their good will.⁴⁴ When the draft animals, no doubt donkeys, go up to Psennophris to help

³⁸ P. Teb., II Appendix II, and map, plate III. For the proximity of Apis and Senthis see P. Lond., III: 49, ll. 11-12.

³⁹ P. Teb., II: 400, l. 24 and p. 412.

⁴⁰ P. Fay., 119, l. 33.

⁴¹ P. Fay., 115, 15.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 121, ll. 7-9.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 116, 15-18.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 117, 7-8. See also ll. 8-10 where fresh olives and spices (*ἀρωμαρία*, Preisigke, *Berichtigungsliste*, 2, p. 131) are to be sent for the household at Aphroditopolis.

in the manuring, they carry cabbages and wood from Euhemeria.⁴⁵

At harvest time, Gemellus orders Epagathus to send to him two shovels and a winnowing fan—"for I am feeling the need of them at Aphroditopolis." At Euhemeria, in the time when Sabinus had succeeded his father at the head of affairs, mustard seed was kept in the store house of one Sochotes, sealed up with two seals of Epagathus and Sochotes. Sabinus sends a written order to Epagathus to hand over to bearer twenty-eight artabae of mustard,⁴⁶ which would approximate thirty-four bushels.

The page of farm accounts found in the house at Euhemeria with the Gemellus correspondence⁴⁷ may be accepted without question as referring to Gemellus' estates and coming from the register of Epagathus. It gives the expenditures for wages paid to harvest hands working at three villages, Apias, Senthis, and Dionysias, from the 19th of one month to the second of the following month.⁴⁸ Near these three villages were the farms of Gemellus managed by Epagathus. The chance is negligible that accounts of any other farmer than Gemellus, owning plots about these three same villages, should be found in the house at Euhemeria occupied by Epagathus.⁴⁹ Translating from the beginning of the published portion of the account, which is the last column of what was probably a long papyrus roll, it reads:

19th: likewise at Apias,

for 18 workmen shaking ⁵⁰	108	obols
12 more younger workmen.....	60	obols
and 11 boys.....	44	obols
7 more boys.....	24½	obols
7 more boys.....	21	obols
11 more boys.....	27½	obols

⁴⁵ P. Fay., 118, 23. Cf. for cabbages, 117, ll. 12-13.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 122.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 102.

⁴⁸ The editors state that the month Mecheir appears at the end of the column, but it is difficult to believe, as Tybi-Mecheir is much too early for the Egyptian harvest.

⁴⁹ This is the conclusion of the editors of the Fayum papyri, P. Fay., 102, introduction.

⁵⁰ *τινασσάντων*, probably cleaning with sieves *σηστρίδια* (see P. Fay., 118, l. 20).

2 more boys.....	4	obols
1 more boy.....	1	obol
Total: 290 obols, 55 sacks, 5 more selected sacks.		
21st: likewise for 21 workmen	126	obols
13 more younger workmen.....	65	obols
and 15 boys.....	60	obols
23 more boys.....	80½	obols
3 more boys.....	9	obols
9 more boys.....	22½	obols
9 more boys.....	18	obols
Sum total: 381 obols, 76 sacks, 2 more selected sacks.		
22nd: likewise for 8 workmen.....	48	obols
10 more workmen.....	50	obols
and 14 boys.....	56	obols
7 more boys.....	24½	obols
15 more boys.....	45	obols
2 more boys.....	5	obols
14 more boys.....	28	obols
Sum total: 256½ obols, 67 sacks, 3 more selected sacks.		
23rd: likewise for 2 workmen.....	12	obols
and 1 boy.....	4	obols
7 other boys.....	21	obols
Total, 37 obols, 3 sacks.		
Sum total of the whole estate (at Apias): 211 sacks, 137 drachmas 5½ obols.		
24th: likewise at Senthis,		
for 16 workmen shaking.....	96	obols
2 more younger workmen.....	10	obols
and 1 boy.....	4	obols
11 more boys.....	27½	obols
9 more boys.....	18	obols
Sum total: 155½ obols, 32 sacks, 4 more selected sacks.		
25th: likewise for 15 workmen.....	90	obols
1 more younger workman.....	5	obols
and 1 boy.....	4	obols
11 more boys.....	27½	obols
11 more boys.....	22	obols
Total: 148½ obols, 31 sacks.		
(date gone): likewise for 2 workmen.....	12	obols
and 1 boy.....	4	obols
13 more boys.....	32½	obols
7 more boys.....	14	obols
Sum total: 62½ obols, 11 sacks.		
Sum total for the whole estate (at Senthis), 78 sacks, 52 drachmas 2½ obols.		

29th: likewise, at Dionysias,	
for 20 boys gleaning ⁵¹	60 obols
15 more boys.....	30 obols

Total: 90 obols, 59 sacks.

(The text of three entries, under dates of the 30th and Mecheir⁵² 1st and 2nd, is omitted by the editors. The column ends as follows):

Sum total of the whole estate (at Dionysias), 167 sacks, 92 drachmas 3 obols.

Sum total of the whole of the shaking, 830 sacks, 738 drachmas 1½ obols.

And for girls winnowing grain, 10 drachmas 5 obols.

This published column, despite the omission of the previous portion, will enable us to picture in general outlines the method of work upon the four farms managed by Epagathus. The reaping had already been done, for in the fragments of the former column the wages paid to the workmen are followed by the results in γόμοι "loads" and δράγματα "sheaves," of wheat and barley. The threshing had been completed and most of the winnowing. The "shaking" here referred to must then be cleaning, by sifting the grain in sieves. The smaller grains, of weeds and mustard presumably, would fall through, leaving the larger seeds of grain in the sieve. In the process of sifting, the heavier and therefore better grains would be at the bottom of the sieve. This lowest layer in the sieves was then put into especial sacks enumerated by Epagathus as "selected sacks." I am inclined to explain the separate and final entry of 10 drachmas, 5 obols, (75 obols), for "girls winnowing," as a payment made at Dionysias for winnowing the grain gathered by the boys gleaning at that place after the reapers. Winnowing is heavy work, and I doubt that girls could be successfully used at it, except to complete an odd job of this kind. The sum of the wages paid is by no means large enough to cover the whole operation of winnowing.⁵³

Epagathus' method of keeping his accounts of money expended for the day labor needed in the rush period of harvesting is a simple and accurate one. He hires the laborers from day

⁵¹ διαλεγόντων πτώμα.

⁵² I hesitate to accept this reading, since Mecheir (Jan. 26-Feb. 24) is too early by three months for the harvest, which falls in Pachon (April 26-May 25). See Gemellus' letter to Epagathus, P. Fay., 112, ll. 18-21.

⁵³ I am indebted to Mr. Paul Knaplund, acting instructor in history in the University of Wisconsin, for many of these suggestions, based upon his knowledge of rather primitive harvesting methods still in vogue in northern Norway.

to day as needed, paying them at the end of the day according to a rate apparently standardized in that section of the Fayum. The rate of wages is 6 obols for the fastest and most experienced men; 5 obols for younger men; 4, $3\frac{1}{2}$, 3, $2\frac{1}{2}$, and 2 obols for boys, according to size, strength, and consequent ability to work.⁴⁴ In making up his accounts Epagathus groups them according to the amounts of the daily wage paid, giving totals at 6 obols, at 5 obols, etc., for each day. He then totals the amount paid out for each day, adding the product of the day's work by "sacks" and "selected sacks." At the conclusion of the work upon each estate he totals the amount paid out in wages and the total of sacks produced upon that estate. There are no mistakes in the page of his accounts which has been published.

The total of the sacks of grain is 830, produced as follows: fields at Apias 211, at Senthis 78, at Dionysias 168—total 456 sacks. This leaves a remainder of 384 sacks produced on the estate at Euhemeria, the accounts for which were no doubt at the end of the column preceding the one translated above. The order of productivity of the four farms in respect to grain was Euhemeria, Apias, Dionysias, Senthis. One is not warranted in attempting to draw positive conclusions as to the relative size of the farms or acreage planted to grain from the above data because the variation in productivity was much too great upon this irrigated land. It depended entirely upon the accessibility of the fields to irrigation ditches and upon proper drainage after the water had been let in. Furthermore, the customary rotation of a part of each grain area with legumes introduces another inconstant factor into the reckoning.⁴⁵

The impression left by the number of sacks of wheat and barley strengthens in my mind previous indications that the Euhemeria estate, the center of operations of the slave Epagathus, contained the largest or the more numerous plots in grain. It is made up of several *κλήροι*, or plots. In the month of Thoth (August 29-September 27) Gemellus orders Epagathus

⁴⁴ There is only one instance of a one obol wage, P. Fay., 102, l. 3. This boy may have quit at the end of a half day.

⁴⁵ P. Fay., 112, ll. 4-5. In a letter of 99 A.D. Gemellus bids Epagathus proceed with the ploughing up and hoeing of the *ἀναπαύματα*, the "fields resting up," at Euhemeria. These were the fields planted to legumes. I hope to complete a study of the Egyptian system of crop rotations during the present year.

to have the water let in upon all of these plots so that the sheep might be inclosed there.⁵⁶ This is at the high period of the flood, about a month before the planting. The sheep are to graze there apparently for fertilizing purposes. It is the only manuring which the grain-fields get.

The Euhemeria estate contains also olive groves,⁵⁷ and an additional row of trees, presumably olives, near a place called "At the Prophet."⁵⁸ The stock at the Euhemeria farm comprises sheep, pigs, ten draft animals, and some bulls.⁵⁹

In regard to the Apias estate the letters and the page of accounts acquaint us with a single grain field.⁶⁰ The estate at Dionysias has a certain acreage planted to grain. The page of accounts of Epagathus gives its production at 167 sacks. But the orders of Gemellus have to do chiefly with the watering of its olive grove⁶¹ which covers seven arourae,⁶² approximately four and two-fifths acres. All we know about the Senthis estate is its production in grain, 78 sacks, and that it has a threshing floor.⁶³

It is clear that olive raising formed an important source of Gemellus' income. The olive groves were at Euhemeria and Dionysias, possibly also at Psennophris. Gemellus had at Dionysias a field guard named Pindarus who was, in a way, a specialist in the thinning and care of olive groves.⁶⁴ For in Choiak (Nov. 27-Dec. 26) of 100 A.D. Gemellus wrote to Sabinus:⁶⁵

"Be very sure to send Pindarus the field guard at Dionysias, or his father, since Hermonax has asked me to allow him to look over his olive yard at Kerkesucha, as it is thick with trees and he wishes to cut out some of these trees. Please immediate-

⁵⁶ P. Fay., 110, ll. 11-13, *ἵνα τὰ πρόβατα ἐκεῖ κοιμηθῇ.*

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, l. 14.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 111, ll. 23-25.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 112, l. 8.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 112, 120, and 92, ll. 1-11.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 110, 15-18; 112, 15.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 118, 25.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 112, 18-20; *μὴ σπουδασέτωσαν ἀλωῶν τὰ λόμμυα*, Preisigke. *Berichtigungsliste* 2, p. 131.

⁶⁴ P. Fay., 114, 15-17, in a second letter to Sabinus, Gemellus states the reason for sending for Pindarus—"so that a skilled man may cut those trees which are to be cut out."

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 113.

ly send him straightway. And on the 18th or 19th send to the city twelve drachmas worth of fish for the four hundredth day festival of the little fellow . . . (one or two words missing) Gemella's son."

At Euhemeria Gemellus had an oil press. From the year 99 we have an agreement (*ὁμολογία*) of a young woman named Thenetkoueis,⁶⁶ aged 26, to carry olives to the olive press of Gemellus during that current year, beginning with whatever day Gemellus shall summon her. Thenetkoueis had accepted sixteen drachmas as *ἀρράβων ἀναπόκριμος*, an "irrevocable option" upon her services for that year.⁶⁷ She was to receive the daily wage customarily paid to olive carriers in the village. Its amount is not mentioned. From this daily wage the sixteen drachmas were to be deducted pro rata.

The contract is uni-lateral, of the *syngraphe* or *homologia* type, in which the obligation of one of the contracting parties is emphasized,⁶⁸ in this case Thenetkoueis, the woman. Only her acknowledgment is appended, written for her by her legal representative, a kinsman named Leontas, as the woman was illiterate. The contract has the regular notation of registration at the recorder's office at Euhemeria.

A curious feature of this contract is the acknowledgment of Gemellus, written by the steward Epagathus, that he had received payment of the sixteen drachmas. It is dated two years later than the contract itself. Evidently the contract had not been carried out as the stipulations required. If Thenetkoueis had worked at olive carrying, as agreed, the 16 drachmas earnest money certainly had not been deducted from her daily wages by Epagathus. Perhaps she did not work at all. In that case some agreement was reached between her and Epagathus (acting for Gemellus) as to the return of the earnest money which avoided the right of execution upon the woman, embodied in the conventional clause at the end of the contract:

"If Thenetkoueis does not act in accordance with the terms as written above, she shall pay back to Lucius double the earnest

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 91.

⁶⁷ Mitteis, L., in Mitteis-Wilcken, *Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyrskunde*, Leipzig, 1912, II: 1, pp. 184-86.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 80.

money, Lucius Bellenus having the right of execution upon the contracting party (Thenetkoueis) and all her belongings as if in accordance with a legal decision."

On the whole, olive culture does not now, and did not in antiquity, occupy an important place in the agricultural production of Egypt.⁶⁹ Gemellus happened to live in the one place in Egypt, the Fayum, where olive trees grew to any considerable size and produced well both in quantity and quality. The rest of Egypt was without olives except for the groves about Alexandria. These furnished edible olives, but the fruit was not useful for the manufacture of oil.⁷⁰

This information comes from the careful geographer Strabo, who had travelled the length of Egypt and knew it well. It is curiously confirmed by the extant contracts for lease or sale of olive groves, for wherever the source of the papyri and the location of the groves could be determined, they were found to be in the Fayum. It is in the Fayum alone that we find officials called "overseers of the olive crops."⁷¹

In modern cultivation of olives the ground must be thoroughly worked at least once a year and cleared of weeds. In Tunisia (Sahel) the ground is worked three or four times a year; around Sfax five times.⁷² The period of maturity of olives varies widely with the climate, from the end of February in southwestern Morocco to the beginning of May in southern France. In Asia Minor the harvest falls in November and December.⁷³

In Gemellus' time by the last of September (night of Phao-phi 3rd) the olives in the Fayum had matured to the point where petty thieves found them worth stealing.⁷⁴ In Choiak (December) and early Tybi (January) the olives were ripe and ready to harvest. It is then that Gemellus sends to Euhemeria for

⁶⁹ Fischer, Theobald, in *Petermann's Mittheilungen*, Ergänzungsband XXXI, 1904, *Der Ölbaum*, p. 69.

⁷⁰ Strabo, XVII, 35 (809). Cf. Pliny, *N. H.*, xv:3, 15, et in Aegypto carnosissimis olei exiguum. The Fayum is still the only spot in Egypt producing olives on any considerable scale. Fischer, *Der Ölbaum*, p. 69.

⁷¹ *Classical Philology*, I:171-72, βοηθοὺς ἐπισκεπτῶν ἐλαϊκῶν καρπῶν.

⁷² Fischer, in *Petermann's Mittheilungen*, Ergänzungsband XXXI, *Der Ölbaum*, p. 30.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, pp. 33-34.

⁷⁴ Johnson, Martin, Hunt, *Catalogue of the Greek Papyri in the Rylands Library* (P. Rylands), vol. II, no. 130, University Press, Manchester, 1915. From Euhemeria.

fresh olives for his own establishment.⁷⁶ More direct proof for putting the time for gathering olives in December is found in two contracts for leasing olive groves. In one⁷⁶ the lessees agree to close the work of harvesting the olives by Tybi 10 (January 5). The contract calls for payment of the rental by Mecheir 30 (February 23). This would give the lessees ample time to carry the olives to the press, extract the oil, and pay the rental, which is here paid in kind. The second lease in question⁷⁷ calls for the payment of the rental (money and kind) in the month of Hadrianus and " . . . from the harvest of the fruits."⁷⁸ Hadrianus covered the Egyptian month Choiak (December).⁷⁹

The different types of work required in the proper care of olive groves can be learned from the few complete leases of olive groves that we have from Egypt. In a three-year lease of the year 162 the lessees agree to do all the regular work connected with cleaning and digging, and some other operations which are not clear because of a break in the papyrus.⁸⁰ In another lease of A. D. 266-7 the lessor agrees to do the regular work, the lessee agreeing to do "the waterings, rilling, picking, and watching" the dykes.⁸¹ In working his own olive groves Gemellus omits none of the preparations required by landowners, whether it be the state or individuals, of their lessees in order to keep up the productivity of the groves. In Pachon (May) he orders

⁷⁶ P. Fay., 117, ll. 9-10.

⁷⁶ P. Rylands, 97, ll. 5-10, of A.D. 139.

⁷⁷ B. G. U. II:603, of A.D. 168.

⁷⁸ ἀπὸ συγκομιδῆς καρπῶν.

⁷⁹ The determination of Choiak for the month of the olive harvest in the Fayum enables me to support the decision of the editors of the *Rylands Papyri* that the month Soter is one of the first four months of the Egyptian year. For the argument see P. Rylands, pp. 147-48. Choiak (December) is assuredly the month of the full maturity of the olives. P. Rylands, 231, is dated Soter 21. It contains a request for the pickling of some olives. Therefore it must be at the time of the harvest or earlier, Phaophi, Athyr, or Choiak. Athyr is excluded, for reasons given in P. Rylands, p. 147. This leaves Phaophi or Choiak. As between the two I can make no positive decision as olives may be pickled while still green (Phaophi), or when ripe (Choiak). The preference lies decidedly with Soter=Phaophi because the inundation is still on in Phaophi.

⁸⁰ *Greek Papyri in the British Museum*, (P. Lond.) London, 1898, vol. II, 168, p. 191, τὰ καθήκοντα ἔργα περὶ τοὺς καθαρισμοὺς σκέφτην. . . .

⁸¹ Vitelli, G., *Papiri Greci e Latini* (P. S. I.) Florence, 1912, no. 33, ll. 20-23, τῶν δὲ ποτισμῶν καὶ ὥχλας (presumably=δχερέλας) καὶ κατασπασμοὺ καὶ τηρητῶν.

Epagathus to have the olive yard at Dionysias dug, putting two days upon it—"for it is advantageous that it be dug."⁸² Evidently this was the regular time for breaking the soil. For the same letter contains an order to do the same work at Euhermeria, stated in more precise terms: "Please carry on the digging of the olive groves and the ploughing under and the hoeing of the olive groves."⁸³

We have Gemellus' orders for irrigating the olives from two different months, Germanicus=Thoth (September) and Athyr (November), with the statement that the watering in Germanicus=Thoth is the second of the season.⁸⁴ The irrigation therefore falls in the four or five months covering the period of the development of the fruit.⁸⁵ Black olives were considered the choicest in the Egypt of Gemellus' time as in Tunisia today.⁸⁶

From Gemellus' letters it becomes clear that in the irrigation system of his day, even at the height of the flood period, the arable land, in the Fayum, at least, did not lie under water except as the water was purposely let in upon it. The control of the flood was, therefore, complete and the popular conception that the fields reached by the inundation were necessarily covered as by a sheet of water, is wrong. For it is in Germanicus=Thoth, the month of the height of the inundation, that Gemellus gives orders that the water be let into the olive groves.⁸⁷ Again in Athyr (November), when the inundation is generally supposed to have just receded from the fields to the point where planting could begin, Gemellus lets the water upon his seven aroura olive grove at Dionysias. The belief that the grain fields were continually covered by the flood during the period of the inundation is, in my judgment, likewise fallacious. For it is also in Germanicus=Thoth that Gemellus orders the

⁸² P. Fay., 112, 14-17, δῶξον τῶν σκαφήτρων (τὸν σκάφητρον).

⁸³ *Ibid.*, ll. 2-4, εὐ πύσεις δῶξαι τοὺς σκαφήτρος τῶν ἐλαιῶνων καὶ τοὺς ὑποσχεισμοὺς καὶ διβολήτρος τῶν ἐλαιῶνων.

⁸⁴ P. Fay., 110, 14-20; and 118. Again the order in P. Fay., 110, applies to the two olive groves under Epagathus' care, the one at Euhermeria, the other at Dionysias.

⁸⁵ Because of the irrigating of the olive groves in Germanicus in P. Fay., 110, I would also infer that P. Fay., 111, is to be read Γερμανί(ου) (Thoth), rather than Γερμανικέ(ου) (= Pachon, May).

⁸⁶ P. S. I. 33, ἐλαιῶν ἐκλεκτῆς μελαίνης ἀρτάβης ἡμισυ, and Th. Fischer, *Petermann's Mitth.*, Ergänzungsband XXXI:34.

⁸⁷ P. Fay., 110, 14-18.

water to be let in upon all the plots at Euhemeria. Quite clearly the water is to be allowed to soak in and drain off within a few days, since the sheep are to be turned in upon the fields to graze.⁸⁸

Gemellus was a type of the prosperous middle-class farmer of Egypt, a type which still existed about A. D. 100, men who owned and worked their own lands. He was far removed from the *δημόσιος γεωργός* or state peasant, who worked a small plot of land, leased directly from the state domain. Still further was he removed from the fellah who sub-leased a small plot from some state peasant of ampler means. For Gemellus was a man of substance. His slave manager, Epagathus, paid out in cash to the laborers working at Apias, Senthis, and Dionysias, 282 drachmas 4 obols within the 14 days covered by the published portion of his account book. Indeed the sum total paid out in cash for the cleaning alone,⁸⁹ as quoted at the end of Epagathus' account, is 738 drachmas 1½ obols.⁹⁰ For a single day Epagathus hired 34 men and 59 boys—and paid them their wages in cash at the end of the day.⁹¹

In the letter to Sabinus, quoted at the beginning of this paper, Gemellus speaks of the contract which he holds for the loan of a mina (100 drachmas).⁹² In 109 A.D., the faithful Epagathus is found transacting business for his master some distance away from his usual haunts around Euhemeria in the division of Themistes. In a town called Aphrodite Berenice of the Heracleid division he made a loan of 140 drachmas for Gemellus to two men named Chairas and Sochotes.⁹³ The loan is made payable in the month Payni of the year 110. It draws no interest; but in consideration of the loan Gemellus is to have the use of one-half a house in Euhemeria which belongs to the debtors. It was because of the location of this property, no doubt, that Epagathus was called into the transaction. The contract was officially registered at Euhemeria and was found there.

⁸⁸ P. Fay., 110, ll. 11-13, *καὶ λιμναζέτωσαν ἡμῶν τοὺς κλήρους πάντας ἵνα τὰ πρόβατα ἐκεῖ κοιμηθῇ.*

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 102, line 29.

⁹⁰ Reckoning on the silver standard, 7 obols to the drachma.

⁹¹ P. Fay., 102, 4-5.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 119, 18-9.

⁹³ Wessely, Stud. Pal. IV:116-17.

There are other evidences of Gemellus' activities as a prosperous man with money to loan. In 104 A.D. he wrote to Epagathus that he was going into the city "because of the little fellow and because of that incompleting deed" (*μετρώρου* for *μετεώρου*).⁹⁴ In one letter he bade Epagathus pay money to the following persons: to the keepers of the public granaries; to the scribe of the state peasants; to a man named Heraclas, 90 drachmas and interest; to an ex-tax-collector, 24 drachmas; to a certain Didas, as the price of barley bought by Gemellus, 240 drachmas with interest; and to Heron the former president, 120 drachmas as interest for two years. Of what organization Heron is president does not appear. Out of six payments we have the amounts in four cases, the total of which is 474 drachmas. In his operations Gemellus both lends and borrows, and in fairly large sums. In other words he works upon a credit basis.

The evidence of the papyri has proven that slavery played an entirely minor rôle in the economic life of Egypt during the Ptolemaic and Roman domination.⁹⁵ The slave Epagathus was treated by Gemellus as a highly regarded friend and subordinate rather than as a slave. Once when announcing that he was about to take a trip "to the city," Gemellus added: "If I go away I will send to you to greet you."⁹⁶ In another letter he asks Epagathus to "greet Heron and Orsenouphis and all those at home,"⁹⁷ presumably members of the family of the slave. At another time he inquired whether Epagathus had recovered from a fever.⁹⁸ When he writes to his son Sabinus, he sends greetings to Epagathus.⁹⁹ Throughout, Epagathus is addressed as *τῷ ἰδίῳ*, "his own Epagathus."

Kindly though he was in the main, Gemellus was sharp when the occasion seemed to warrant it. He insisted upon punctuality and service. To Epagathus he writes: "Urge the driver to do his work each day. . . . Up to today you have not harvested the field at Apias, but you have neglected

⁹⁴ P. Fay., 116, ll. 9-12. For an explanation of the term see Mitteis, L., in *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, 1:193-5.

⁹⁵ Wilcken, U., *Papyruskunde* I:1, pp. 27, 260

⁹⁶ P. Fay., 116, 20-21.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 112, 22-23. Cf. 115, 10-11.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 248.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 119, 25.

it, and up to the present you have harvested only a half of it . . . You have left it unharvested up to today. Therefore I blame you greatly."¹⁰⁰ A letter of the month Germanicus¹⁰¹ (September) of A.D. 95-96, addressed to Epagathus, contains a criticism of him which was undoubtedly merited, but was still couched in the kindly phraseology characteristic of Gemellus' relationship with the steward. No loss escaped Gemellus' eye, and his censure fell where it was deserved:

"Lucius Bellenus Gemellus to his own Epagathus greeting.

"I blame you because you have lost two pigs from the fatigue of the road, when you have in the village ten draft animals. Heraclides the donkey driver shifted the blame saying that you had told him to drive the pigs on foot." The two pigs had succumbed to the hardship of a long drive in the heat of September.

Upon his son, Sabinus, the wrath of Gemellus falls more frequently in the published portion of the correspondence. The letter to Sabinus quoted above, in which Gemellus asked that Pindarus, the field guard, be sent to him,¹⁰² is followed about a week later by another letter containing the same request.¹⁰³ Sabinus had seen fit to keep Pindarus where he was. Apparently he had written in reply, explaining the reason and complaining about the prospects for the cleaning of the grain at the coming harvest. In the second letter¹⁰⁴ Gemellus repeated his request that Pindarus be sent to him, in peremptory tone: "Now, oblige me on receipt of my letter by sending Pindarus the field guard of Dionysias into the city, etc." The fish which Sabinus was to send on by the 18th or 19th of Choiak, "for the four hundredth day festival of the little fellow," are now to be sent to Gemellus on the 24th or 25th for the birthday of Gemella. He goes on: "Now, don't chatter about your cleaning."¹⁰⁵ What an entirely human old gentleman he was! A shrewd, kindly, prosperous, self-made man, he is much sharper

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 112.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 111. I have suggested in a previous note that the month here is to be completed as Germanicus because of the watering of the olive groves.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 113.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 114.

¹⁰⁴ Dated Choiak 18 (*ibid.*, l. 26).

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 11:21-22.

with his own son Sabinus, who was to succeed him in control of his property, than with his steward Epagathus.

In the latest letter which we have of those written to Sabinus,¹⁰⁶ old Gemellus is unusually testy. After giving numerous instructions he says: "What you wrote me as to not being inactive with the building, has been written more than enough, and you write me too often that 'I am thanking the village,' when they have written four staters against you. I pray for your good health forever."

In the proper observance of birthdays and other family festivities Gemellus was quite punctilious. Herein, and in his devotion to his grandson, "the little fellow," lie the most attractive characteristics of the man. For the birthday feast of his daughter Gemella, which occurred sometime toward the end of Choiak (December), he orders at one time *ὠψάρια*, "dainties," and bread wheat, at another time fish.¹⁰⁷ The natal day of his son Sabinus is celebrated with more pomp and ceremony. He bids Epagathus buy two pigs of one litter to be fattened at Gemellus' house for sacrifice at the birthday festival of Sabinus.¹⁰⁸ For the 400th day festival of the child, Gemella's son, he orders twelve drachmas worth of fish.¹⁰⁹ This is in A.D. 100. When about to take a trip "to the city for the sake of the little fellow and that incompleted deed," Gemellus orders Epagathus to send 30 sun-fish¹¹⁰ or thirty perch and to make forty fine . . . for the occasion."

If Gemellus was as punctilious in religious observance, it does not appear in the extant letters. The Egyptian religious festivals are rather used by him as convenient opportunities for keeping in the good graces of the strategi of the nome.¹¹¹ The Roman Saturnalia was known to Gemellus as a festival from his legionary service; and he once ordered Sabinus to purchase ten cocks for him for that occasion. But the incident may not be used to indicate a widespread tendency toward the

¹⁰⁶ P. Fay., 117 of A.D. 108.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 119 and 114.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 115.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 113.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 116. *ψάρους* for *φάρους*, see Preisigke, *Berichtigungsliste*, 2:131.

¹¹¹ P. Fay., 117, 10-13; 118, 12-15.

acceptance of Roman religious ceremonies and ideas among the natives of Egypt at this period.¹¹²

The exact years of the letters written by Sabinus are not ascertainable, either in those published completely or in those merely described by the editors of the Fayum papyri. They give them a general dating "about A.D. 100." I am inclined to place at least two of the Sabinus letters, P. Fay. 122 and 123, after the death of Gemellus. This we are justified in placing in A.D. 110, the date of the last extant letter,¹¹³ or shortly thereafter. I cannot believe that Gemellus, tyrannical old gentleman that he was, would have allowed Sabinus to pre-empt him in so important a matter as the sale of the 28 artabae of mustard. He would have sent his own orders to Epagathus, to make the carpenter Sisois pay, and to send men to Chalothis.¹¹⁴ This farm at Chalothis, by the way, is not mentioned in any of the letters of Gemellus and seems to have been a purchase made under Sabinus' control of the estates.

The impression that Gemellus had died before the letters of Sabinus were written and that Sabinus had taken his place as head of the family is confirmed by P. Fay. 123, addressed to Sabinus by his brother Harpocraton, for Harpocraton now reports to Sabinus, asking for his decision upon a proposed action. He states further that a Jew, Teuphilus (Theophilus), had been impressed into service by the state as a cultivator of state lands, and sometime after impressment had conceived a desire to be released from this state obligation in order to go to Sabinus. If this letter were written "about A.D. 100" it would have gone to Gemellus, not to Sabinus, who took such sharp orders from his father in the earlier letters. If my judgment is correct, the training of Sabinus for the headship of the family was not in vain. As keenly as old Gemellus had done before him, he watches against waste. When a calf is sacrificed the hide goes to the tanner—and Sabinus sees that it comes back. "And the hide of the calf which we sacrificed—ask it from the hunch-backed tanner."¹¹⁵

¹¹² Wilcken, *Papyruskunde*, I:1, pp. 115-16.

¹¹³ P. Fay., 118.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, ll. 18, 20.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 121.

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ORDO RACHELIS

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pf

ORDO RACHELIS

The several types of liturgical play connected with the Nativity may be enumerated as follows: (1) a play of the shepherds (*Officium Pastorum*), performed on Christmas Day;¹ (2) a play of the Magi (*Officium Stellæ*), for Epiphany;² (3) a play of the prophets (*Processus Prophetarum*), associated with Christmas Day, or with the octave of Christmas;³ and a play representing the Slaughter of the Innocents (*Ordo Rachelis*),⁴ for performance on Epiphany or on Innocents Day (December 28). In the following pages I undertake a special study of the *Ordo Rachelis*.⁵

I

Both through its position in the Gospel narrative and through its liturgical history the story of the Slaughter of the Innocents is closely associated with the visit of the Magi

¹ The most recent extensive study of this play, so far as I know, is an article by the present writer entitled *Officium Pastorum: A Study of the Dramatic Developments within the Liturgy of Christmas*, in *Transactions of the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters*, XVII, Part I (1912), 299-396.

² The most thorough study of this play is that by H. Anz, *Die lateinischen Magierspiele*, Leipzig, 1905.

³ See M. Sepet, *Les Prophètes du Christ*, Paris, 1878. Upon this monograph is based the brief, but trustworthy, survey of E. K. Chambers, *The Mediaeval Stage*, II, Oxford, 1903, pp. 52-57.

⁴ Because of the central position of Rachel in plays of this class, I adopt the designation *Ordo Rachelis* found at the head of the play in the manuscript from Freising (See below, p. 42). I do not mean to disparage the designation *Interfectio Puerorum*, attached to the text from Fleury (See below, p. 27).

⁵ In addition to the brief general accounts of this play given by Chambers, II: 44, 48-51, W. Creizenach, *Geschichte des neueren Dramas*, I, Halle, 1911, pp. 54-55, 60-61, and M. Chasles, in *La Vie et les Arts liturgiques*, 3e Année, No. 31 (July, 1917), 406-412, there are inclusive treatments of special aspects of it by W. Meyer, *Fragmenta Burana*, Berlin,

to the court of Herod at Jerusalem and to the *Præsepe* at Bethlehem. In the Gospel of Matthew⁶ we are told that at the close of his interview with the Magi, Herod sent them on to Bethlehem, with the command that they should search for the new-born child, and after finding him, should return to Herod's presence with a report. After visiting the *Præsepe*, however, the Magi were warned by God in a dream that they should not return to Herod; hence they departed into their own country by another route. When Herod heard of the flight of the Magi, he indulged his anger by ordering the slaughter of all the male children in the region of Bethlehem of the age of two years or less. This association of the Slaughter of the Innocents with the visit of the Magi is further maintained in the development of the Roman liturgical system. In the earlier period of liturgical history—before the fifth or sixth century—these two events were celebrated in a single feast.⁷ It is entirely natural, therefore, that the Magi and the Innocents should have continued their association also in the early drama, and that simple suggestions toward a dramatization of the Slaughter of the Innocents should be found in the liturgical plays of Epiphany, known collectively under the convenient designation *Officium Stellæ*.

1901, pp. 44-48, and H. Anz, pp. 69-78. My special obligations to the last two writers will be frequently indicated below. I may be allowed to remark, however, that my present study differs in scope and purpose from the studies mentioned above. Whereas these writers re-edit none of the dramatic texts from the manuscripts (Charles reprints the *Lamentatio Rachelis* of Limoges, either from Gautier or from the manuscript; see below, p. 24), I undertake to re-edit all of them from the manuscripts. That new editions are needed appears abundantly, I think, from the variants attached to my texts. (These variants, I may say, do not record the innumerable normalizings in spelling in the texts of my predecessors,—*miserae* for *misere*, *miki* for *michi*, etc.) Furthermore I attempt to supplement the labors of the five writers mentioned in providing a dramatic commentary that is at least considerably more comprehensive than theirs. Meyer and Anz, for example, were concerned chiefly with establishing the textual relations among the several versions. Without, I hope, neglecting their illuminating results, I aim to offer a more comprehensive dramatic interpretation.

⁶ Matt. II: 8-18.

⁷ Ample evidence is given by G. Rietschel, *Lehrbuch der Liturgik*, I (Berlin, 1900), 189. See Anz, p. 70.

These embryonic dramatizations of the theme of the Innocents, usually found as terminations of the Epiphany plays, rest specifically upon the following passage in the Vulgate:

Tunc Herodes videns quoniam illusus esset a Magis, iratus est valde. Et mittens occidit omnes pueros, qui erant in Bethlehem, et in omnibus finibus ejus, a bimatu et infra, secundum tempus quod exquisierat a Magis.⁸

In their treatment of this passage the versions of the *Officium Stellæ* show substantial differences. Several of them, for example, entirely ignore it.⁹ The versions that explicitly approach the theme treat it in a variety of ways, and in some cases the fragmentary nature of the texts in the manuscripts renders the scope of the representation uncertain. Let us examine the specific cases.¹⁰

⁸ Matt. II:16.

⁹ This is true of the versions from Limoges (cf. E. Martène, *Tractatus de Antiqua Ecclesiæ Disciplina*, Lyons, 1706, p. 114), Besançon (cf. H. Croubach, *Primitiæ Gentium seu Historia SS. Trium Regum*, Cologne, 1654, pp. 732-734), Rouen (cf. bibliography in *Modern Language Notes*, XXVII, 1912, p. 69), Nevers (cf. bibliography, *ibid.*), Sicily (cf. K. Young, in *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, XXIV, 1909, pp. 325-329), and Fleury (cf. E. de Coussemaker, *Drames liturgiques du Moyen Age*, Rennes, 1860 pp. 143-165), and of the fragment from Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS latin 1152 (cf. *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, XXXIV, 1873, pp. 657-658). Additional bibliography concerning these versions is given by the present writer in *Modern Language Notes*, XXVII: 68-70. The text from Vienna, Hofbibliothek, MS 1054 (olim 841) is not a version of the *Officium Stellæ* (cf. K. Young, *The Poema Biblicum of Onulphus*, in *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, XXX, 1915, pp. 25-41). The absence from the Fleury *Officium Stellæ* of Herod's concluding threats concerning the Innocents is explained by the fact that in the manuscript this text is followed by a separate play upon the subject of the Innocents (See below, pp. 32, 65). To be sure, in an inappropriate place in the Fleury *Officium Stellæ* (see Coussemaker, p. 162) Herod's son urges that hostile measures be taken against the newborn Christ (*Contra illum regulum*), and Herod and his son execute the threatening gestures indicated in the rubric *Qua [i. e. Stellæ] visa, Herodes et Filius minentur cum gladiis* (Coussemaker, p. 163). But, at best, these details suggest the Slaughter of the Innocents only indirectly.

¹⁰ It should be understood that in this part of my survey I do not attempt to follow chronology; I merely enumerate the texts in the order of their relative complexity, as indicated by the extant manuscripts.

The *Officium Stellæ* from Bilsen ends as follows:¹¹

<ARMIGER ET HERODES.>

ARMIGER . . . :

Delusus es, Domine; Magi uiam redierunt allam.

In the play this utterance is preceded by the procession of the Magi departing from Bethlehem toward their own country in the East, and is followed in the manuscript by a line or two of text that can no longer be read. Evidently, then, the play ends with a brief scene in which *Armiger* informs Herod of the escape of the Magi, and receives his angry command for the slaughter of the Innocents.

In a similar sequence of action, the *Officium Stellæ* from Strassburg ends as follows:¹²

<ARMIGER ET HERODES.>

ARMIGER:

Delusus es, Domine; Magi uiam redierunt allam.

REX:

Incendium meum ruina extinguiam.

In this case Herod's anger at the disclosure of *Armiger* is explicitly expressed through a passage borrowed from Sallust.¹³ The scene is a dramatization of the first sentence (Matt. ii: 16) in the Gospel passage quoted above:

Tunc Herodes videns quoniam illulus esset a Magis, iratus est valde.

¹¹ Brussels, Library of the Bollandists, MS (without shelf-mark), *Evangelarium* saec. xi, fol. 180^v, most recently published by G. Cohen and K. Young in *Romania*, XLIV (1916-17), 368, with variants from earlier editions.

¹² British Museum, Additional MS 23922, saec. xii-xiii, fol. 11^v, printed by W. de G. Birch, in *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*, Second Series, X (1874), 416, and by C. Lange, in *Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum*, XXXII (1888), 415. The indications of the manuscript are that the play ends definitively with the passage printed herewith. The last word *extinguiam* is immediately followed by the rubric *De S. Hilario*.

¹³ Tum ille furibundus: 'Quoniam quidem circumventus, inquit, ab inimicis praeceps agor, incendium meum ruina restinguiam' (Sallust, *De Coniuratione Catilinae*, cap. xxxi, edition of Antoine and Lallier, Paris, 1888, p. 109). For *restinguiam* several manuscripts have *extinguiam*. That Herod's speech is borrowed from Sallust was first pointed out by E. Wilken, *Geschichte der geistlichen Spiele in Deutschland*, Göttingen, 1872, p. 16. See Anz, p. 92.

The version from Malmédy, in Belgium, seems to carry the action somewhat further. After the representation of the departure of the Magi occurs the following:¹⁴

<GLADIATOR ET HERODES.>

GLADIATOR:¹⁵

Decerne, Domine, uindicari iram tuam, nam uiri Chaldaei
<ius>sum tuum transgressi forte <per uiam> aliam¹⁶ reuersi
sunt <in terram su>am.¹⁷

H<ERODES>:

Bethlem ne . . .¹⁸ ice cautus m . . . ns iugulum quo
caedas puer<um>.

Te Deum.

Although this text is regrettably defective in the manuscript, it seems to show that Herod's response to the message of *Gladiator* includes an explicit order for the Slaughter of the Innocents.

In the version from Einsiedeln, Herod's intention is put beyond question:¹⁹

<INTERNUNTIVS, ARMIGER, ET HERODES.>

INTERNUNTIVS:

Delusus es, Domine; Magi uiam redierunt aliam.

¹⁴ Rome, Vatican, MS Vaticanus lat. 8552, saec. xi, fol. 1^v, previously printed, with differences, by the present writer in *Modern Language Notes*, XXVII (1912), 71 (Y). The closing words *Te Deum* seem to indicate that the play ends with the passage printed herewith. Pointed brackets in my text indicate passages which are illegible through rubbing, and which are restored with more or less probability. In editing this text I have had generous assistance from my friend, the Reverend H. M. Bannister.

¹⁵ *Gladiator*] Gla . . . or (Y).

¹⁶ <per uiam> aliam] <in regionem> suam (Y).

¹⁷ <in terram su>am] <per aliam u>iam (Y).

¹⁸ Several words are illegible here.

¹⁹ Einsiedeln, MS 366, saec. xi-xii, p. 53, printed by Anz, pp. 152-153. I have not seen the earlier text in *Pilger*, VIII (1849), 401-403. Anz rearranges the speeches in a manner which is neither intelligible to me nor supported, apparently, by the manuscript. The passage printed herewith is preceded immediately in the manuscript by the words *Chorus: Te Deum laudamus*, which mark the end of a version of an *Officium Stella*, and following our passage immediately is the rubric *Ad Prophetas. Prophete uenientes admonent*, which introduces a version of the *Processus Prophetarum*. Hence the passage that I print seems to constitute a separate dramatic division, orderly within itself, designed, probably, as an addition to the preceding *Officium Stella*.

ARMIGER:

Decerne, Domine, vindicare iram tuam, et stricto mucrone
querere iube puerum; forte inter occisos occiditur²⁰ et puer.

REX:

Incendium meum ruina eorum extinguiam.
Indolis eximie pueros fac ense perire.

In this scene, three characters are concerned: *Internuntius*, who brings the message of the escape of the Magi, *Armiger*, who urges Herod to retaliate, and Herod (*Rex*), who angrily orders the slaughter. Herod's speech takes the form of two hexameters, in the first of which is embodied the Sallustian passage already observed in the Strassburg text. The second hexameter is here seen for the first time.

In a version of the *Officium Stellæ* of Norman provenience the closing scene is considerably amplified:²¹

<INTERNUNTIVS, FILIVS HERODIS, HERODES, ET DUCES.>

ILLIS <I. e. Magis> REDEUNTIBUS, INTERNUNTIVS DICAT HERODI:

Delusus es Domine; Magi viam redierunt allam.

QUA PERACTA, FILIVS HERODIS AD PATREM:

Salus, pater inclite,
Salve, rex egregie,
Qui ubique imperans
Sceptra tenens regia.

CUI HERODES:

Fili amantissime,
Digne laudis munere,
Laudis pompam regie
Tuo gerens nomine,

²⁰ occiditur] occidetur (Anz). Anz prints the whole passage in the following rearrangement:

Internuntius: Delusus es, domine, magi viam redierunt allam!

Rex: Incendium meum ruina eorum extinguiam.

Chorus: Te Deum lauda[mus]

Armiger: Decerne, domine, vindicare iram tuam
Et stricto mucrone querere iube puerum,
Forte inter occisos occidetur et puer.

[Rex]: Indolis eximie pueros fac ense perire.

²¹ Montpellier, Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Médecine, MS H. 304, saec. xii, fol. 42^v, previously printed by the present writer in *Modern Philology*, VI (1908-09), 210-211. The fragment ends at the bottom of the manuscript page, as here printed. This version of the *Officium Stellæ* is probably associated, at least indirectly, with the liturgical use of Rouen (See *Modern Philology*, VI: 203-206).

Rex est natus fortior
 Nobis, et potentior.
 Vereor ne nos exturbet
 Nostri²² regni sollo.

ITEM FILIUS PATRI:

Contra natum puerum,
 Contra illum regulum,
 Iube, pater, maximum
 Imminere premium.

HAC PERACTA, DUCES TENENTES NUDATOS GLADIOS DICANT HERODI:

Decerne, Domine, vindicari iram tuam, iube occidi pueros;
 forte inter occisos occidetur et puer.

HERODES ACCEPTUM GLADIUM LIBRANS HAC ET ILLAC REDDAT A²³ QUO
 SUMPSIT . . .

The list of *dramatis personæ* shows here a certain extension. Herod's son joins in urging the massacre, and the single *Armiger* (or *Gladiator*) of previous texts is represented by *Duces* who carry drawn swords. The anger of Herod is described in the incomplete rubric with which the fragment ends, and we may surmise that the complete text included a speech from Herod formally ordering the slaughter. In view of the parallels in the series of texts now being examined it seems unlikely that the present text ever included a representation of the massacre itself. But upon this point we are far from certain. Noteworthy is the verse of the dialogue between *Herodes* and *Filius*.²⁴

The Epiphany play from Compiègne introduces a new element:²⁵

<NUNTIUS, ARMIGER, HERODES, ET ARMIGER.>

NUNCIUS AD REGEM:

Delusus es, Domine; Magi uiam redierunt aliam.

²² Nostri] nostris (MS).

²³ a] corrected by erasure from hac (MS).

²⁴ Substantially the same dialogue is used, in a less appropriate sequence, in the Fleury *Officium Stellæ*. See Coussemaker, *Dramæ Liturgiques*, p. 162, and above, p. 5, note 9.

²⁵ Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS latin 16819, saec. xi, fol. 49^r-49^v previously printed by K. A. M. Hartmann, *Ueber das altspanische Dreikönigspiel*, Bautzen, 1879, pp. 45-46. The evidence of the manuscript indicates that the *Officium Stellæ* ends definitively with the passage printed herewith, for this passage is followed immediately by the rubric: In die sancto Epyphanie Lectio Isale prophete.

ARMIGER:

Decerne, Domine, vindicare iram tuam, et stricto mucrone querere iube puerum; forte inter occisos <fol. 49> occidetur et puer.²⁶

REX:

Indolis eximie pueros fac ense perire.

ANGELUS:

Sinite paruulos uenire ad me, talium est enim regnum celorum.

This scene differs from the scenes already examined in the presence, at the end, of *Angelus*. One cannot tell whether or not the speech of Angelus (*Sinite paruulos*)²⁷ indicates the actual presence of the *Innocentes* in the representation. The rubrics of the text are laconic.

In the *Officium Stellæ* from Freising the presence of the *Pueri* themselves is certain:²⁸

²⁶ puer] ipse (Hartmann).

²⁷ The antiphon *Sinite paruulos*, adapted from Marc. x: 14, is found in the Canonical Office of Innocents Day (See Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, LXXVIII. 740). This antiphon appears in the *Ordo Rachelis* from Fleury (See below, p. 31).

²⁸ Munich, Hofbibliothek, Cod. Lat. 6264*, saec. xi, fol. 1r. I indicate illegible passages by two devices: (1) pointed brackets enclose passages that may be restored with reasonable probability; (2) dots represent passages for which no restorations are offered. The manuscript offers no evidence that the text as printed herewith was ever followed by any substantial extension of the play. Anz (p. 93) suggests that the first procession of the *Pueri* (*Eia dicamus . . . moribus ornat*) may have been designed for use in some other part of the play. My text differs substantially from the texts of E. Du Méril, p. 162; K. Weinhold, *Weihnachtsspiele und Lieder aus Süddeutschland und Schlesien*, Vienna, 1875, p. 61; and Anz, p. 158. I quote the texts of these three editors.

Du Méril (p. 162):

Internuntius:

Delusus es, Domine; Magi (per?) viam redierunt alliam.

Rex prosiliens:

Incendium meum ruina extinguiam.

Armiger econtra:

Decerne, Domine, vindicare iram tuam exstricto mucrone.

Rex gladium versans, reddit Armigero, dicens:

Armiger o prime, pueros fac ense perire.

Weinhold (p. 61):

Internuntius:

In aeternum vive, domine!

Magi viam redierunt alliam.

Rex prosiliens:

Incendium meum ruina extinguiam!

<INTERNUNTIUS, HERODES, ARMIGER, ET PUERI.>

INTERNUNTIUS:

Delusus es, Domine; Magi uiam redierunt alliam.

. . . PROBANT. REX PROSILIENS:

Incendium meum ruina extinguiam.

. . . ARMIGER ECOSTRA:

Decerne, Domine, uindicare iram tuam, et estricto mucrone querere iube pueros; forte inter occisos occidetur et puer.

REX GLADIUM UERSANS ARMIGERO RED<D>IT DICENS:

Armiger o prime, pueros fac ense perire.

Armiger:

Discerne, domine, vindicare iram tuam et stricto mucrone querere iube pueros; forte inter occisos occidetur et puer.

Rex gladium versans armigero reddit dicens:

Armiger eximie, pueros fac ense perire!

Hos versus cantent pueri in processione regum:

Ela dicamus regi. dies annua(?) laudes

Hoc dedit quod meus sperare.

. gaudia mille.

Hoc regnum regi. quoque reddidit orbi

. festa choreas.

. tenere

. moriens

Expleto officio:

Letabundus exultat

Angelus consilii

Sicut sidus radium.

Ans (p. 158):

Internuntius:

Delusus es, domine, magi uiam redierunt alliam!

Rex prosiliens:

Incendium meum ruina extinguiam.

Armiger:

Decerne, domine, vindicare iram tuam,

Et exstricto mucrone querere iube pueros,

Forte inter occisos occidetur et puer.

Rex gladium versans armigero reddit dicens:

Armiger o prime, pueros fac ense perire!

Mas omnia.

Hos [ver]sus cantent pueri in [pro]cession[e] regis:

Ela dicamus! regi [as hec] fert dies annua laudes,

Hoc [dies] ista dedit, quod mens sperare nequivit.

A[ttulit et] ver[e] votorum gaudia mille;

Hoc regnum reg[is], pac[e]m quoque reddidit orbi.

[Nobis diuitias, de]cus, odas, festa, choreas!

Hunc regna[re dec]et [et] reg[is] sceptr[um] tenere,

Regis [nomen a]lmat, nomen quia morib[us] ornat.

Expleto off[icio]. P. ent. eri:

Letabundus exultat [fi]delis chorus angelorum,

Angelus cons[ilii] natus est de virgine sol (de stella)

Sicut sidus radium prof[er]t virgo [filiu]m. . . .

Vel:

Mas omnis.²²

HOS VERSUS CANTENT PUERI IN PROCESSIONE REGIS:

Eia! dicamus.

Regias <hic> fert dies annua laudes;

Hoc lux ista dedit, quod mens sperare nequuit.

<Attulit et> uere uotorum gaudia mille;

Hoc regnum regi pacem quoque reddidit orbi,

N<obis diui>cias, decus, odas, festa, choreas.

Hunc regna<re decet> et reg<ni> sceptrum tenere;

Regis <nomen> amat, nomen quia moribus or<nat>.

EXPLETO OFFICIO PUERI CANTENT . . . :

Letabundus exultat fidelis chorus angel<orum>.²³

Angelus cons<ilii> natus est de uirgine sol de ste<i>la.

Sicut sidus <ra>dium profert uirgo <fi>lium <pari forma>.²⁴

Unfortunately the defective state of this text in the manuscript renders the rôle of the *Pueri* somewhat uncertain.²⁵ They apparently take part in a procession at the end of the *Officium Stellæ*; but there is no positive evidence that the Slaughter of the Innocents is specifically set forth.

²² The following is the fourth stanza of the hymn *Salvete flores martyrum Quos lucis ipso in limine* (Chevalier, *Repertorium Hymnologicum*, No. 18344) for Innocents Day:

Mas omnis infans occidat,
Scrutare nutricum sinus,
Fraus ne qua furtim subtrahat
Prolem virilis indolis.

I follow the text of H. A. Daniel, *Thesaurus Hymnologicus*, I, Leipzig, 1855, pp. 124-125. The following is the sixth stanza of the *Versus Cum natus esset dominus Turbatur rex incredulus* (Chevalier, *Rep. Hymn.*, No. 488) for Innocents Day:

Mas omnis infans occidit,
Quem novus partus protulit,
Scrutatur, ah, cunabula,
Ac ipsa matrum ubera.

I follow the text of Daniel, *Thes. Hymn.*, III: 295. See Anz, pp. 102-103.

²³ angel<orum>] Alleluia, in all the manuscripts collated in *Analecta Hymnica*, LIV: 5-7. The manuscript before us seems to have angl...; but I do not consider this reading certain.

²⁴ These last three lines are found as the first, third, and fifth sentences of a well-known sequence (Chevalier, *Repertorium Hymnologicum*, No. 10012), a critical text of which is found in *Analecta Hymnica*, LIV: 5. Additional information concerning this sequence is given in *Analecta Bollandiana*, XXXIII, Fasc. I, Jan., 1914, Supplement, p. 224.

²⁵ See, for example, the suggestions of Anz, p. 93.

In this review of the closing scenes of several versions of the *Officium Stellæ* we have observed certain close approaches to a dramatization of the Slaughter of the Innocents, but in no instance have we certainty that this subject was explicitly represented. The versions that are preserved in complete form certainly provide no such representation, and we have no proof that the fragmentary versions were more comprehensively developed in this respect.

II

For a genuine dramatization of the central theme of the Innocents in some sort of connection with a play of the Magi we may turn to the *Officium Stellæ* from Laon, the complete text of which stands as follows:¹

ORDO STELLE

STELLA APPARENTE, TRES REGES E DIUERSIS PARTIBUS UENIUNT, et PRIMUS DICIT:

Stella fulgore nimio rutilat.

SECUNDUS DICIT:

Que <fol. 149v> regem regum natum monstrat.

TERTIUS DICIT:

Quem uenturum olim prophetia signauerat.

TRES SIMUL:

Eamus ergo et inquiramus eum, offerentes ei munera: aurum, thus, et mirram; quia scriptum didicimus:² Adorabunt eum omnes reges, omnes gentes seruiunt ei.

¹ Laon, Bibliothèque de la Ville, MS 263, Troparium-Hymnarium-Proprium Laudunense saec. xiii, fol. 149v-151v. The manuscript is very briefly described in *Catalogue général des Manuscrits des Bibliothèques publiques des Départements*, I, Paris, 1849, p. 155. The text now re-edited from the manuscript has been previously printed by U. Chevallier, *Ordinaires de l'église cathédrale de Laon (Bibliothèque Liturgique, VI)*, Paris, 1897, pp. 389-394 (C). Among my variants from Chevallier's edition I do not include mere differences in spelling, such as his *iam* for *iam*. For the text before us the manuscript provides no musical notation. The text as printed is followed immediately in the manuscript by the rubric *Ordo Ioseph*, indicating the beginning of a play of Joseph and his brethren, printed by the present writer in *Modern Language Notes*, XXVI (1911), 33-37.

² didicimus] dedicimus (C).

NUNTII AD MAGOS:

Qui uos? quid queritis? uel quo iam tendere uultis?

MAGI:

Ex oriente sumus, Iherosolimam tendentes; natum regem querimus.

NUNTII AD REGEM:

Vivat Rex in eternum!

ITEM NUNTII AD REGEM:

En Magi ueniunt,

Et regem regum^a natum stella duce requirunt.

REX AD NUNTIIUM:

Ante uenire iube, quod possim singula scire

Qui sint, cur ueniant, quo nos rumore requirant.

NUNTIIUS AD MAGOS:

Regia uos mandata uocant; non segniter^c ite.

MAGI REGEM SALUTANT:

Aue, Rex Iudeorum!

REX AD MAGOS:

Regem quem queritis, natum esse quo signo didicistis?^d

MAGI:

Illum natum esse didicimus in oriente, stella monstrante.

REX AD MAGOS:

Si illum regnare creditis, dicite michi.

MAGI:

Hunc regnare fatentes, cum mysticis muneribus de terra
longinqua adorare uenimus, trinum Deum^e uenerantes tribus
in muneribus:

PRIMUS:

Auro regem,

SECUNDUS:

Thure sacerdotem,

TERTIUS:

Mirra mortalem.

REX AD SYMMISTAS:

Huc, Symmiste^f mei, disertos pagina Scribas prophetica ad
me uocate. <fol. 150">

SYMMISTE AD SCRIBAS:

Vos, legis periti, a Rege uocati, cum prophetarum libris prop-
erando uenite.

^a regum] omitted (C).

^c segniter] senntiter (Ms).

^d didicistis] dedicistis (C).

^e Deum] Dominum (C).

^f Symmiste] simite (Ms); C, reads si mire, but corrects to symmiste.

REX AD SCRIBAS:

O uos Scribe interrogati, dicite si quid de hoc puero scriptum uideritis in libro.

RESPONDENT SCRIBE:

Vidimus, Domine, in prophetarum libris: Bethleem, non es minima in principibus Iuda, ex te enim exiet dux qui regat populum meum Israel; ipse enim saluum faciet populum suum a peccatis eorum.

REX AD MAGOS:

Ite et de puero diligenter inuestigate,
Et, inuento, redeuntibus mihi renuntiate.

MAGI INCLINANTES DISCEDUNT, et ITERUM UIDENTES STELLAM DICUNT:

Ecce stella, ecce stella, et ecce stella in oriente preuisa^a
Iterum reducit nos lucida, lucida, lucida,
Quam Balaam ex Iudaica orituram^b dixerat prosapia,
Que nostrorum oculis, fulguranti¹⁰ lumine, perstrinxit¹¹ pauidos
Lucida, lucida, lucida.

Ipsam simul, ipsam simul, ipsam simul congregiando sectantes
Non relinquamus ultra, donec nos perducatur ad cunabula.

OBSTETRICES AD MAGOS, ANTEQUAM INTRENT:

Qui sunt hi¹² qui, stella duce, nos adeuntibus mandata ferunt?

MAGI:

Nos sumus, quos cernitis, reges Tharsis et Arabum et Sabba,
dona ferentes Xpisto regi¹³ nato Domino, quem, stella deducente, adorare uenimus.

OBSTETRICES INTRODUCENTES MAGOS, OSTENDUNT PUERUM et DICUNT:

Ecce Puer adest quem queritis; <fol. 150v> introeuntibus
adorate, quia ipse est redemptio¹⁴ mundi.

ACCEDUNT MAGI et GENUFLEXO PRIMUS DICIT:

Suscipe, Rex, aurum.

SECUNDUS:

Tolle thus, tu uere Deus.

TERTIUS:

Mirram, signum sepulture.

JOSEPH AD MAGOS:

Multi reges et prophete
Uoluerunt hec uidere
Que auditis et uidetis;
Nec concessum fuit illis.

^a preuisa] perversa (C).

^b orituram] oriturum (Ms).

¹⁰ fulguranti] fulgurante (C).

¹¹ perstrinxit] perstrinxit (Ms); pertrinxit (C).

¹² hi] omitted (C).

¹³ regi] rege (Ms).

¹⁴ redemptio] redemptor (C).

ANGELUS:

Impleta sunt omnia que prophetice dicta sunt; ite, uiam redeuntes aliam, ne delatores tanti regis puniendi eritis.

MAGI REDEUNTES CANTANT:

Secundum quod dictum est nobis ab angelo de puero isto, inuenimus infantem pannis inuolutum et positum in presepio in medio duum animalium.

NUNTIVS AD REGEM:

Delusus es, Domine; Magi uiam redierunt aliam.

ARCHELAUS AD REGEM:

Decerne, Domine, uindicari iram tuam, et stricto mucrone querere iube pueros; forte inter occisos occidetur et puer.

REX GLADIUM REDDENS ARCHELAO DICIT:

Indolis eximia, pueros fac ense perire.

INTERIM PUERI, AGNUM PORTANTES, INTRANT CANTANTES:

Ecce Agnus Dei, ecce qui tollit peccata mundi, alleluia.

ITERUM ET TERTIO UENIUNT ARMATI. CLAMANT PUERI DUM OCCIDUNTUR:

Quare non defendis sanguinem nostrum?

ANGELUS:

Adhuc sustinete modicum tempus, donec impleatur numerus fratrum uestrorum.

VENIT RACHEL, ET EXCLAMANS CUM FLETU DICIT:

O dulces innocentum acies!

O pia lactantium¹⁵ pro Xpisto certamina!

Paruorum truci <fol. 151^v> dantur milia;

Membris ex teneris manant lactis flumina.

CONSOLATRIX:

Noli, uirgo Rachel,	noli, dulcissima mater,
Pro nece paruorum	fletus reticere dolorum.

RACHEL:

Gaudia non possunt, ¹⁶	nam dulcia pignora non sunt,
Judee florem,	patrie lacrimando decorem.

CONSOLATRIX:

Tu, que tristaris,	exulta, que lacrimaris,
Namque tui nati	uiuunt super astra beati.

RACHEL:

Heu! Heu!	
Quomodo gaudebo	dum mortua membra ui debo?
Dum sic commota	fuero per uiscera tota
Me facient uere	pueri sine fine dolere.

¹⁵ lactantium] lactantium (C).

¹⁶ possunt] possum (Ms. and C).

CONSOLATRIX:

Supplico ne plores, que tanto sanguine flores
Ast oculos fientes, lacrimas quoque terge fluentes.

RACHEL:

In dolorem est conuersum
Quod habebam gaudium.

CONSOLATRIX:

Quam beata sunt innocentum ab Herode cesa corpuscula!
Quam felices existunt matres, fuderunt que talia pignora!

RACHEL:

Planctus matrum et Rachelis equa sunt suspiria
Nulla quidem consolatur magna pre tristitia.
Ey¹⁷ dolor est! Nolo consolari quia non sunt.

A mere glance at this text reveals the fact that the Slaughter of the Innocents, as ordered and effected by Herod according to the narrative of the Vulgate, is here actually dramatized. Herod's final command, *Indolis eximie pueros fac ense perire*, which marks the end of a normal version of the *Officium Stellæ* such as that from Einsiedeln,¹⁸ is here promptly executed in a true dramatic representation. The sequence of the dramatic action aptly follows that of the Gospel account: *Tunc Herodes videns quoniam illusus esset a Magis, iratus est valde. Et mittens occidit omnes pueros.*¹⁹

The question, however, as to whether the dramatization of the Innocents scene in this case constitutes a true extension of the preceding play, resulting from a mere continuance of the dramatic impulse further into the Gospel narrative, or whether the attachment of the new scene to a normal form of *Officium Stellæ* is accomplished so mechanically²⁰ as to indicate an essentially independent Innocents play of separate origin,—this question need not, at present, be answered. Whatever our final opinion may be in this particular matter, we may, without impropriety, study the Innocents scene before us first by itself, and may, for the moment, speak of it as if it were an independent version of the *Ordo Rachelis*.

¹⁷ Ey] En (C).

¹⁸ See above, pp. 7-8.

¹⁹ Matt. ii: 16.

²⁰ See Anz, p. 78; Meyer, p. 48.

At the opening of the action the *Pueri*, conducting (*portantes*) the lamb, enter singing²¹ *Ecce agnus Dei*. The soldiers promptly appear, and without utterance proceed with the massacre.²² As the *Pueri* fall, they cry out for protection (*Quare non defendis*), and receive the reassuring response of the angel (*Adhuc sustinete*). Rachel now enters, and with her lament of four lines begins the dialogue with *Consolatrix* that constitutes the body of the scene.

In schematic outline the action of the version before us may be presented as follows:

- | | |
|--------------------------|----------------------|
| I. Processio Puerorum | |
| Pueri | Ecce agnus Dei. |
| II. Interfectio Puerorum | |
| Pueri | Quare non defendis. |
| Angelus | Adhuc sustinete. |
| III. Lamentatio Rachelis | |
| Rachel | O dulces innocentum. |
| Consolatrix | Noli, virgo Rachel. |
| Rachel | Gaudia non possunt. |
| Consolatrix | Tu, que tristaris. |
| Rachel | Quomodo gaudebo. |
| Consolatrix | Supplicio ne plores. |
| Rachel | In dolorem. |
| Consolatrix | Quam beata. |
| Rachel | Planctus matrum. |

Let us now consider the sources of the several divisions in order, beginning with the *Processio Puerorum*. The presence of the lamb is amply explained by the Epistle of the day (Apoc. xiv: 1-5), in which we read,

Et vidi, et ecce Agnus stabat supra montem Sion, et cum eo centum quadraginta quatuor millia . . . Hi sunt, qui cum mulieribus non sunt coinquinati: virgines enim sunt. *Hi sequuntur Agnum quocumque iterit.*²³

²¹ It will be remembered that the manuscript provides no musical notation.

²² I am not certain as to the interpretation of the rubric *Iterum et tertio veniunt Armati*. Possibly the words *iterum et tertio* are to be construed with the preceding utterance of the *Pueri*, indicating the singing of the *Ecce agnus Dei* three times, under the influence of the Roman Mass (See below, p. 19). Possibly the rubric indicates repeated enterings of the *Armati*.

²³ Apoc. xiv. 1, 4.

This motive of the procession of the Lamb appears frequently in liturgical poetry.²⁴ The text that the *Pueri* actually sing comes ultimately from the Gospel of John (i: 29):

Ecce Agnus Dei, ecce qui tollit peccatum mundi.²⁵

In the second division of the Innocents scene the actual slaughtering of the *Pueri* is briefly dramatized. The killing of the *Pueri* itself is represented in dumb-show by *armati*. The action is accompanied by a dialogue between the *Pueri* and *Angelus*, the text of the dialogue being drawn from the following responsory of the Canonical Office:

Sub altare Dei audiui voces occisorum: Quare non defendis sanguinem nostrum? et acceperunt divinum responsum: Adhuc sustinete modicum, donec impleatur numerus fratrum vestrorum. VERSUS: Vidi sub altare Dei animas sanctorum, propter verbum Domini quod habebant, et clara voce dicebant. Quare non.²⁶

²⁴ See Anz, p. 71.

²⁵ The *Agnus Dei* appears in the Roman Mass in the following form:

Agnus Dei qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis.

Agnus Dei qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis.

Agnus Dei qui tollis peccata mundi, dona nobis pacem.

The triple singing of the *Agnus Dei* is at least as old as the twelfth century. See Rietschel, *op. cit.*, I, 388; N. Gühr, *The Holy Sacrifice of the Mass*, St. Louis, 1908, p. 715; E. G. C. F. Atchley, *Ordo Romanus Primus*, London, 1905, p. 109. The formula of the *Agnus Dei* is found also in the following responsory for the third nocturn of Christmas Matins:

Ecce Agnus Dei qui tollit peccata mundi. Ecce de quo dicebam vobis: Qui post me venit ante me factus est, cuius non sum dignus corrigiam calciamenti soluere. Versus: Hoc est testimonium quod perhibuit Iohannem. Qui post. (*Antiphonale Hartkeri*, saec. x, p. 49, facsimile in *Paléographie Musicale*, Deuxième Série, Vol. I).

²⁶ Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, LXXVIII: 739-740, where it is found as the first responsory of Matins for Innocents Day. Gautier, *Les Tropes*, Paris, 1886, p. 168, speaks of *Sub altare Dei* as being the second responsory. The *Antiphonarium Hartkeri* (p. 65) presents this liturgical piece as the first responsory for Matins of Innocents Day, in the following somewhat different form:

Sub altare Dei audiui voces occisorum dicentium: Quare non defendis sanguinem nostrum? Et acceperunt diuinum responsum: Adhuc sustinete modicum tempus, donec impleatur numerus fratrum vestrorum. Versus: Vidi sub ara Dei animas occisorum propter verbum Dei quod habebant, et clara voce dicebant. Quare.

This responsory is, of course, formed from the following passage in the Vulgate:

Et cum aperuisset sigillum quintum, vidi subtus altare animas interfectorum propter verbum Dei, et propter testimonium quod habebant;

Et clamabant voce magna, dicentes: Usquequo, Domine (sanctus et verus), non iudicas, et non vindicas sanguinem nostrum de iis qui habitant in terra?

Et datæ sunt illis singulæ stolæ albæ; et dictum est illis ut requiescerent adhuc tempus modicum, donec compleantur conservi eorum, et fratres eorum, qui interficiendi sunt sicut et illi.²⁷

Obviously the responsory is more dramatic in form, and more apt for dramatic use, than is the Vulgate narrative. The divine response, recounted in the Vulgate in indirect discourse (*dictum est illis ut requiescerent*), becomes in the responsory direct discourse (*acceperunt divinum responsum: Adhuc sustinete*), the change resulting in a dialogue in which the cry of the dying children calls forth a comforting reply from the angel. It appears, then, that the authors of the *Ordo Rachelis* borrowed this dialogue from the responsory; and they used it successfully in more than one version of the play.²⁸

The greater part of the play,²⁹ however, is included in the

²⁷ Apoc. vi: 9-11.

²⁸ See below pp. 24, 29. The possibility of an initiating influence from the responsory will be considered below, pp. 64-65. It should be observed that probably in no form of liturgical rendition of the responsory would the full dramatic force of the dialogue be explicitly indicated by an appropriate assignment of separate parts to separate voices; for probably one voice, or group of voices, would always sing the question, the reply, and the connecting narrative. See P. Wagner, *Origine et Développement du Chant Liturgique*, Tournai, 1904, pp. 135-143; and the present writer in *Transactions of the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters*, XVII, Part I (1912), 344-346. It appears then, that the successful adaptation of the dramatic speeches from the responsory is to be credited to the author, or authors, of the *Ordo Rachelis*. The writers of liturgical plays, to be sure, are not always faultless in such adaptations, as we may see, for example, from a speech of the Shepherds (*Pastores loquebantur ad invicem*) in the *Officium Stellæ* from Strassburg (*Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum*, XXXII: 414), a speech in which the Shepherds mention themselves in the third person.

²⁹ I am still regarding the Innocents scene of the Laon *Officium Stellæ* as if it were an independent play.

third division, consisting of five utterances by Rachel and four by *Consolatrix*. In considering the provenience of these dramatic personages we revert naturally to the Vulgate narrative of Matthew (ii:16-18):

Tunc Herodes videns quoniam illusus esset a Magis, iratus est valde. Et mittens occidit omnes pueros, qui erant in Bethlehem, et in omnibus finibus ejus, a bimatu et infra, secundum tempus quod exquisierat a Magis.

Tunc adimpletum est quod dictum est per Jeremiam prophetam, dicentem:

Vox in Rama audita est, ploratus et ululatus multus: Rachel plorans filios suos, et noluit consolari, quia non sunt.

Of these verses the one that inevitably appealed most vividly to the mediaeval imagination was the last,—a verse that received prominence not only as part of the liturgical Gospel of the day, but also as a prophecy of Jeremiah,³⁰ and as the *Communio* in the Mass of Innocents Day.³¹ Through one or more of these agencies arose the two figures of Rachel and her comforter (*Consolatrix*), the former explicitly named in the sources, and the latter implied (*noluit consolari*).³²

But though the Vulgate and the liturgy provide, or suggest, these two personages, the sources mentioned supply for them no direct utterances. This need is met by the imaginations of liturgical poets, among whose productions are found a considerable part of the passages spoken by Rachel and *Consolatrix* in the play before us.

Rachel's first speech (*O dulces . . . lactis flumina*) is supplied completely, and probably directly, by two sentences (20 and 21) from the sequence *Celsa pueri concrepent melodia*.³³ Two other sentences (18 and 19) from the same

³⁰ Hæc dicit Dominus: Vox in excelso audita est lamentationis, luctus, et fletus Rachel plorantis filios suos, et nolentis consolari super eis, quia non sunt (Jer. xxxi: 15).

³¹ Vox in Rama audita est, ploratus et ululatus. Rachel plorans filios suos, noluit consolari, quia non sunt (Migne. Pat. Lat., LXXVIII: 648).

³² See Anz, pp. 72, 78.

³³ Chevalier, *Repertorium Hymnologicum*, No. 2747. A critical text is found in *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi*, LIII: 264-265. This text

sequence supply the last utterance of *Consolatrix* (*Quam beata . . . talia pignora*). From another sequence is drawn the greater part (*Planctus matrum . . . pre tristitia*) of Rachel's last speech.³⁴ The last sentence of this speech (*Ey dolor . . . non sunt*),—presumably a hexameter,—is manifestly formed upon the following passage of the Vulgate: *Rachel plorans filios suos, et noluit consolari, quia non sunt*.³⁵ For Rachel's fourth speech (*In dolorem . . . gaudium*) no source is forthcoming.³⁶

As to sources for the first three speeches of *Consolatrix*, and for the second and third utterances of Rachel, we have only doubtful proposals. It will be observed that the eleven lines of these five speeches (*Noli uirgo . . . terge fluentes*) stand apart from the rest of the play as a continuous passage in Leonine hexameters. Meyer conjectures³⁷ that in composing this passage the author was guided by some text similar to that preserved in the Freising *Ordo Rachelis*.³⁸ This conjecture is supported by certain rather tenuous verbal resemblances between the Laon text and that from Freising.³⁹ By a more elaborate argument Anz would prove⁴⁰ that the three speeches of *Consolatrix* originally constituted a single utterance, which was a mere revision of the speech of *Angelus* in the Innocents trope from Limoges.⁴¹ Since the details of these conjectures will be presented below,⁴² they may be momentarily dismissed with the remark that to the present writer they seem largely indecisive.

supersedes that of J. Kehrein, *Lateinische Sequenzen*, Mainz, 1873, p. 250. See Meyer, p. 45.

³⁴ The sequence is *Misit Herodes innocentum* (sentences 5 and 6), listed by Chevalier, *Repertorium Hymnologicum*, No. 11620. See Meyer, p. 45. The text of Kehrein (p. 249) is now superseded by that of Blume and Bannister, *Analecta Hymnica*, LIV: 70-71.

³⁵ Matt. II: 18. See Meyer, p. 45.

³⁶ See Meyer, p. 45; Anz, p. 74.

³⁷ See Meyer, pp. 45-46.

³⁸ See below, pp. 44-45.

³⁹ See below, p. 53.

⁴⁰ See Anz, pp. 74-77.

⁴¹ See below, pp. 57-60.

⁴² See below, pp. 53-62, where is discussed also the fact that the first nine of the Leonines in the Laon version are found also in the *Ordo Rachelis* from Fleury.

When we pass from matters of content to matters of dramatic presentation, we find only meagre information. As to the setting of the stage the rubrics are entirely silent. In regard to impersonation, however, the intimations of the rubrics, though slight, are sufficiently conclusive. The words *Pueri agnum portantes* and *Armati* certainly imply impersonation; and a mimetic intention may be confidently assumed also for *Angelus*, *Rachel*, and *Consolatrix*.

III

As has already been suggested, the presence of the Laon *Ordo Rachelis* at the end of a version of the *Officium Stellæ* is in itself no final proof that the scene of the Innocents arose through a mere extension of the preceding action. Although the *Ordo Rachelis* is the natural dramatic consequence of the anger of Herod expressed at the end of the normal Epiphany play, the Innocents play may still have been independent of the *Officium Stellæ* in its literary origin, and may have attached itself to the *Officium Stellæ* only after a substantial independent development. This possibility is, in any case, suggested by the fact that the *Ordo Rachelis* is found as a separate dramatic unit in at least three versions. To a consideration of these we now naturally turn.

The simplest version is from the monastery of St. Martial at Limoges:¹

¹ Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS latin 1139, *Troparium Martialense* saec. xi, fol. 32^v-33^r. The manuscript is described by E. de Coussemaker, *Histoire de l'Harmonie au Moyen Age*, Paris, 1852, pp. 126-127, and by the same author in his *Drames liturgiques du Moyen Age*, Rennes, 1860, pp. 311-319. Since this manuscript contains the famous *Sponsus*, numerous notes upon it have been written by students of romanic dialects. (See W. Foerster and E. Koschwitz, *Altfranzösisches Übungsbuch*, Leipzig, 1902, col. 91-94). The text printed below has been previously edited four times: (1) by C. Magnin, in *Journal des Savants*, 1846, p. 93 (M); (2) by E. de Coussemaker, *Histoire de l'Harmonie*, p. 128 (Co); (3) by L. Gautier, *Les Tropes*, Paris, 1886, p. 168, (G); and by M. Chasles, in *La Vie et les Arts liturgiques*, 3^e Année, No. 31 (July, 1917), p. 407 (Ch). I omit from consideration the very fragmen-

<RESPONSORIUM>: Sub³ altare Dei audiui uoces occisorum dicentium: *Versus*:² Quare non defendis sanguinem nostrum? Et acceperunt diuinum responsum: Adhuc sustinete modicum tempus, donec impleatur numerus fratrum uestrorum. <VERSUS>: Vidi⁴ <sub altare Dei animas sanctorum, propter uerbum Domini quod habebant, et clara uoce dicebant. Quare non.>

⁵LAMENTATIO RACHEL:⁶

O ⁷ dulces filii,	quos nunc progenui, <fol. 33 ⁸ >
Olim dicta mater,	quod nomen tenui?
Olim per pignora	uocor puerpera,
Modo sum misera	natorum uidua.
Heu! michi misere!	cum possim uluere,
Cum natos coram me	uideo perdere,
Atque lacerare	parum ⁹ detruncare.
Herodes impius, ¹⁰	furore repletus,
Nimium superbus	perdit meos ¹¹ partus.

tary text of Du Ménil, p. 46. Gautier's text was reprinted by Ans, pp. 72-73. Coussemaker's Plate XII imperfectly reproduces part of the text in facsimile, with its accompanying musical notation. Coussemaker's text (p. 128) and his Plate XII are not in precise agreement. It should be observed also that Coussemaker omits the introductory responsory *Sub altare*. The text as printed in the present study is immediately preceded in the manuscript by a blank space of about two centimeters, which, in turn, is preceded by an irrelevant trope of the *Deus in adiutorium*, ending . . . *Tibi, Xpiste, rex glorie, gloria tibi, Domine*. My text, which ends in the manuscript at the very bottom of fol. 33^v, is immediately followed, at the top of fol. 33^v, by a fresh trope (probably of the *Benedicamus*) beginning *In hoc festo breuiter iubilamus pariter, conlaudantes Dominum, saluatorem omnium*.

²Sub] V. Sub (Ch).

³Versus] omitted (G and Ch).

⁴uestrorum. <Versus>: Vidi] vestrorum V. Vidi (G); vestrorum (M); vestrorum R. Vidi (Ch). In place of the passage in brackets after *Vidi*, Charles prints the following as if it were in the MS: *sub altare Dei animas interfectorum propter uerbum Dei, et propter testimonium quod habebant, et clamabant, uoce magna dicentes: Quare non defendis sanguinem nostrum? Et acceperunt diuinum responsum: Adhuc sustinete modicum tempus donec impleatur numerus fratrum uestrorum*.

⁵Co. begins here.

⁶Lamentatio Rachel] omitted (Ch).

⁷O] omitted (M).

⁸parum] partim (Co).

⁹impius] Aegyptus (M).

¹⁰meos] mons (Ms.).

ANGELUS:

Noli, Rachel, deflere pignora.
 Cur tristar¹¹, et tundis pectora?
 Noli flere, sed gaude potius,
 Cui¹² nati uiuunt felicius.
 Ergo gaude!
 Summi patris eterni¹³ filius,
 Hic est ille quem querit perdere,
 Qui uos facit eterne uiuere.
 Ergo gaude!

From the external point of view this text may be described as a dramatic trope of the responsory *Sub altare Dei*.¹⁴ The dramatic content of the responsory itself we have already observed in the course of our examination of the *Ordo Rachelis* from Laon.¹⁵ In that play the dialogue embedded in the responsory is extracted, and adapted to form an integral part of the action of the drama, whereas in the Limoges text before us the responsory remains intact as a purely liturgical element. The lament of Rachel and the response of the angel are introduced by the rubrics *Lamentatio Rachel* and *Angelus* respectively; the responsory itself bears no rubric indicating dramatic intention.¹⁶

Although, then, the actual dramatization of the massacre itself lies dormant in the responsory, the lament of Rachel

¹¹ Cur tristar^{is}] *The MS may read Cor tristar^{is},—with good sense; Contristar^{is} (M and Co).*

¹² Cui] Tui (G and Ch).

¹³ eterni] eterun (Ms).

¹⁴ Upon this point Gautier (p. 168) expresses doubt as follows: "Je dois ajouter que je ne suis pas absolument certain que le dialogue suivant, entre l'Ange et Rachel, doive être considéré comme le Trope du répons *Sub altare*; mais je suis très porté à le croire." One can scarcely feel certainty in a matter of liturgical poetry concerning which Gautier has expressed doubt, even though the basis for the doubt is not apparent. As I have explained above (See p. 25, note), the text before us is found in a series of tropes of liturgical pieces in the Canonical Office, and tropes of responsories,—or proses appended to responsories,—are not uncommon in French liturgical manuscripts. See, for example, Paris, Bibl. Nat., Mss lat. 9425, fol. 42v-45r; 1309, fol. 30v, 85v; 1298, fol. Bibl. Nat., Mss lat. 9425, fol. 42v-45r; 1309, fol. 30v, 85v; 1298, fol. 25v-31r; 1273, fol. 50r; and Gautier, p. 167.

¹⁵ See above, pp. 19-20.

¹⁶ The blank space of about two centimeters in the manuscript immediately before the opening words of the responsory may have been left for a significant rubric of a word or two; but such a rubric could scarcely alter the purely liturgical status of the responsory itself.

is presented in dramatic form in the two substantial utterances of Rachel and *Angelus*. The speech of Rachel constitutes a stanza of nine twelve-syllable lines, with prevailing internal rime.¹⁷ Since sources are not forthcoming from the liturgy, and since this stanza seems not to be found elsewhere, we may regard it as an original composition. The response of *Angelus* takes the form of seven ten-syllable lines, with the refrain *Ergo gaude* after the fourth line and the seventh.¹⁸ For this utterance I know of no direct sources.¹⁹

The meagreness of the rubrics in the Limoges text precludes a positive statement as to the manner in which the dramatic dialogue was rendered.²⁰ From the absence of all evidence of impersonation we must infer that we have before us a dramatic poem rather than a drama.

IV

In the two versions of the *Ordo Rachelis* already considered,—those from Laon and Limoges,—the one absorbing rôle is that of Rachel: her lament, or laments, and the comforting utterances of *Consolatrix*. A very marked extension in dramatic content is found in the version from the monastery of St. Benoit at Fleury:¹

¹⁷ See Meyer, p. 47.

¹⁸ Meyer (p. 47) designates as the refrain, *Noli, Rachel, deslere pignora*. Anz (p. 73) notes the successful effect of the refrain *Ergo gaude*.

¹⁹ Suggestions for certain of the expressions in this speech may have been found in such traditional liturgical forms as the following:

- (1) Versus: *Noli flere, Maria* (Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, LXXVIII; 770).
- (2) Antiphona: *Alleluia, noli flere, Maria, alleluia; resurrexit Dominus, alleluia, alleluia.* (*Antiphonale Hartkeri*, p. 241.)
- (3) Antiphona: *Gaude, Maria virgo! cunctas hereses sola interemisti in universo mundo* (*Antiphonale Hartkeri*, p. 117).

Whether or not these feeble suggestions were in the mind of the Limoges poet, nothing is detracted from his originality.

²⁰ It would be hazardous to suggest that the dialogue was delivered between half-choirs, or between *cantor* (or *cantores*) and choir, or between two *cantores*. As to the manner in which the preceding responsory may have been delivered see above, p. 20, note 28.

¹ Orleans, Bibliothèque de la Ville, Ms. 201 (olim 178), *Miscellanea Floriacensia* saec. xii, pp. 214-220. The manuscript is described by C. Cuisard, in *Catalogue général des Manuscrits des Bibliothèques publiques de France: Départements*, Paris, 1889, pp. 108-109, and by Coussemaker, *Drames liturgiques*, pp. 326-328. The *Ordo Rachelis* is provided with musical notation on four lines. The text of this play has been previously

<ORDO RACHELIS>

<A> ¹D² INTERFECTIONEM PUERORUM INDUANTUR INNOCENTES STOLIS ALBIS, et GAUDENTES³ per MONASTERIUM, ORENT DEUM⁴ DICENTES:⁵

<O>⁶ quam gloriosum⁷ est regnum <in quo cum Christo gaudent omnes sancti amicti stolis albis; sequuntur agnum quocumque ierit>.

TUNC AGNUS EX IMPROVISO VENIENS, PORTANS⁸ CRUCEM, ANTECEDAT EOS⁹ HUC ET ILLUC, et ILLI SEQUENTES CANTENT:¹⁰

Emitte agnum, Domine, <dominatorem terrae de petra deserti ad montem filiae Sion>.¹¹

published four times by the following editors: (1) L.-J.-N. Monmerqué, in *Mélanges de la Société des Bibliophiles français*, 1831-32, pp. 147-154 (B); (2) T. Wright, *Early Mysteries and Other Latin Poems of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries*, London, 1838, pp. 29-31. Wright based his text upon proof-sheets furnished him by Monmerqué. See Wright, p. vi. Wright's emendations may be traced through the variants appended to my text below. (W); (3) Du Ménil, *op. cit.*, pp. 175-179 (D); (4) Coussemaker, *Drames liturgiques*, pp. 166-177 (C). In printing the variants from Coussemaker I follow his *Texte seul*, pp. 173-177. Only Coussemaker publishes the music. In the manuscript the text printed herewith is immediately preceded by the words *Te Deum. Sic finit*, which mark the end of the Fleury *Officium Stellae*. My text is followed immediately by the rubric *Ad faciendam dominici sepulchri* . . . indicating the beginning of a version of the Easter play, *Visitatio Sepulchri*.

²<A>d] Ad (B. W. D. C.). MS leaves ample space for the capital A. which was never inserted.

³gaudentes] gradientes suggested (D).

⁴Deum] Dominum (B. W. D.).

⁵In the MS the word *dicentes* is followed by a small blank space of about eight millimeters, after which the text proceeds as follows: *Tunc Agnus ex improvise veniens, portans crucem, antecedit eos huc et illuc, et illi sequentes cantent*: <p. 215> <O> quam glōsiosum est regnum, Emitte agnum, Domine. Interim Armiger. The four previous editors (B. W. D. C.) all note the obvious omission after *dicentes*. At the point of omission B. W. and D. supply the words *Quam gloriosum, etc.*, and C., the words *Quam gloriosum est regnum, etc.* B. W. and D. print the formula *Quam gloriosum est regnum* also in the position that it occupies in the manuscript. C. avoids this repetition. All four editors omit the capital <O>. It will be observed that, in general arrangement at this point, C and my text are in substantial agreement.

⁶<O>] omitted by B. W. D. and C. In the MS a blank space is left for this capital letter, and musical notation is provided for it. The complete text of the liturgical piece as supplied in brackets is found among the antiphons of Vespers for the Vigil of All Saints in the tenth-century *Antiphonale Hartkeri*, p. 331.

⁷gloriosum] glōsiosum (MS).

⁸portans] corrected from porotans (MS).

⁹eos] hos (B. D.); omitted (C).

¹⁰cantent] dicant (D. C.).

¹¹Antiphon for Lauds on Monday of the last week of Advent, in *Antiphonale Hartkeri*, p. 37. See also Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, LXXVIII; 731.

INTERIM ARMIGER QUIDAM OFFERAT HERODI SEDENTI SCEPTRUM SUUM DICENS:

Super solium David,¹² <et super regnum ejus sedebit in aeternum, alleluia>.¹³

INTEREA ANGELUS SUPER PRESEPE APPARENS¹⁴ MONEAT IOSEPH FUGERE IN EGIPPTUM CUM MARIA. ANGELUS DICAT¹⁵ TRIBUS UICIBUS IOSEPH:¹⁶

IOSEPH, IOSEPH, IOSEPH, FILII DAVID!

POSTEA DICAT HEC:

Tolle puerum et matrem eius, et uade in Egiptum, et esto ibi usque dum dicam tibi.¹⁷ Futurum est enim ut Herodes querat puerum ad perdendum eum.

IOSEPH ABIENS, NON UIDENTE HERODE, CUM MARIA PORTANTE PUERUM, DICENS:

Egipte, noli flere,¹⁸ <quia dominator tuus venient tibi, ante cujus conspectum movebuntur abyssi, liberare populum tuum de manu potentis. VERSUS: Ecce dominator Dominus cum virtute veniet. Ante cujus>.¹⁹

INTERIM ARMIGER, NUNCIANS MAGOS PER ALIAM VIAM REDIISSSE²⁰ SALUTAT²¹ PRIUS REGEM; POSTEA DICAT:

Rex, in eternum uiue! Delusus es, Domine; Magi uiam²² redierunt aliam.

TUNC HERODES, QVASI CORRUPTUS,²³ ARREPTO GLADIO, PARET SE IPSUM OCCIDERE; sed PROHIBEATUR TANDEM A SUIS et PACIFICETUR, DICENS:

Incendium meum ruina restinguam.

INTEREA INNOCENTES, ADHUC GRADIENTES POST AGNUM, DECANTENT:

Agno sacrato ²⁴	pro nobis mortificato, <p. 216>
Splendorem patris	splendorem uirginitatis
Offerimus Xpisto	sub signo luminis ²⁵ isto.
Multis ira modis	ut quos inquit Herodis
Agno ²⁶ saluemur,	cum Xpisto conmoriemur.

¹² Dauld] David etc. (C).

¹³ Antiphon of the *Benedictus* in Lauds of the second Sunday before Christmas, in *Antiphonale Hartkeri*, p. 24.

¹⁴ apparens] corrected from appareat (MS).

¹⁵ Angelus dicat] dicens (B. D).

¹⁶ Ioseph] omitted (B. D. C).

¹⁷ tibi] omitted (B. W. D. C).

¹⁸ flere] flere etc. (C).

¹⁹ Fifth responsory of Matins for the third Sunday before Christmas, in *Antiphonale Hartkeri*, p. 28.

²⁰ rediisse] redisse (MS).

²¹ salutat] salutet (B. W. D).

²² uiam] per viam (B. W. D).

²³ corruptus] correptus (W. D).

²⁴ sacrato] sancto (B); [jam] sancto (W).

²⁵ luminis] numinis (W); numinis suggested (B. D).

²⁶ Agno] A quo (B. W).

ARMIGER SUGGERAT HERODI DICENS:²⁷

Discerne,²⁸ Domine, uindicare iram tuam, et stricto mucrone
iube occidi pueros; forte inter occisos²⁹ occidetur et Xpistuc.

HERODES TRADENS EI GLADIUM DICENS:³⁰

Armiger eximie, pueros fac ense perire.

INTERIM, OCCISORIBUS UENIENTIBUS, SUBTRAHATUR AGNUS CLAM, QUEM
ABEUNTEM³¹ SALUTANT³² INNOCENTES:³³

Salve, Agnus Dei! Salve, qui tollis³⁴ peccata mundi, alleluia!

TUNC MATRES OCCIDENTES ORENT OCCISOS:³⁵

Oremus, tenere natorum parcite uite.

POSTEA, IACENTIBUS INFANTIBUS, ANGELUS AB EXCELSO ADMONEAT³⁶
EOS, DICENS:

Vos qui in puluere³⁷ estis, expurgiscimini et clamate.

INFANTES IACENTES:

Quare non defendis <p. 217> sanguinem nostrum, Deus
noster?

ANGELUS:

Adhuc sustinete modicum tempus, donec impleatur numerus
fratrum³⁸ uestrorum.

TUNC INDUCATUR RACHEL, et DUE CONSOLATRICES; et STANS SUPER
PUEROS PLANGAT, CADENS ALIQUANDO, DICENS:

Heu, teneri partus, laceros quos cernimus artus!

Heu, dulces nati, sola rabie iugulati!

Heu, quem^{39a} nec pietas nec uestra coercuit etas!

Heu, matres misere que cogimur ista uidere!

Heu, quid nunc agimus cur non hec facta subimus!

Heu, quia memores³⁹ nostrosque leuare dolores

Gaudia non possunt, nam dulcia pignora desunt!

²⁷ Herodi dicens] Herodes dicentes (MS).

²⁸ Discerne] Decerne suggested (D).

²⁹ occisos] oculos (MS).

³⁰ dicens] dicat (D. C).

³¹ quem abeuntem] qui abeuntes (MS).

³² salutant] saluent (B. D).

³³ Innocentes] Innocentes dicentes (B. W. D).

³⁴ tollis] tollit (MS. B. W).

³⁵ occidentes orent occisos] occisorum orent occidentes (B. W. D);
occidentes orent (C).

³⁶ admoneat] ut moneant (MS); appareat et moneat (B. W. D);
moneat (C).

³⁷ puluere] MS corrects from pulcuere.

³⁸ fratrum] MS corrects from faratrum

^{39a} quem] quia (C).

³⁹ quia memores] quid memores (B. D); Quid . . . memores (W). For
memores D. and C. suggest moerores (merores). Anz (p. 76) emends
Heu, quia memores to Heu! (luctus) memores.

CONSOLATIVES EXCIPIENTES RAM CADENTEM DICENTES:²²

Noli, uirgo Rachel, noli dulcissima mater,
 Pro nece paruorum fletus retinere²³ dolorum.
 Si que²⁴ tristaris, exulta²⁵ que lacrimaris. <p. 218>
 Namque tui nati uiuunt super astra beati.

ITEM RACHEL DOLENS:

Heu! Heu! Heu!
 Quomodo gaudebo, dum mortua membra uidebo;
 Dum sic commota fuero per viscera tota?
 Me facient uere pueri sine fine dolere.
 O dolor! O patrum mutataque gaudia matrum
 Ad lugubres luctus; lacrimarum fundite fletus,²⁶
 Iudee florem patrie lacrimando dolorem.

ITEM CONSOLATIVES:

Quid tu, uirgo mater Rachel, ploras²⁷ formosa,
 Cuius uultus²⁸ Iacob delectat, seu sororis agnecule limpitudo
 eum iuuat?
 Terge, mater, fientes oculos,
 Quam te decent²⁹ genarum riuuli.

ITEM RACHEL:

Heu! Heu! Heu! Quid³⁰ <p. 219> me incusatis³¹ fletus
 incassum fudisse,
 Cum sim orbata nato <qui> paupertatem meam curaret,
 Qui non hostibus cederet angustos terminos quos michi Iacob
 adquisiuit,
 Quique stolidis fratribus, quos³² multos pro<h>³³ dolor, ex-
 tulit, esset³⁴ profuturus?

Tunc CONSOLATIVES, ESUPINANTES INFANTES, DICENTES:³⁵

Numquid fiendus est iste qui regnum possidet celeste,
 Quique prece frequenta³⁶ miseris fratribus apud Deum auxilie-
 tur.³⁷

²² dicentes] dicant (D).

²³ retinere] The letter *n* in this word results from a modification of another letter in the MS, possibly *c*. See the text from Laon, above, p. 16.

²⁴ Si que] Sique (B).

²⁵ exulta] ex(s)ulta (D).

²⁶ fletus] fluctus (W); fluctus suggested (D).

²⁷ ploras] plorans (MS B. W.).

²⁸ uultus] uultum (MS. W.).

²⁹ decent] (de)decent (D).

³⁰ Quid] written twice (MS).

³¹ incusatis] incusastis (B); MS corrects *incusastis* to *incusastis*.

³² quos] quo (MS).

³³ pro<h>] pro (W); proh (C).

³⁴ esset] esse (C).

³⁵ dicentes] dicant (B. D. C).

³⁶ frequenta] frequenta(ta) (D).

³⁷ auxilietur] auxiliabitur suggested (D).

ITEM⁵⁶ RACHEL CADENS SUPER PUEROS:⁵⁷

Anxius est⁵⁸ in me spiritus⁵⁹ meus; in me turbatum est cor meum.

Tunc CONSOLATIVES ABDUCANT RACHEL, et ANGELUS INTERIM DE SUPERNIS DICAT ANTIPHONAM QUE SEQUITUR:

Sinite paruulos⁶⁰ <venire ad me, talium est enim regnum caelorum>.⁶¹

AD VOCEM ANGELI SURGENTES PUERI INTRENT CHORUM DICIENTES:

O Xpiste, quantum patri exercitum iuuenis,⁶² doctus ad bella maxima; populis⁶³ predicans, colligis, umbras suggens cum tantum miseris.

DUM HEC FIUNT,⁶⁴ TOLLATUR HERODES et SUBSTITUATUR IN LOCO EIUS FILIUS EIUS, ARCHELAUS, et EXALTETUR IN REGEM. INTERIM ANGELUS ADMONEAT⁶⁵ IOSEPH IN EGIPTUM, quo PRIUS SECESSIT, Dicens:

Ioseph,⁶⁶ Ioseph, Ioseph, fili David! Reuertere <p. 220> in terram Iudam,⁶⁷ defuncti sunt enim qui querebant animam pueri.

Tunc IOSEPH REVERTATUR cum MARIA et PUERO, SECEDENS IN PARTE<s>⁶⁸ GALILEE DICENS:

Gaude, gaude, gaude, Maria uirgo; cunctas hereses, et cetera.⁶⁹

CANTOR INCIPIT:⁷⁰

Te Deum laudamus.⁷¹

SIC FINIT.⁷²

⁵⁶ Item] Tunc (C).

⁵⁷ pueros] paruulos (B. W. D. C).

⁵⁸ est] omitted (B. W. D).

⁵⁹ spiritus] spes (B).

⁶⁰ paruulos] paruulos etc. (B. W).

⁶¹ Antiphon for Lauds of Innocents Day, in *Antiphonale Hartkeri*, p. 68.

⁶² iuuenis] inuenis (D. C).

⁶³ populis] poplis (B); pop[u]lis (W).

⁶⁴ fiunt] fiant (D).

⁶⁵ admoneat] MS seems to read ammoneat; ammoneat (C); common-eat (B. W. D).

⁶⁶ Ioseph] omitted (W. D).

⁶⁷ Iudam] Iud(ae)am (D); Judeam (C).

⁶⁸ parte<s>] partes (B. W. D); partem (C).

⁶⁹ et cetera] omitted (D).

⁷⁰ incipit] incipiat (D. C).

⁷¹ laudamus] laudamus etc. (B. W).

⁷² Sic finit] omitted (W. D. C). In the manuscript a version of the *Visitatio Sepulchri* follows immediately, introduced by a rubric beginning as follows: *Ad faciendam similitudinem dominici sepulchri*.

The action of the play may be sketched as follows:

As the *Innocentes* advance in procession through the monastery, they sing the antiphon *O quam gloriosum est regnum*, and when the Lamb has taken a place at the head of the procession, the *Innocentes* follow,—presumably into the church,—singing the antiphon *Emitte agnum*. Meanwhile Herod has mounted his throne, and now ceremoniously receives his sceptre from *Armiger*, who sings the antiphon *Super solium David*.

The play proper begins with a scene in which *Angelus* appears above the *præsepe*,¹³ commanding Joseph to flee with Mary and Jesus into Egypt. As the Holy Family depart, Joseph sings the responsory *Aegypte, noli flere*.

The next scene reverts to a situation present at the end of several versions of the *Officium Stellæ*.¹⁴ Herod is informed of the escape of the Magi (*Rex in eternum*), expresses his anger (*Incendium meum*), and under advice (*Discerne, Domine*) orders the slaughter of the Innocents (*Armiger eximie*). Meanwhile the *Innocentes* have appeared singing *Agno sacratio*.

Now occurs the Slaughter of the Innocents. As the slayers (*Occisores*) appear, the Lamb is removed, while the *Innocentes* sing the farewell *Salve, Agnus Dei*. The *Matres* utter an unavailing prayer to the *Occisores* for mercy (*Oremus, teneræ*). Exhorted by *Angelus* (*Vos qui in pulvere*), the prostrate *Innocentes* utter the familiar *Quare non defendis*, and receive the angelic admonition, *Adhuc sustinete*.

With the entrance of Rachel, accompanied by two *Consolatrices*, begins the *Lamentatio Rachelis*. Over the bodies of the *Innocentes* Rachel delivers a succession of four laments, interrupted by three comforting utterances from her companions.

After the *Consolatrices* have conducted Rachel from the scene, *Angelus* sings the antiphon *Sinite parvulos*, in response to which the *Innocentes* rise and enter the choir, sing-

¹³ The position of the *præsepe*, and the location of the action in the church, are indicated below, pp. 37-41.

¹⁴ See above, pp. 6-12.

ing *O Christe*. Meanwhile, in dumb show, Herod is removed from his throne in favor of his son Archelaus.

The final scene presents the command of *Angelus* to Joseph (*Joseph, Joseph*), and Joseph's response (*Gaude, gaude*) as the Holy Family return from Egypt to Galilee. The play closes with the liturgical *Te Deum laudamus*.

In the schematic outline, the play takes the following form:

- I. Processio Innocentum
 - Pueri[O] quam gloriosum.
 - PueriEmitte agnum.
- II. Processio Herodis
 - ArmigerSuper solium.
- III. Fuga in Ægyptum
 - AngelusIoseph! Ioseph!
 - JosephÆgypte, noli flere.
- IV. Statio apud Herodem
 - ArmigerRex, in eternum.
 - HerodesIncendium meum.
 - Processio InnocentumAgnosce sacrum.
 - ArmigerDiscerne, Domine.
 - HerodesArmiger extime.
- V. Interfectio Innocentum
 - PueriSalve, Agnus Dei!
 - MatresOremus, tenerae.
 - AngelusVos qui in pulvere.
 - InnocentesQuare non defendis?
 - AngelusAdhuc sustinete.
- VI. Lamentatio Rachelis
 - RachelHeu! Teneri partus.
 - ConsolatricesNoli, virgo Rachel.
 - RachelHeu! Heu! Heu!
 - ConsolatricesQuid tu, virgo?
 - RachelHeu! Heu! Heu!
 - ConsolatricesNumquid flendus.
 - RachelAnxius est.
- VII. Resurrectio Innocentum
 - AngelusSinite parvulos.
 - PueriO Christe.
- VIII. Reditus in Judæam
 - AngelusIoseph! Ioseph!
 - JosephGaude! Gaude!
- IX. Te Deum.

One scarcely need remark that this play shows a notable advance over the versions already examined. The procession

of the Lamb, the slaughter of the Innocents, and the lament of Rachel,—all of which are present in Laon,—are in the Fleury version developed to a high degree. In addition to these elements, the Fleury play provides two other important rôles: that of Herod and that of the Holy Family.

Noteworthy is the successful organization of the play,—the completeness with which the main elements, old and new, are presented. The *Innocentes* enter processionally at the outset, pass, after an interval, before Herod, later perish in the *Interfectio*, and eventually appear again in resuscitation. The *Lamentatio* likewise receives a fresh completeness. First the *Matres* themselves present their unavailing prayer during the *Interfectio*. Then Rachel, representing the *Matres*, appears in her long lament, at the close of which she retires under the escort of the *Consolatrices*. Similarly the rôles of Herod and the Holy Family are thoughtfully constructed. Herod enters ceremoniously, and after the *Fuga*, appears in a scene in which he commands the *Interfectio*. Finally his death and the accession of Archelaus appropriately precede the return of the Holy Family.

A consideration of the sources of the play reveals the fact that the first two divisions are based directly upon the liturgy. The three processional utterances of the *Pueri* (*Emitte agnum* and *O quam gloriosum*) and of Armiger (*Super solium David*) are well-known antiphons.⁷⁵ The third division (*Fuga in Ægyptum*) also shows dependence upon the liturgy. The speech of *Angelus* (*Ioseph! Ioseph!*) is an adaptation of the following passage from the Gospel of the day:

Surge, et accipe puerum et matrem ejus, et fuge in Ægyptum, et esto ibi usque dum dicam tibi. Futurum est enim ut Herodes quærat puerum ad perdendum eum.⁷⁶

⁷⁵ See above, pp. 27-28.

⁷⁶ Matt. II: 13. It is not impossible that the speech of *Angelus* reflects also the influence of such antiphons as the following:

Tolle puerum et matrem eius et vade in terram Iuda (*Antiphonale Hartkeri*, p. 120).

Joseph, fili David, noli timere accipere Mariam coniugem tuam; quod enim in ea natum est, de spiritu sancto est (*Antiphonale Hartkeri*, p. 43).

Joseph's utterance (*Ægypte noli flere*) is a traditional antiphon.⁷⁷ The fourth division (*Statio apud Herodem*),—except for the processional of the *Innocentes* (*Agno sacrato*),—essentially reproduces a scene with which certain versions of the *Officium Stellæ* close.⁷⁸ The five Leonines sung by the *Innocentes* are, so far as I know, not found elsewhere. The fifth division (*Interfectio Innocentum*) is formed from a variety of sources. The address of the *Innocentes* to the Lamb (*Salve, Agnus Dei*) has a ready source in the Mass, the Canonical Office, or the Vulgate.⁷⁹ The hexameter of the *Matres* (*Oremus, tenerae*) appears to be a new formation. The summons of *Angelus* to the prostrate *Innocentes* (*Vos qui in pulvere*) appears to reflect the following passage of the Vulgate: *Expergiscimini et laudate, qui habitatis in pulvere*.⁸⁰ The appeal of the *Innocentes* (*Quare non*) and the reply of *Angelus* (*Adhuc sustinete*) are taken from the familiar responsory *Sub altare*.⁸¹

The *Lamentatio Rachelis* consists of two parts: one part in Leonine hexameters, and the other in prose. Considering first the Leonines, we observe that, whatever their ultimate origins may be, the first four lines of Rachel's first utterance, (*Heu! teneri . . . ista videre*), and the last two lines, but one, of her second speech (*O dolor . . . fundite fluctus*), are found also in the *Ordo Rachelis* from Freising.⁸² The last line of Rachel's first speech (*Gaudia non*), the first speech of the *Consolatrices* (*Noli virgo . . . astra beati*), and all the lines in Rachel's second speech, except the two mentioned above, are found in the version from Laon.⁸³ The significance of these resemblances will be considered below.⁸⁴ The prose part of the *Lamentatio* comprises two utterances of the *Consolatrices*

⁷⁷ See above, p. 28.

⁷⁸ See above, pp. 5-12. The question of the relation of the *Ordo Rachelis* to the *Officium Stellæ* in their ultimate origins will be considered below, pp. 64-65.

⁷⁹ See above, p. 19.

⁸⁰ *Isaias*, xxvi: 19.

⁸¹ See above, pp. 19-20.

⁸² See below, p. 44.

⁸³ See above, pp. 16-17.

⁸⁴ See below, pp. 53-63.

and Rachel respectively. The two speeches of the *Consolatrices* and the first speech of Rachel (*Quid tu . . . auxiliatur*) constitute collectively the complete text of a well-known sequence,⁸⁵—a sequence that forms also a substantial part of the play from Freising.⁸⁶ For her final utterance (*Anxiatu est*) Rachel employs a traditional antiphon from Lauds of Good Friday.⁸⁷

The last two dramatic divisions of the play are composed, once more, of liturgical elements. *Angelus* sings a well-known antiphon (*Sinite parvulos*)⁸⁸ and the risen *Pueri* sing a passage (*O Christe quantum*) from an established sequence.⁸⁹ The address of *Angelus* to Joseph (*Joseph, Joseph*) may be adapted from a musical element in the liturgy,⁹⁰ or from the narrative of the Vulgate.⁹¹ For his final utterance (*Gaude, gaude*) Joseph employs an antiphon.⁹²

In summary, then, we may say that the Fleury play is composed essentially of passages from the Vulgate narrative, of traditional musico-liturgical pieces, and of certain literary passages in Leonine hexameters. The order of events is virtually that of the Vulgate narrative, from which none of the substantial events is omitted. The additions

⁸⁵ The text of *Quid tu virgo* in *Analecta Hymnica*, LIII, 379, supersedes that of Kehrein, p. 309.

⁸⁶ See below, p. 45.

⁸⁷ See *Antiphonale Hartkeri*, p. 220.

⁸⁸ See above, p. 31, note 61.

⁸⁹ The speech of the *Pueri* is supplied by the ninth sentence of the sequence *Festa Christi*, printed in *Analecta Hymnica*, LIII: 50. This text supersedes that of Kehrein, p. 38.

⁹⁰ In addition to the antiphons quoted above (p. 34, note 76), I cite the following liturgical pieces:

Antiphona: Revertere in terram Iudam, mortui sunt enim qui quaerebant animam pueri (*Antiphonale Hartkeri*, p. 120);

Responsorium: Tolle puerum et matrem ejus, et vade in terram Iudam; defuncti sunt enim qui quaerebant animam pueri. Versus: Venit angelus Domini ad Joseph in somnis, dicens. Defuncti (Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, LXXVIII: 746).

⁹¹ Ecce angelus Domini apparuit in somnis Joseph in Ægypto, dicens: Surge et accipe puerum et matrem ejus, et vade in terram Israel; defuncti sunt enim qui quaerebant animam pueri (Matt. II: 19-20).

⁹² Gaude, Maria virgo, cunctas hæreses sola intemeristi in universo mundo. (Antiphon for Matins of the Assumption, Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, LXXVIII: 799).

made to this narrative by the dramatist are these: the processional entries of the *Pueri* and Herod, the cry of the *Matres*, the presence of the lamb, and the resuscitating of the *Pueri*. Of these added elements the first two may be assumed to be merely natural dramatic extensions made by the author, or authors, of the play. The appropriateness of the lamb in a play of the Innocents has already been explained.⁹³ The resuscitation of the *Pueri* in the course of the action may be the invention of the dramatist.

Since the element of impersonation has been abundantly illustrated in the sketch of the action given above,⁹⁴ we may proceed with a consideration of the *mise en scène* of the play. Through the amplitude of the rubrics in this text,—and in a related text from Fleury,⁹⁵—and through our knowledge of the fabric of the abbey church of Saint Benoit, we are able to trace the “staging” of the action with considerable definiteness.

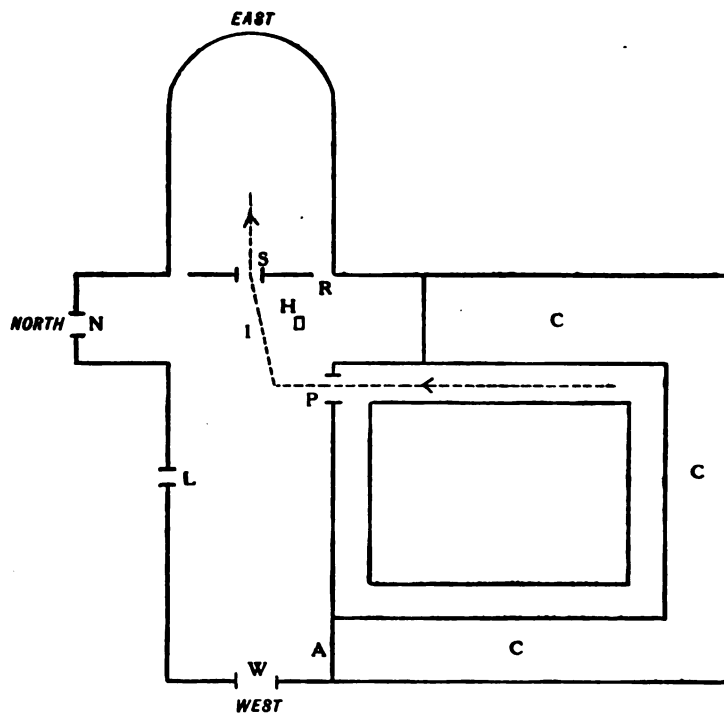
Our review of the play has shown that the action gathers chiefly about two centers, or *sedes*: the *præsepe* in Bethlehem and the *solium Herodis*⁹⁶ in Jerusalem. Now it appears that the *præsepe* can be located definitely in the south aisle of the nave, from evidence furnished by the Fleury version of the *Officium Stellæ*. In this play is found the following rubric: *Tunc demum surgentes [Pastores] cantent intra se: Transeamus, et cetera; et sic procedant usque ad præsepe,*

⁹³ See above, pp. 18-19.

⁹⁴ The rubrics establishing the presence of impersonation are so numerous that citation is scarcely required. In connection with Herod, for example, we are told of his sceptre (*Armiger quidam offerat Herodi sedenti sceptrum suum*), his sword (*arrepto gladio . . . tradens ei gladium*), and of his removal from his throne in favor of his son, Archelaus (*substituatur in loco ejus filius ejus Archelaus, et exaltetur in regem*).

⁹⁵ As will appear, I refer to the text of the *Officium Stellæ*, immediately preceding the *Ordo Rachelis* in the manuscript.

⁹⁶ The word *solium* does not occur among the rubrics in this text, as it does in that from Freising (see below, p. 43), but the existence of Herod's throne is, of course, vouched for in such rubrics as *quidam offerat Herodi sedenti* and *tollatur Herodes et substituatur in loco ejus filius ejus Archelaus et exaltetur in regem*. The word *solium* is, of course, found in the Fleury text in the antiphon *Super solium David*, sung in the ceremonious seating of Herod at the opening of the play.



The Church of Saint-Benoit-sur-Loire (Fleury.)

*quod ad ianuas monasterii paratum erit.*⁹⁷ From this rubric it appears that for the purposes of the Fleury *Officium Stellæ* at least, the *præsepe* was situated beside the door leading from the monastery into the church (*ad ianuas monasterii*); and there is every reason for assuming that a similar arrangement obtained for the closely related *Ordo Rachelis*. The location of this door is not difficult to determine, for the architectural history of the abbey of Saint-Benoit shows that it led from the cloister at the south of the nave directly into the south aisle, as shown in the plan on the opposite page.⁹⁸

⁹⁷ Orléans, MS 201 (olim 178), p. 205. See Coussemaker, *Drames liturgiques*, p. 157.

⁹⁸ The only previous archaeological discussion of this matter in connection with the Fleury plays, so far as I know, is contained in the following note by M. Chasles (*La Vie et les Arts Liturgiques*, No. 28, April, 1917, p. 262, n. 7):

"Et sic procedant usque ad præsepe, quod ad ianuas monasterii paratum erit. Faut-il comprendre que la crèche était à la porte extérieure du monastère, comme on l'a parfois supposé? Nous ne le croyons pas. Nous pensons que la crèche était à l'intérieur de l'église, placée devant la porte, ouvrant sur le cloître. Cette porte existe toujours, à la troisième travée du bas-côté nord. Voir le plan de Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire: Lasteurie, *L'Architecture religieuse en France*, p. 298."

This interpretation appears to rest solely upon a drawing of the ground-plan of the church of Saint-Benoît (from a period not indicated) printed by R. de Lasteyrie, *L'Architecture religieuse en France à l'Epoque romane*, Paris, 1912, p. 298. This drawing shows a door (marked "L" in my plan) in the north wall of the nave, leading into the third bay of the north aisle. Monsieur Chasles evidently errs in supposing that this door opens upon the cloister. That the cloister was situated at the south side of the nave, and that the traditional passage (during the 11th and 12th centuries, and later) from the monastery into the church was through a door in the south wall of the nave, is shown by Boucher de Molandon, *Inscriptions tumulaires des xi^e et xii^e siècles à Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire*, in *Mémoires de la Société archéologique et historique de l'Orléanais*, XVIII (1884), 530, 534, 549, 559-560. The following passages may be cited from Boucher de Molandon's monograph:

"Le cimetière abbatial de Fleury-Saint-Benoît était circonscrit par l'enceinte rectangulaire du cloître, dont la galerie septentrionale s'appuyait à la basse nef de l'église." (p. 530).

"Le cloître, démolli de fond en comble, n'est plus aujourd'hui qu'une place déserte et désolée. La porte de communication, désormais inutile, a été murée à l'intérieur de l'église." (p. 549).

This writer speaks of "l'enceinte claustrale destinée aux sépultures monastiques, au seuil de la basilique" (p. 549). Furthermore he quotes from a manuscript history of Saint-Benoît, written by Chazal in the 18th century, a passage in which Chazal speaks of a certain epitaph as being found "in clauastro coenobii Floriacensis ad pillam quae parieti

Having located the *janua (januæ) monasterii*, not only can we place the *præsepe* definitely (P), but by following the action of the *Innocentes* we can also suggest an approximate location for the *solium Herodis* (H). The *Innocentes* first appear in the monastery itself (*gaudentes per monasterium*).⁹⁹ Having entered the nave (P),¹⁰⁰ they are next spoken of as approaching the throne of Herod (*Interea Innocentes adhuc gradientes post Agnum*), near which must occur the *Interfectio* and *Lamentatio* (I). The *Innocentes* are last seen on the occasion of their resuscitation, immediately after which they pass from the *platea* of the action (I) into the choir (*surgentes Pueri intrent chorum*). Since then, the *Innocentes* appear to pass the *solium Herodis* on their progress from the door (P) to the entrance of the choir (S), we may reasonably assign the *sedes* of Herod to the position indicated (H) in the plan above.¹⁰¹

adheret, juxta januam qua ingressus ex claustro in ecclesiam". (Boucher de Molandon, p. 559). An admirable drawing showing the ground-plan of the church and cloister is provided by Boucher de Molandon in *Mémoires de la Société archéologique et historique de l'Orléanais*, XVIII (1884), Atlas, Planche 8. Upon this plate my own schematic outline drawing is based,—without attempt at architectural detail or minute accuracy of proportion. It will be noted that the door "P" is the only passage-way between the cloister buildings (C) and the church. It will be observed, however, that the church may be entered by at least three other doors: one at west end of the nave (W), one in the north transept (N), and one in the north wall of the nave ("L", referred to by Chasles). The first two (W and N) are, presumably, as old as the church itself. As to the age of the third (L) I have no information. If the word *monasterii* (in the rubric cited by Chasles) be interpreted as referring especially to the monastic church, the word *januas* might, of course, be attached to any of the four doors that I have mentioned (W, N, L, or P). In identifying *januas* with the door "P", I have, I think, given the rubric its most reasonable interpretation.

⁹⁹ In my outline drawing the cloister buildings are marked "C".

¹⁰⁰ Although this act of entering is not specifically described by the rubrics, it is inevitable from the architectural arrangement. The course followed by the *Innocentes* throughout the play is indicated in my drawing by a broken line.

¹⁰¹ Additional evidence that the *sedes* of Herod (and hence also the location of Jerusalem) is correctly indicated above appears in the Fleury version of the *Officium Stellæ* (See Coussemaker, *Drames liturgiques*, p. 159). The Magi issuing from the door of the choir into the crossing of the transepts address the bystanders (*Venientes ad ostium chori, interrogant adstantes*) as *Jerosolimitani cives*, and become immediately visible to Herod (*Quibus visis, Herodes mittat ad eos Armigerum*).

We have still to place the action of the Holy Family. At the opening of the play Joseph and Mary are, of course, stationed at the *præsepe*. Since their journey to Egypt escapes the observation of Herod (*non vidente Herode*), we may assume that the Holy Family move toward the west end of the nave, and may assume for Egypt the general position marked A on the plan. Upon their return they are represented as avoiding the region about Jerusalem and as journeying on to Galilee; hence they might appropriately pass from A, past the *præsepe* (P), behind the throne of Herod (H) into the south transept.

Concerning the entrance of Rachel we have no explicit information. Since her rôle is acted at the place marked I, we may reasonably assume that she and the *Consolatrices* enter from the general direction of the south transept or of the south aisle of the choir (R), and that in retiring from the *platea* they retrace their steps.

V.

The outstanding characteristics of the Fleury version are, then, its amplitude, its essentially orderly structure, and the relatively close textual adherence of much of the text to the formulæ of the liturgy. In all these respects a noteworthy contrast appears in the play from the cathedral of Freising, the text of which follows:¹

¹ Munich, Hofbibliothek, Cod. lat. 6264, *Lectioarium* saec. xi-xii, fol. 27^v. The text here re-edited from the manuscript is written in a hand of the twelfth century on an erased page, and is totally disconnected from the *lectiones* on the preceding and following pages. The manuscript provides musical notation in the form of German neums. The text of the *Ordo Rachelis* has been previously edited twice: (1) by E. Du Méril, pp. 171-175 (D); and (2) by K. Weinhold, *Weihnacht-Spiele und Lieder aus Süddeutschland und Schlesien*, Vienna, 1875, pp. 62-65 (W). Weinhold's text is reprinted by R. Froning, *Das Drama des Mittelalters*, Stuttgart, n. d., pp. 871-874.

ORDO RACHELIS¹

ANGELUS:

Ortum pastoris, Pastores, nuncio vobis,
 qui redimet² proprias, pastor *et* agnus, oves.
 Pannis obductus, decus orbis, gloria regum,
 in feno situs est qui cibet omne quod est.
 In Bethleem³ uite panem queratis eundem.⁴

ANGELI:

Gloria in excelsis Deo!

PASTORES:

Quis audiuit his similia,
 ab eterno mirabilia.
 O mirandum puerperium,
 tantum habens ministerium!
 Transeamus ergo Bethleem
 explorare rei seriem.

VENIENTES AD PRÆSEPE DICANT:

O regem celli, cui celicole famulantur!
 Clauditur in stabulo concludens cuncta pugillo,
 Despectissimus in terris habitus,⁵ *et* summus in astris.

CHORUS DICAT:

Pastores, dicite⁶ quidnam uidistis?

RESPONDEANT PASTORES:

Infantem uidimus pannis inuolutum.

ANGELUS AD IOSEPH CANTET:

Ioseph, Ioseph, surge!
 Ioseph, in Egyptum cum matre feras cito Xpistum,
 Ne cum mactandis pueris rex mactet *et* ipsum.
 Admonitus redeas ubi nex, fraus, rexque quiescunt.⁷

IOSEPH SURGENS DE STRATU⁸ DICAT AD MARIAM:

Quod⁹ prophetica dudum uox insonuit,
 angelica tuba nunc admonuit.
 Intrat Egyptum lux mundi, Dominus,
 leui carnis nube superpositus.
 Ydolis Egipti corruentibus,
 adest salus expectata gentibus.

¹ Ordo Rachelis] omitted (D).

² redimet] redemit (D).

³ Bethleem] Bethlem (D).

⁴ eundem] euntes suggested (D). Du Ménil reasonably conjectures that after this line the second line of an elegiac distich has been lost from the MS.

⁵ habitus] omitted (D). The omission restores the hexameter.

⁶ dicite] omitted (D).

⁷ quiescunt] quiescit (D).

⁸ stratu] strato (D).

⁹ Quod] Eia (W).

ITERUM IOSEPH DICAT AD MARIAM:

Angelus a patria nos precipit ire, Maria;
Rex fugiendus¹¹ erit puerum qui perdere querit.

MARIA DICAT AD IOSEPH:

Omnia dura pati uitando pericula nati
Mater sum presto; iam uadam; tu comes esto.

IOSEPH PERGENS IN EGIPTUM CANTET:

Egipte, noli flere, <quia dominator tuus venient tibi, ante
cujus conspectum movebuntur abyssi, liberare populum tuum
de manu potentis. VERSUS: Ecce dominator Dominus cum
virtute veniet. Ante cujus>.¹²

INTERNUNCIUS PROPERANS AD REGEM DICAT:

Felix et uiuus sit Rex per secula diuus.

REX INTERNUNCIO RESPONDEAT:

Quid rumoris habes? Est pax an bellica clades?

INTERNUNCIUS RESPONDEAT:

Reges illi quos misisti
explorare cunas Xpisti,
Iusso calle permutato,
redierunt, te frustrato.¹³
Quid facturus sis exquire;
constat eos non redire.

REX INTERNUNCIO RESPONDEAT:

Rex nouus ut pereat, regisque furor requiescat,
Omnimodis ui fraude¹⁴ dolis mecum satagatis.

INTERNUNCIUS DICAT:

In Bethleem¹⁵ natum probat istum pagina uatum.¹⁶
In qua¹⁷ mactetur mas lactens¹⁸ quisquis habetur,
nullus ut euadat; sic puer ipse cadat.¹⁹

REX DE SOLIO PROSILIENS CANTET:

Sic, sic quando quidem delusus²⁰ sencio fraudem,
incendium meum ruina extinguam.

¹¹ fugiendus] fugendus (W).

¹² See above, p. 28, note 19.

¹³ frustrato] frustato (W).

¹⁴ Omnimodis ui fraude] omnibus modis et fraude et (W).

¹⁵ Bethleem] Bethlem (D).

¹⁶ Du Mériel conjectures that after this line the second line of an elegiac distich has been lost from the MS.

¹⁷ In qua] Inque (W).

¹⁸ lactens] lactans (W).

¹⁹ sic puer ipse cadat] omitted (W).

²⁰ delusus] de iustis (W).

ARMIGER REGI RESPONDENS CANTET:²

Ecce miles ego regius;
 ecce uindex regis gladius,
 Paratus ad omne facinus
 quod iubebit noster Dominus,
 Qui placabit iram principis. *et*
 multa ^{5/11/16} strage turbe simplici.

REX AD ARMIGERUM:

Etatis bime³ pueros fac ense perire.⁴

ARMIGER INTERFICIENS PUEROS DICAT:

Disce mori, puer.

ANGELUS E LONGINQUO CANTET:

Xpistac sospes ablit⁵ strages quem tanta requirit:
 illius⁶ in populum trux fuit in uacuum.

CHORUS CANTET:

Hostis Herodes imple,
 Xpistam uenire qui⁷ times.⁸

RACHEL FLORANS SUPER PUEROS DICAT:

O dolor! O patrum	mutataque gaudia matrum
Ad lugubres luctus	lacrimarum ⁹ fundite fluctus!
Ah ¹⁰ teneri partus!	Laceros quos cernimus artus!
Heu! Dulces nati	sola rabe ingulati.
Quid commisistis	quod talia facta ¹¹ subistis?
Cur uitam uobis	liuor subtraxit Herodis,
Quam nondum uere	uos cognouistis habere?
Heu! Quem nec pietas	nec uestra coercuit etas!
Ach! ¹² Matres misere	que cogimur ista uidere!
Cur autem natis	patimur superesse necatis?
Saltim ¹³ morte pari	nobis licet hos comitari.

² cantet] et cantet (MS). These words are followed by an erasure through which *Miles ego* can still be read. Over *Miles ego* is an erasure through which the text is no longer legible. I do not regard the reading *cantet* as entirely certain.

³ bime] bine (W).

⁴ Rex ad Armigerum: Etatis bime pueros fac ense perire] omitted (D).

⁵ ablit] ablt (D).

⁶ illius] ipsius (W).

⁷ qui] quid (W).

⁸ Concerning the hymn *Hostis Herodes* see below, p. 50.

⁹ lacrimarum] lacrumarum (W).

¹⁰ Ah] Ach with the c expunctuated (MS); Heu suggested (W).

¹¹ facta] fata with the c inserted above the line (MS); fata (W).

¹² Ach] Ah (D); Heu (W).

¹³ Saltim] saltem (W).

CONSOLATRIX ACCEDAT:

Quid tu, uirgo mater, ploras, Rachel formosa,
Cuius uultum³² Iacob electat,³³ ceu³⁴ sororis annicule³⁵ lippitudo
eum iuuat?

TERGAT HIC CONSOLATRIX OCULOS RACHELIS:³⁷

Terge, terge, mater, fluentes³⁸ oculos;
Quam³⁹ te decent genarum rimule.⁴⁰

ITERUM RACHEL DICAT:

Heu! Heu! Heu! Quid⁴¹ tu me incusas fletus incassum fudisse,
Cum sim orbata nato, paupertatem meam qui solus curaret,
Qui non hostibus cederet angustos⁴² terminos quos michi Iacob
acquisiuit?⁴³

CONSOLATRIX ACCEDENS DICAT:

Numquid⁴⁴ flendus est iste, numquid⁴⁵ flendus est iste,⁴⁶ qui
regnum possedit⁴⁷ celeste,
Quique preces frequentans miseris fratribus apud Deum⁴⁸ aux-
iliatur.

Te Deum laudamus.⁴⁹

From the text before us it appears that the play begins abruptly⁵⁰ with a shepherd scene in the form of a version of the *Officium Pastorum*.⁵¹ Stirred by the address of *Angelus* (*Ortum pastoris*) and by the angelic hymn (*Gloria in excelsis*), the *Pastores* express their wonderment (*Quis audivit*),

³² uultum] vultus (D).

³³ electat] delectat (D).

³⁴ ceu] heu (W); seu (D).

³⁵ annicule] agnicule (W).

³⁷ Rachelis] Rachel (D).

³⁸ fluentes] flentes (D).

³⁹ Quam] qui (W).

⁴⁰ rimule] rosulae (D); rivuli (W).

⁴¹ Quid] Quod (D).

⁴² angustos] augustos (W).

⁴³ In the MS *acquisiuit* is followed immediately by an erasure covering two or three words.

⁴⁴ Numquid] Haud (D).

⁴⁵ numquid] haud (D).

⁴⁶ iste] iste sed laudandus (D).

⁴⁷ possedit] possidet (D).

⁴⁸ Deum] dominum (W).

⁴⁹ Te Deum laudamus] omitted (D).

⁵⁰ This abruptness may arise, in part, from the absence of an introductory rubric.

⁵¹ See above, p. 3, note 1.

and singing *O regem coeli*, proceed to *the praepepe*. Here they are interrogated by the choir (*Pastores, dicite*), and their reply (*Infantem vidimus*) closes the scene.

The flight of the Holy Family begins with a warning from *Angelus* (*Joseph, Joseph, surge*), as a result of which Joseph rises from the ground, explains to Mary the angelic message, and receives her willing assent (*Omnia dura*). As the Holy Family depart upon their journey to Egypt, Joseph sings the antiphon *Aegypte, noli flere*.

The scene now shifts to the court of Herod, to whom, after a ceremonious entrance (*Felix et vivus... Quid rumoris*), a messenger reports the flight of the Magi and urges that their escape be prevented (*Reges illi*). Ignoring the precise counsel of the messenger, Herod orders the death of the new-born king (*Rex novus*), and the messenger proposes that the slaughter include all the male children in Bethlehem (*In Bethleem*), a proposal that Herod violently adopts (*Sic sic quando*). A soldier now offers to execute the massacre (*Ecce miles*), and promptly receives Herod's final commission (*Etatis bime*).

The actual slaughter is executed chiefly in dumb-show. As he despatches the Innocents the soldier utters merely his brief *Disce mori, puer*, to which the children make no reply. An angel rejoices from afar in the safety of Jesus (*Christus sospes*), and the choir comments by singing at least part of the hymn *Hostis Herodes*.

The *Lamentatio Rachelis* consists of four utterances, two from Rachel and two from *Consolatrix*. Rachel's first speech consists of eleven Leonines, some six of which we have already encountered in the Fleury play;⁵² the other three speeches are provided *verbatim* by an established sequence likewise employed in the text from Fleury.⁵³

The play closes with the liturgical *Te Deum laudamus*.

The content of the play may be outlined as follows:

⁵² See above, pp. 29-30.

⁵³ See above, p. 30.

Officium Pastorum.⁵⁵ In textual details, however, the scene before us differs considerably from the extant versions of the *Officium Pastorum*. The *Gloria in excelsis* is found in the shepherd-play from Rouen,⁵⁶ and the dialogue between the *Chorus* and *Pastores* (*Pastores dicite... pannis involutum*) has several dramatic associations with the liturgy of Christmas.⁵⁷ Part of the first speech of the *Pastores* (*Quis audivit... rei seriem*) appears to be an original metrical treatment of the following passage of the Vulgate:

Pastores loquebantur ad invicem: Transeamus usque Bethlehem, et videamus hoc verbum, quod factum est, quod Dominus ostendit nobis.⁵⁸

The speech delivered by the *Pastores* as they approach the *præsepe* (*O regem cæli... in astris*) consists of three hexameters based upon the following responsory of Christmas Matins:

O regem cæli cui talia famulantur obsequia! Stabulo ponitur qui continet mundum; jacet in præsepio et in cælis regnat. *Versus*: Domine, audivi auditum tuum, et timui. Consideravi opera tua, et expavi; in medio duorum animalium. *Jacet*.⁵⁹

The opening passage in elegiac distichs (*Ortum pastoris... quærat is eundem*) only remotely resembles the following antiphon of Christmas Lauds:

Angelus ad Pastores ait: Annuntio vobis gaudium magnum, quia natus est nobis hodie Salvator mundi, alleluia.⁶⁰

⁵⁵ See above, p. 45.

⁵⁶ See Young, *Officium Pastorum*, pp. 323, 325, 331.

⁵⁷ See *id.*, pp. 348-362.

⁵⁸ Luc. II: 15. See the *Officium Stellæ* from Strassburg, in *Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum*, XXXII: 414, and from Bilsen, edited by Gustave Cohen and the present writer, in *Romania*, XLIV: 360.

⁵⁹ Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, LXXVIII: 735. In Migne's text the last word is printed *Jacentem*. For the use of this responsory in the *Officium Stellæ* see the version from Fleury (Coussemaker, *Drames liturgiques*, p. 163), and that from Bilsen (*ed. cit.*, p. 368).

⁶⁰ Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, LXXVIII: 735. See also the *Epiphany* responsory *Pastores præ claritate* (Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, LXXVIII: 742-743), and the *Annuntio vobis gaudium* formula in the *Officium Pastorum* (Young, *Officium Pastorum*, pp. 323, 325).

The second division of the play (*Fuga in Ægyptum*) consists essentially of several original compositions in verse. The warning of *Angelus* (*Joseph, Joseph, surge*) appears to be adapted from a passage of the Vulgate already considered.⁶¹ For the first two speeches of Joseph (*Quod prophetica... Angelus a patria...*) and the reply of Mary (*Omnia... comes esto*) no source is forthcoming. At the departure for Egypt Joseph sings a well-known responsory (*Ægypte, noli flere*).⁶²

As we should expect, the *Statio apud Herodem* shows numerous verbal resemblances to scenes in several versions of the *Officium Stellæ*.⁶³ These resemblances, however, are far from thorough-going, for the versifying activity of the Freising dramatist transforms the familiar formulæ.⁶⁴

⁶¹ See above, p. 34.

⁶² See above, p. 28.

⁶³ See above, pp. 5-12.

⁶⁴ One can cite such parallels as the following:

- (1) *Quid rumoris habes? Est pax an bellica clades?*
(Freising (*Ordo Rachelis*).

Quid rumoris habes?

(Strassburg *Officium Stellæ*, in *Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum*, XXXII: 413; cf. Freising *Officium Stellæ*, in Anz, p. 155).

- (2) *Reges illi quos misisti*
Explorare cunas Xpisti,
Iusso calle permutato,
Redierunt, te frustrato,
Quid facturus sis exquire;
Constat eos non redire.

(Freising *Ordo Rachelis*).

Delusus es, Domini; Magi viam redierunt allam.

(See above, pp. 6-7).

- (3) *In Bethleem natum probat istum pagina uatum.*
In qua mactetur mas lactens quisquis habetur,
Nullus ut euadat; sic puer ipse cadat.

(Freising *Ordo Rachelis*).

Vidimus, Domine, in prophetarum lineis nasci Xpistum
in Bethleem, ciuitate Dauid, propheta sic uaticinante.
(*Officium Stellæ* from Montpellier Ms., in *Modern Philology*, VI, 209).

Decerne, Domine, uindicari iram tuam; iube occidi
pueros; forte inter occisos occidetur et puer.

(*Officium Stellæ* from Montpellier Ms., above, p. 9).

- (4) *Sic, sic quando quidem delusus sencio fraudem,*
incendium meum ruina extinguiam.

(Freising *Ordo Rachelis*).

The literary independence of the author is still further shown in the scene of the *Interfectio Puerorum*. Except for the well-known hymn *Hostis Herodes impius*⁶⁵ this brief scene is composed of passages not found elsewhere.

The *Lamentatio Rachelis* consists of one substantial lament in the form of eleven Leonines, followed by a dialogue of three speeches in prose. As we have already observed,⁶⁶ some six of the Leonines are found also in the play from Fleury; the three prose speeches are adapted from the liturgical sequence *Quid tu virgo*, which is also used in the Fleury version.⁶⁷

Although, then, a large part of the Freising play shows a relatively high stage of metrical development, in comparison with the Fleury version it reveals distinct defects in dramatic scope, sequence, and motivation.⁶⁸ The scene of the *Pastores* with which the Freising version opens, for example, not only is irrelevant to the body of the play in content,⁶⁹ but also lacks a transitional connection with the scene of the *Fuga in Ægyptum* that follows. Between the two scenes one inevitably expects at least a reference to the escape of the Magi and to the prospective anger of Herod. The scene of the *Fuga in Ægyptum* itself is somewhat more

Incendium meum ruina extinguum.

(See above, pp. 6-8).

- (5) Ecce miles ego regius;
Ecce ulndex regis gladius,
Paratus ad omne facinus
Quod iubebit noster Dominus,
Qui placabit iram principis
Multa stage turbe simplicis.

(Freising *Ordo Rachelis*).

Decerne . . . et puer.

(See above, under 3).

- (6) Etatis blme pueros fac ense perire.

(Freising *Ordo Rachelis*).

Indolis eximie pueros fac ense perire.

(See above, pp. 8, 10).

⁶⁵ Chevalier. *Repertorium Hymnologicum*, No. 8073, printed by Daniel. *Thesaurus Hymnologicus*, I: 147-148.

⁶⁶ See above, p. 46.

⁶⁷ The bearing of these resemblances upon the relation between the plays of Freising and Fleury will be considered below, pp. 52-53.

⁶⁸ See Meyer, pp. 45-48; Chambers, II: 50; Anz, p. 78.

⁶⁹ See Anz. p. 78.

fully developed than the parallel scene in the Fleury play, in that it contains a dialogue between Joseph and Mary. As a whole, however, the rôle of the Holy Family in the Freising play is less extensive, since no provision is made for the return from Egypt to the land of Israel.⁷⁰ A similar limitation in scope is seen in the rôle of Herod. Although the scene in which Herod commands the massacre is sufficiently impressive, the subsequent death of Herod is not presented. More noteworthy, perhaps, is a certain defect in the sequence of the action connected with Herod. When he is informed of the escape of the Magi (*Reges illi*) and is advised to overtake them, Herod immediately issues, not the expected order for preventing this escape, but a command for the death of the *Rex novus*. This defect in dramatic sequence,—which is present in the narrative of the Vulgate,—is skilfully repaired in the Fleury play, in which Herod before ordering the slaughter is not only informed of the escape of the Magi, but is also explicitly advised to adopt means for insuring the death of the new-born King.⁷¹ The rôle of the Innocents themselves in the play before us is particularly paltry. Whereas in the Fleury play they enter processionally at the outset, appear during Herod's colloquy with *Armiger*, suffer martyrdom, and subsequently rise again, in the Freising version they appear only in the brief scene of the *Interfectio*; and even in this scene they have no speaking part.⁷² Finally one observes that the *Lamentatio Rachelis* with which the play before us somewhat abruptly ends is less extensive than is the same part of the play from Fleury.⁷³

Although the rubrics of the Freising text are scanty, the evidences of *mise en scène* and impersonation are clear enough to indicate the presence of true drama. The acting-space⁷⁴

⁷⁰ See Meyer, p. 46.

⁷¹ See above, p. 29.

⁷² See Meyer, p. 46.

⁷³ The textual similarities of the Freising and Fleury plays will be considered below, pp. 53-62.

⁷⁴ No data are available for determining the precise part of the church in which the action occurs.

is equipped with at least some sort of structural *præsepe*¹⁵ and a *solium Herodis*.¹⁶ Impersonation is perhaps most readily discerned in the action prescribed for Joseph (*Joseph surgens de stratu*), Herod (*Rex de solio prosiliens*), Armiger (*Armiger interficiens pueros*), and Rachel (*Rachel plorans super pueros*).

The place in the liturgy occupied by the play cannot be determined with certainty. The presence of the *Te Deum* at the end of the text implies a performance at Matins, presumably on Epiphany or on Innocents Day.

VI

In the review given above of the several dramatic treatments of the themes of Innocents Day only passing notice has been taken of the textual resemblances among the several versions. We may now consider somewhat closely both these textual relations and the allied matters of ultimate provenience and course of development. These aspects of the subject have already been incisively studied by Meyer¹ and Anz,² whose observations I now undertake to review.

Let us consider first the views of Meyer.

1. This writer infers that the original form (x) of the *Ordo Rachelis*,—upon which the Freising version, for example, rests,—arose in Germany. This inference is drawn from the fact that in the version from Freising, the dialogue between Rachel and Consolatrix is substantially an adaptation of a sequence (*Quid tu virgo*) ascribed to Notker.³ The

¹⁵ [Pastores] venientes ad Præsepe (See above, p. 42).

¹⁶ Rex de solio prosiliens (See above, p. 43).

¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 44–48.

² *Op. cit.*, pp. 73–78.

³ Edited from exhaustive sources by C. Blume and H. M. Bannister in *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi*, LIII: 379–381. It should be remarked that Blume and Bannister appear to be less certain of Notker's authorship than Meyer is.

inference itself is that only a German author would have thought of adapting this sequence to dramatic use.⁴

Although this reasoning can scarcely be accepted as final proof that the dramatic adaptation of the sequence *Quid tu virgo* was the work of a German author, certainly the absence of this sequence from French manuscripts⁵ indicates that the Freising play rests, at least in part, upon a liturgical piece of German provenience.

2. Meyer holds that a version similar to the Freising play is the basis, or at least the inspiration, of the Laon version.⁶ This opinion rests upon the following two textual resemblances:

(1) Freising (Notker): *Quid tu, virgo mater, ploras, Rachel formosa?*

Laon: *Noli, virgo Rachel, noli, dulcissima mater.*

(2) Freising (Notker): *Terge, mater, fluentes oculos.*

Laon: *Ast oculos fientes, lacrimas quoque terge fluentes.*

Meyer believes, however, that the actual composition of the Laon version was accomplished in France, for this play contains three passages from sequences current in France, but unknown,—or substantially so,—in Germany.⁷

3. Meyer looks upon the Fleury version as being an obvious compilation.⁸ From the Freising version (or its

⁴ "Sollte wohl ein Franzose des 12. Jahrhunderts noch auf diesen Gedanken gekommen sein, eine Sequenz Notker's so zu verwenden? Das ist sehr unwahrscheinlich." (Meyer, p. 45).

⁵ See *Analecta Hymnica*, LIII: 380-381.

⁶ See Meyer, pp. 45-46, 48.

⁷ Meyer, p. 45. The three passages are the following: (1) the first speech of Rachel (*O dulces . . . lactis flumina*), found as verses 20 and 21 of the sequence *Celsa pueri* (*Analecta Hymnica*, LIII: 264-7); (2) the last speech of *Consolatrix* (*Quam beata . . . talia pignora*), found as verses 18 and 19 of the same sequence *Celsa pueri*; (3) the greater part of the last speech of Rachel (*Planctus matrum . . . pre tristitia*), found as verses 5 and 6 (Meyer says 6 and 7) of the sequence *Misit Herodes* (*Analecta Hymnica*, LIV: 70). The bibliography given by the editors of *Analecta Hymnica* indicates that *Celsa pueri* is not found in German manuscripts at all, and *Misit Herodes*, not before the fourteenth century.

⁸ See Meyer, p. 46.

original),⁹ as he holds, are derived at least the first four Leonines of Rachel's first lament (*Heu! teneri partus . . . ista videre*), and the fourth and fifth Leonines of Rachel's second utterance (*O dolor . . . fundite fluctus*). A German source seems to Meyer to be indicated also in the fact that the second and third speeches of the *Consolatrices* and the third speech of Rachel (*Quid tu virgo . . . apud Deum auxiliatur*) are literally supplied by the Notkerian sequence *Quid tu virgo*, found also in the play from Freising. Further evidence of German influence upon the Fleury play is seen in the speech of the risen *Pueri* (*O Christe, quantum . . . miseris*), which consists in a passage from another Notkerian sequence (*Festa Christi*).¹⁰ From the presence of Notkerian elements in it, Meyer infers that the original of the Fleury version was composed where the Notkerian sequences were indigenous.¹¹ From the Laon play Meyer would derive the last line of Rachel's first lament (*Gaudia non . . . pignora desunt*), the four lines of the first speech of the *Consolatrices* (*Noli, virgo . . . astra beati*), and four lines,—the first three and the last,—of Rachel's second speech (*Quomodo gaudebo . . . fine dolere* and *Judee florem . . . dolorem*).¹²

4. From the fact that the Limoges text consists merely in a dialogue of lament and consolation appended to the responsory *Sub altare*, and that likewise in the plays from Fleury and Laon a dialogue of lament and consolation is appended to the same responsory, Meyer infers that the dia-

⁹ It is scarcely necessary to remark that, in general, the dates of the extant manuscripts have small bearing upon the question of the interrelations of the versions. An early version may be preserved only in a late manuscript.

¹⁰ See Meyer, pp. 46-47. The sequence *Festa Christi* is found in *Analecta Hymnica*, LIII: 50-53. Meyer notes that the passage from this sequence used in the Fleury play is defectively quoted, and attributes this error to a natural unfamiliarity of the French author with the Notkerian piece.

¹¹ Meyer, p. 47.

¹² Meyer (p. 46) does not explicitly prove that the Fleury play is the borrower rather than the source. The relative brevity and simplicity of the Laon play might be cited in support of Meyer's view that this play is the source.

logue between Rachel and *Consolatrix* (or *Consolatrices*) is the kernel of the plays that we call collectively *Ordo Rachelis*.¹³

5. From the central element just described were developed, as Meyer believes, the three extant versions: (1) the Freising-Fleury play, (2) the Laon play, and (3) the Limoges dialogue. The development is assumed to have occurred as follows:¹⁴

a) There arose in southern Germany a non-extant play for Innocents Day, of the following content: a procession of the *Pueri* and Herod, a warning to Joseph (as in Fleury), a scene representing Herod's anger and his commanding of the Slaughter, a scene representing the Slaughter itself (as in Fleury), Rachel's lament in Leonines (as in Freising and Fleury), the utterance of *Consolatrix* (Notker's *Quid tu virgo*, as in Freising and Fleury), the rising of the *Pueri* and their processional (from Notker's *Festa Christi*), and the return of the Holy Family (as in Fleury).

b) In the course of the twelfth century a poet in southern Germany revised this non-extant version, the result of his thorough-going versifying and modifying being the extant play from Freising.

c) The German play,—presumably the original non-extant version,¹⁵—was brought to France, with the following results:

(1) At Limoges was composed a brief dialogue in imitation of the dialogue of Rachel and *Consolatrix* in the German play.

(2) At Laon an *Ordo Rachelis* was added to a version of the *Officium Stellæ*. In the composing of this *Ordo Rachelis*, part of the non-extant German play was used, part was rejected, and part was replaced by new Leonines and passages from sequences native to France.

¹³ See Meyer, p. 47.

¹⁴ See Meyer, pp. 47-48.

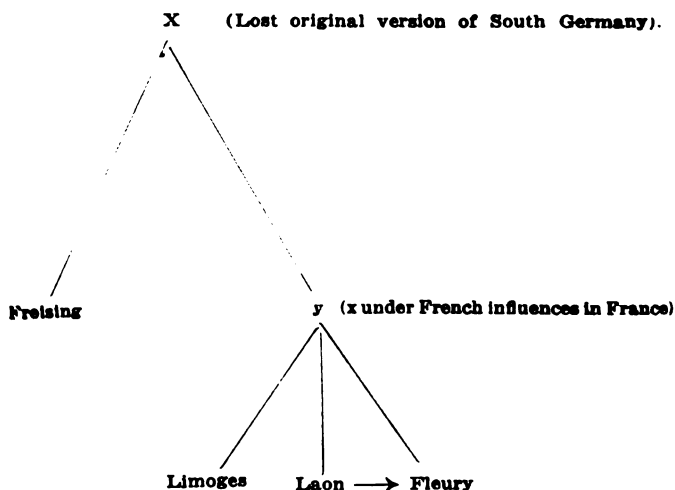
¹⁵ Upon this point Meyer (p. 48) is not explicit.

(3) At Fleury, finally, the original German play was, in general, imitated. Into the dialogue of *Rachel* and *Consolatrices*, however, the author inserted some nine Leonines from the Laon play.¹⁶

In criticism of Meyer's scheme of relationship I offer the following observations:

1. The dependence of Limoges¹⁷ upon the original version (*x*) of South Germany (even through the process of imitation) is not proved. Meyer admits that Limoges presents the irreducible kernel of the *Ordo Rachelis* play.¹⁸ In the absence of evidence to the contrary, therefore, Limoges may fairly be viewed as a simple and independent piece conceived in France and composed either under the inspiration of the Gospel narrative,¹⁹ or through adaptation of some liturgical composition that is no longer known.

¹⁶ For convenience one may, very roughly, diagram Meyer's observations as follows:



It should be remembered that Meyer does not commit himself to a definite diagram.

¹⁷ Henceforth I take the liberty of designating the versions merely by the names of the places from which they come.

¹⁸ See Meyer, p. 47.

¹⁹ Matt II: 12.

2. The evidence supporting the contention that Laon derives from a version similar to Freising lacks decisiveness. Since it is admitted that Laon shows considerable influence from native French sequences,²⁰ one can admit German influence only on the showing of substantial evidence. The only proof offered is in the form of two verbal resemblances between Freising and Laon.²¹ Not only are these resemblances fragile in themselves; they are also offset by resemblances between Laon and Limoges pointing toward the influence of the latter version upon the former.²²

The further bearing of these considerations will be considered below.

More elaborate than the study of Meyer is the investigation of textual relationships made by Anz,²³ whose results I now examine.

1. This writer views Limoges as an early and independent production.²⁴

2. Anz holds further that Limoges, or a related version, is the source of a substantial part of the Rachel scene in Laon. As a first step in demonstrating this relation Anz undertakes to expose the lack of unity and sequence in the Laon text as it stands. Both the speeches of Rachel and those of *Consolatrix* show a variety of meters.²⁵ Moreover a mechanical juxtaposition of diverse sources is apparent in Rachel's last utterance (*Planctus matrum et Rachelis*), in the fact that she refers to herself in the third person.²⁶

Again, according to Anz, the secondary nature of Laon is suggested by the defective sense of two particular passages. The first of these is the first speech of *Consolatrix*:

Noli, virgo Rachel, noli, dulcissima mater,
Pro nece parvorum fletus reticere dolorum.

²⁰ See Meyer p. 45, and above p. 53.

²¹ See Meyer pp. 45-46, and above p. 53.

²² See below, pp. 57-60, 63.

²³ Anz, pp. 73-78. In his treatment of the Innocents plays Anz, —probably through inadvertence,—makes no reference to the previous work of Meyer, with which he was certainly acquainted. See Anz, p. 6.

²⁴ Anz, pp. 72-73.

²⁵ See Anz, pp. 73, 77, and above, pp. 16-17.

²⁶ See Anz, p. 74.

This passage expresses an injunction precisely opposite in sense to what we should expect. Whereas we should expect that Rachel would be urged to cease her lamenting, she is actually urged not to restrain her tears. Her reply (*Gaudia non possum*), moreover, would imply that she has already been bidden to cease lamenting and to rejoice.²⁷ This reply is the second passage adduced as presenting defective sense:

*Gaudia non possum, nam dulcia pignora non sunt,
Iudee florem, patrie lacrimando decorem.*²⁸

The first of these lines is thought to be "sinnlos," on the ground that *possum* lacks an infinitive that must have been present in the original.²⁹ Anz observes further that the rime of the Leonine is defective,³⁰ and holds that the sense of the second line does not readily attach itself to that of the first.³¹ A further consideration advanced as indicating the defective textual mosaic of Laon is the very position of the utterance *Gaudia non possum* in the sequence of thought in the play. For the sorrowing Rachel to think of *gaudia* would be impossible, it is said, unless *Consolatrix* had previously

²⁷ See Anz, p. 74. Anz observes that the parallel speech of *Consolatrix* (*Angelus*) in the Limoges text runs as follows: *Noli, Rachel, flere pignora . . . Noli flere, sed gaude potius!*

²⁸ For *decorem* Anz (p. 74) prints *dolorem*, under the influence, obviously, of the reading in Fleury. These two lines are not continuous in Fleury, where they stand as follows: *Gaudia non possunt, nam dulcia pignora desunt . . . Iudee florem, patrie lacrimando dolorem*. See above, pp. 29-30.

²⁹ See Anz, p. 74. I am by no means convinced that, as mediæval Latin, *Gaudia non possum* is "sinnlos" as it stands, even in the absence of an infinitive with *possum*. Might not one translate, "I cannot be joyful"? I have no parallels at hand, but I feel sure of having encountered them in mediæval Latin.

³⁰ See Anz, p. 74. One scarcely need remark that *possum* may be a scribal error for *possunt*, a form that restores the rime, and a form found in the Fleury *Ordo Rachelis* (See above, p. 29).

³¹ See Anz, p. 75. The difficulty of interpreting the lines as they stand (or with *possum* emended to *possunt*) seems not to be insurmountable. I should suggest the following: "I cannot be joyful (or Joy is impossible) because of my weeping over the glory of the land, the flower of Judea,—for my sweet children are no more."

referred to it. No such reference is present in the extant version of Laon.³²

The cause of this last difficulty in sense, as well as of certain of the textual difficulties mentioned, seems to Anz to lie in the changes to which the author of Laon subjected his sources. Assuming that in the source of Laon the order of ideas was different from the order in the text before us, Anz confidently reconstructs the Leonine passage³³ in Laon in the following form:³⁴

Noli, virgo Rachel,	noli dulcissima mater,
Pro nece parvorum	fletus (lacrimare?) ³⁵ dolorum!
Supplico, ne plores	quae tanto sanguine flores
Ast oculos fientes,	lacrimas quoque terge fluentes.
Tu, quae tristaris,	exulta, quae lacrimaris,
Namque tui nati	vivunt super astra beati!
(Ergo gaude) ³⁶	

Rachel:

Quomodo gaudebo	dum mortua membra videbo,
Dum sic commota	fuero per viscera tota,
Iudaeae florem,	patriae lacrimando decorem?
Heu! (luctus) memores	nostrosque levare dolores ³⁷
Gaudia non possunt,	nam dulcia pignora non sunt!
Me facient vere	pueri sine fine dolere!

When he proceeds to examine the two speeches of his hypothetical reconstruction, Anz observes that the first speech is merely a revamping of the speech of *Angelus* in Limoges.³⁸ The words *Noli, virgo Rachel* of Laon reflect the words *Noli, Rachel, deflere* of Limoges. The later *Noli*

³² See Anz, p. 76. This bit of objecting seems to me rather captious. Surely the point raised is, in any case, one of taste,—or of individual psychology.

³³ The Leonine passage consists of the first three speeches of *Consolatrix* and the second and third speeches of Rachel,—a continuous passage running *Noli, virgo Rachel . . . quoque terge fluentes*. See above, pp. 16-17.

³⁴ See Anz, p. 76.

³⁵ Anz's proposal, p. 76.

³⁶ Anz's proposal, p. 76.

³⁷ It will be observed that this line is not found in the extant Laon text. As printed here it is an emended line from Fleury, which Anz assumes to have been present in the source of Laon. See below, p. 61.

³⁸ See Anz, pp. 76-77.

fere of Limoges is represented in *Supplicio ne plores* of the reconstruction. The words *Cur*³⁹ *tristaris* of Limoges are the basis of the passage *Tu quae tristaris* in Laon. The Limoges passage *sed gaude potius, Tui nati vivunt felicius* results, in Laon, in the form *exulta, quae lacrimaris, Namque tui nati vivunt super astra beati*. The opening words of Rachel's reply in Laon (*Quomodo gaudebo*) suggest that the preceding speech of *Consolatrix* ended with the *Ergo gaude* now preserved in Limoges.

In the reconstruction, moreover, it appears to Anz that the troublesome line *Gaudia non possum* finds an explanation.⁴⁰ The restoration of the form *possunt* restores the rime of the Leonine, and this verb is supplied with an appropriate infinitive in the line preceding. We are shown, finally, that the word *exulta* of *Consolatrix* lends appropriateness to Rachel's mention of *gaudia*.

For the motive of the author of the extant Laon play in disturbing the lines of his original and in rearranging them in five speeches, Anz offers a simple explanation: a desire for a more lively dialogue.⁴¹

But according to the critic under review, the influence of Limoges upon Laon is not confined to the passage of five speeches that we have been considering. Further influence is discerned also upon the opening lament of Rachel (*O dulces innocentum . . . lactis flumina*). Anz feels that the opening words of this lament, *O dulces innocentum*, resemble the passage *O dulces filii* of Limoges so closely as to suggest an original similarity between the lament in Laon and the speech of Rachel in Limoges.⁴²

3. A third important contention of Anz is that Laon, or

³⁹ The fact that the manuscript may read *Cor* (see above, p. 25) need not seriously affect Anz's argument. The same may be said in connection with *Tui*, quoted in the next sentence; my reading of the manuscript is *Cui*. See above, p. 25.

⁴⁰ See Anz, pp. 74-77.

⁴¹ See Anz, p. 77.

⁴² See Anz, p. 77. Anz appears to overlook the fact that the opening lament in Laon,—along with other passages in that play,—is found in the French sequence *Celsa pueri*, as Meyer has shown. See above, p. 53, note 7.

the source of Laon, is one of the sources of Fleury. The evidences adduced in support of this contention are the following:

a) The four lines of the first speech of the *Consolatrices* in Fleury (*Noli, virgo...astra beati*) form also the first two speeches of *Consolatrix* in Laon; and Anz assumes that Fleury is the borrower.⁴³

b) Of Rachel's second utterance in Fleury (*Quomodo gaudebo...dolorem*) Anz derives the first three lines and the last line directly from the second and third speeches of Rachel in Laon.⁴⁴

c) Likewise Anz would derive from the original of Laon the following two lines of Rachel's opening lament in Fleury:

Heu! Quid memores	nostrosque levare dolores
Gaudia non possunt,	nam dulcia pignora desunt

The second line is, of course, found in the extant Laon play;⁴⁵ and since the first line is assumed to be necessary to the sense of the second, Anz infers that in the original of Laon the two lines were found together.⁴⁶ But as it stands in Fleury, the first line is metrically defective;⁴⁷ hence Anz emends and presents the following as the form of the two lines in the original of Laon, which served as the source of Fleury:

Heu! (luctus) memores	nostrosque levare dolores
Gaudia non possunt,	nam dulcia pignora non sunt.

4. Anz contends that Fleury is indebted also, in a measure, to Freising, or to the source of Freising. The first four lines of Rachel's first utterance in Fleury (*Heu! teneri...*

⁴³ See Anz, p. 75. The textual variations between the two plays in these lines have no bearing upon the present argument.

⁴⁴ See Anz, p. 75.

⁴⁵ In the present argument the textual variations between the two texts may be ignored.

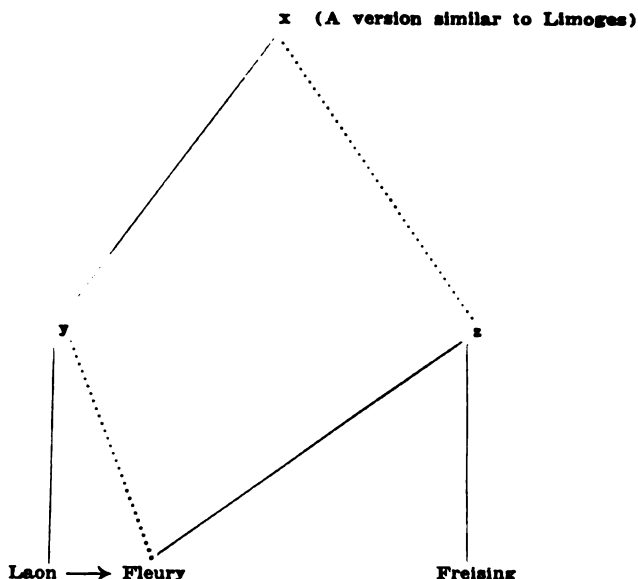
⁴⁶ See Anz, pp. 75-76.

⁴⁷ The metrical defect Anz (p. 76) believes to have arisen through contamination from the line preceding in Fleury, beginning *Heu! quid*. Hence *quid* is removed in favor of the dissyllabic *luctus*.

ista videre) are substantially identical with two separated pairs of lines in Rachel's opening lament in Freising. That Fleury is the borrower seems to Anz to be indicated by the fact that the antecedent which is lacking to *quem* in the line *Heu! quem nec pietas nec vestra coercuit ætas* as it stands in Fleury is supplied by the preceding line in the Freising text.⁴⁸ Further borrowings from Freising, or from its source, are assumed in the following passages of Fleury: two lines of Rachel's second utterance (*O dolor... fundite fluctus*), the second and third speeches of the *Consolatrices* (*Quid tu... genarum rivuli* and *Numquid flendus... Deum auxiliatur*), and the third speech of Rachel (*Heu, heu, heu, quid... esset profuturus*).⁴⁹

⁴⁸ See Anz, p. 75.

⁴⁹ See Anz, p. 75. The general intent of Anz's observations outlined above may be roughly diagrammed as follows:



It should be understood that Anz presents no such diagram, and that my drawing represents his argument only in a very general way. I resort to such a figure only for lucidity. Dotted lines represent relations that Anz proposes only tentatively, or not at all. The relation of Freising to the original simple form (x) of the play is not considered by Anz.

Several of the details in Anz's arguments I have already criticised in the course of my analysis of them.⁵⁰ I now offer certain additional observations, bearing in mind both the contentions of Anz and those of Meyer.

1. As has been suggested above,⁵¹ Anz's opinion that Limoges is an early and independent production is more easily accepted than is Meyer's contention that this piece is an imitation of part of a longer version developed in Germany. The process for which Meyer contends is, to be sure, entirely rational; but in the absence of proof for it, one may more readily believe that Limoges was inspired by the appropriate passage in the Vulgate and by sequences native to France.

2. One readily accepts Anz's conclusion that in some manner Laon continues the tradition of Limoges. Although very few, probably, will credit either Anz's highly conjectural reconstruction of the immediate source of Laon or his evidences of direct textual influence from Limoges, certainly we more readily accept Anz's contention for the derivation of Laon from the *tradition* of Limoges than Meyer's for a derivation from Freising.

3. However sceptical we may be, finally, as to Anz's arguments for detailed influences upon Fleury, we may safely recognize in this play the influence of two traditions: one represented by Laon and one represented by Freising.

In summary, then, it appears that whatever the relations of their ultimate origins may have been, we are sure of a French tradition that includes Limoges and Laon and of a German tradition that includes Freising; and in some manner the two traditions seem to be united in Fleury.

⁵⁰ See especially the foot-notes on pp. 58, 60.

⁵¹ See p. 56.

VII

From a consideration of the broad relations of the extant versions of the *Ordo Rachelis* we pass, finally, to a special question relating to origins: Did this type of play arise as a mere extension of the *Officium Stellæ*, or was it a separate creation, independent in origin and development? Or more specifically: Is the Innocents scene with which the Laon *Officium Stellæ* closes to be regarded as a mere extension of the *Officium Stellæ*, or as a dramatic unit developed independently and then appended, more or less mechanically,¹ to a normal Epiphany play of the Magi?²

Evidence pointing toward an independent origin of the *Ordo Rachelis* appears in the fact that the kernel of the play,—the lament of Rachel,³—is to be found in the version of Limoges in an early manuscript as a simple, independent dramatic unit, attached to the responsory *Sub altare*. In two texts, moreover,—those of Laon and Fleury,—the attachment of the lament to the responsory *Sub altare* persists. Still further, the Innocents scene of Laon contains almost nothing beside the lament and the responsory. These facts suggest that the origin of the play is some such independent trope of the responsory *Sub altare* as that preserved in the Limoges text.

On the other hand, we have several indications that the formation of the actual play occurred under the influence of the *Officium Stellæ*. Such an influence was indeed inevitable, for numerous versions of this latter play end with an explicit promise of an Innocents scene, and in the Vulgate narrative the anger of Herod over the escape of the Magi directly motivates the massacre. This promise and this motivation are explicitly fulfilled in the *Officium Stellæ* of Laon. In this case the Innocents scene is unquestionably a part of

¹The mechanical nature of the attachment is commented upon by Meyer (p. 48) and Anz (p. 78). See above, p. 17.

²These questions have been broached above, p. 28.

³I am using "lament" here as including the entire utterance of Rachel and of her comforter (or comforters).

the Magi play, and a fitting conclusion for it. The Innocents plays of Fleury and Freising, moreover, show definite textual influence from the Magi plays; for, as we have observed above, these two versions of the *Ordo Rachelis* contain formulæ and whole speeches that are obviously borrowed from the *Officium Stellæ*.⁴

A possible explanation of these facts might be formulated as follows:

Under the general influences that inspired the great body of liturgical poetry, arose a trope (or tropes) of the responsory *Sub altare*, represented by the extant text from Limoges.⁵ Certain dramatists, wishing to carry out the implications of Herod's threats at the end of certain versions of the *Officium Stellæ*, used such a trope as a substantial part of a text for an Innocents scene. The *Ordo Rachelis* thus created sometimes served as the conclusion of an *Officium Stellæ*, as at Laon; sometimes, as at Fleury and Freising, it formed a separate and independent play.⁶ The relative simplicity of the *Ordo Rachelis* of Laon suggests the probability that the use of the trope in a conclusion of the *Officium Stellæ* preceded its use in an independent play.

⁴ See above, pp. 35, 49. The Freising *Ordo Rachelis* contains a fair number of passages that reflect expressions found not only in the versions of the *Officium Stellæ* in general, but, more particularly, in the *Officium Stellæ* from Freising itself. The absence of a similar relation between the Fleury *Ordo Rachelis* and the Fleury *Officium Stellæ* results from the fact that the relevant passages in the *Officium Stellæ* have been definitely transferred from the Magi play to the Innocents play. See above, pp. 5, 28, 32.

⁵ The ultimate basis of the trope (or tropes) was probably a passage from the Vulgate, such as Matt. II: 18 or Jer. xxxi: 15.

⁶ Chambers, *Medieval Stage*, II: 50, suggests that the Freising *Ordo Rachelis* is really not designed as an independent play, but is intended as a supplement to the Freising *Officium Stellæ*.



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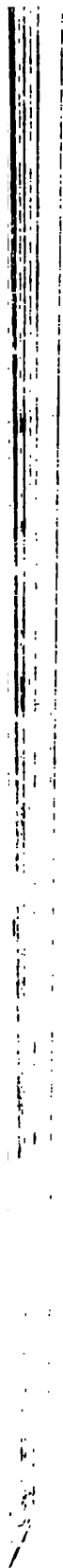
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BT



THE POSITION OF THE *ROODE EN WITTE ROOS* IN THE SAGA OF KING RICHARD III

I

The *Roode en Witte Roos*, an English translation of which is here presented, was published in Amsterdam in 1651.¹ It is a tragedy of five acts written in rhymed iambic hexameters, consisting of 1856 lines and treating the popular story of King Richard III of England. Although the author, Lambert van den Bos (spelt also Bosch), 1610-1698, does not suggest that the drama is not original, he must have had ultimately an English source, if not a play that he translated or adapted, at least one of the comprehensive English Chronicles. Facts which will be presented in the course of this study make it clear that this Dutch tragedy belongs definitely to the English dramatic tradition of Richard III. Indeed, a careful examination of the evidence warrants the belief that this play is a version of an English drama, now lost, which in certain features was more like Shakespeare's *Richard III* than is any extant version of the play.

The other literary work of van den Bos makes it probable that he followed his source, whatever it was, with some fidelity. This author owes his position in Dutch literature to his skillful translation and adaptation of foreign works. His translation of *Don Quixote*, for example, remained for two centuries the classical Dutch version of this immortal romance. In particular, he made enough translations from the English to demonstrate his understanding of the language and his peculiar interest in the literature. In 1648 he rendered into Dutch the masque-like morality *Lingua*, or the

¹ This translation was announced in *Shakespeare Studies* of the University of Wisconsin (pp. 231-252) and some of the descriptive facts given there are here restated. The fundamental indebtedness of my study to the unpublished work of Dr. H. de W. Fuller, I take pleasure in acknowledging again here.

Combat of the Tongue and Five Senses for Superiority, published in London in 1607; in 1658 Sir Thomas Herbert's *Travels into Divers Parts of Africa and Asia Minor*,² first published in 1634; in 1661 John Dauncey's *History of his Sacred Majesty Charles II*; and in 1678 the anonymous treatise *The True and Historical Relation of the Poisoning of Sir Thomas Overbury*, published first in 1651. A man who made a business of miscellaneous translation as did van den Bos was obviously not a trained dramatist. A play bearing his name is perhaps, then, even more certain to be a translation than his other admitted adaptations.

The method which he used when working with a foreign play can be learned from reading his introduction to the translation of *Lingua*:

Gracious Friend:

Considerable time has elapsed since you gave me some English comedies, requesting that I look them over to see whether there was any worth translating. Accepting this proposal, I have chosen the morality *Lingua* and have, as you requested, translated it into Dutch. I have not followed the words so much as the sense, and have here and there omitted things—which, to be sure, would have made the play somewhat longer but certainly not more attractive.

These free principles of translation applied to the play under discussion would obscure and ultimately obliterate verbal similarities between the Dutch work and its source. At any rate, a drama written in rhymed couplets, as is the *Roode en Witte Roos*, could not be a word for word translation. Furthermore in developing the *Red Rose and the White* from an English source, van den Bos would have felt as free to omit and to condense as he did in translating *Lingua*.

From the above document we are able to glean an even more significant fact. In 1648, three years before the appearance of this tragedy, van den Bos had in his possession a number of English plays,—comedies, to be sure, he calls

²The full title is: A relation of some yeares travaille, begunne anno 1026 Into Afrique and the greater Asia, especially the Territories of the Persian Monarchie; and some parts of the Oriental Indies, and Iles adjacent.

them—which he was reading with the view to translating. These plays had been given him by his “gracious friend,” who was the Regent of a theatre in Amsterdam. They may have come into this man’s possession in a number of different ways, as the wholesale purchase of a Dutch book-seller or actor, or as the castaways of English troupes of actors travelling in Holland. The point of significance is that even if a play to serve as the source of the *Roode en Witte Roos* were not among “the Comedies” referred to above, such a drama may have come to van den Bos through this gracious friend, who had tapped some source of English plays. It was, at any rate, a product of the same period of the author’s literary activity as *Lingua*, which we know was the translation of an English play.

Taken in connection with these facts, some curiously involved and awkward figures of speech in van den Bos’s dedication of the *Roode en Witte Roos* assume important meaning. After fulsome praise of a certain Frans Ludowyk van de Wiele to whom the work is dedicated he writes:

I offer up as a sacrifice, what? Two roses,—a red and a white one. I intended that a second wonder should come to pass and that they should have bloomed during the winter, in order to embellish their own modest worth with such an unusual characteristic,—but time and my hope have deceived me. At any rate receive them, however wasted and faded they may be. They have gone through thorns, without defending their own worth, since for a long time they were maimed and cast under foot. Alas they have endured much, yet they have come up again together. But finally felled by a more dangerous, though a gentler, misfortune, they would have had to stay crushed, and to remain stifled in the book of forgetfulness, rotted away to moss and refuse, if a favoring hand had not taken them up again.

This long figure of speech can hardly have been meant to suggest the changing fortunes of the Houses of York and Lancaster. It describes almost as ineptly difficulties of publication which his own play may have experienced. It might serve, however, as a clumsy description of the vicissitudes which some copy of an old play had suffered. It had been rescued, let us say, from a mass of cast-off pamphlets and

brought to light again in this form. No other equally satisfactory explanation of this part of the dedication suggests itself.

The play, whatever its origin, is not like the earliest forms of Chronicle plays written in England. The author has advanced beyond the loose and unorganized method of writing these dramas which prevailed in the first stages of their development. The events here are not spread out in their historical succession with no attempt made to give them dramatic unity. The drama has fewer scenes³ than those plays which follow the Chronicle meticulously, as does, for example, *Richardus Tertius*. The story of Richard's unscrupulous grasping of the kingdom and his merited fall unifies the action. The play begins immediately after the imprisonment of Rivers and Grey with the young king in Gloucester's hands. From that point only the main steps in the attainment of Richard's object are presented,—and each one is made the dramatic center of an entire act. The first act presents the successful efforts of the conspirators to carry off the young Duke of York from the sanctuary whither his mother has fled with him; the second, the seizure of Hastings and his subsequent execution. The third act is composed of two scenes, both of which deal with Gloucester's devious methods of gaining the throne; the first presents Buckingham's long speech before the Council of London; the second, Richard's exaggerated and hypocritical horror at the suggestions of the citizens that he assume the title of king, and his final yielding to their requests. The fourth act is not so clearly unified; the first part is taken up with the murder of the princes and the reactions of the queen and Buckingham to that crime; the last scene depicts Richard's futile wooing of his niece,—the first check administered to his advance toward the fulfillment of all his desires. The last act is the history of Richard's downfall,—all except the first scene. This is a dialogue between Buckingham and Richard while the former is on the way to his execution, in which

³ Although the scenes are not definitely and specifically denominated, the indication of change is clearly made.

Buckingham prophesies that the vengeance of Heaven will overtake the tyrant. This threat is immediately brought to pass in the succeeding scenes.

The play, therefore, possesses more struictional unity than most English Chronicle plays. There are no scenes, for example, from the life of a person as tenuously connected with the main action as Jane Shore. There is not, however, a corresponding unity in the conception of the central character. The figure of Richard, to be sure, is not lost in a mass of events; he is usually before our eyes and always in our minds; yet we are not shown the tragedy of his inner life. This is partly because each scene is presented with the author's eye on its immediate theatrical effects rather than on its psychological significance. In so doing, he shows the pervasive influence of Seneca.

In many respects the *Roode en Witte Roos* is a Senecan play.⁴ In the first place it has numerous epical scenes. As in Seneca most of them report events which could not be presented or which dramatic tradition rigorously excluded from the stage. To the latter influence can be attributed the author's unwillingness to have the death of Hastings, of the princes, or of Richard himself actually presented. Each death is announced by a messenger who delivers his news not, as often in Seneca, in monologues addressed to the audience or to the chorus, but always to some character in the drama.

Furthermore the play has a large number of lyrical scenes, the chief object of which is not to advance the action, but to give expression to the feelings of the characters. The writer uses these scenes, moreover, not to draw character, but merely to arouse temporarily the emotions of the spectator. Such is the object of the queen's lament in Act I, Scene II; of Buckingham's appeal to Heaven in Act IV, Scene III; of the queen's grief over the death of the princes, Act IV, Scene V; and of Stanley's lament over Hasting's arrest in Act II, Scene IV. The language of these scenes, like that of similar ones in Seneca, is highly rhetorical, the outpourings of a mind

⁴ A full consideration of many Senecan details of style is presented where the play is compared with *Richardus Tertius*, vid. infra. pp. 20-36.

half beside itself with emotional excitement. This same extravagance of language is rendered often uncouth to the poet of humor by the heavy hand of van den Boe—as when the princess longs for a sword “to root around in” her undervitals.

The verse often develops into as highly wrought a stichomythia as can be found in Seneca. The longest passage of this sort occurs in the dialogue between Buckingham and Richard, Act V, Scene I, where it continues almost without interruption for over forty lines. Here, too, there is a consistent attempt to make the individual lines aphoristic.

“A legitimate prince always acts advisedly.”

“How often does man err and dote in his judgment.”

“The man for whom a wicked deed is done, his is the guilt.”

Neither in this passage nor elsewhere in the play is stichomythia developed to that stage of refinement in which there is a balance of half lines.

Whatever dramatic intensity the play possesses is given it through well-known Senecan devices. The tragedy fully casts its shadow across the minds of its victims. It is filled with intimations and vague forebodings of doom which arouse expectancy and dread in the spectators. The first words spoken in the play are intended to allay the fears of the young king. The tirade of the queen in the second scene of the first act is one long wail of foreboding and distress over the hidden ills of the future. And her first exclamation when she hears of the murder of her sons—“Was it not that which my heart long ago seemed to me sage?”

Though the idea of Nemesis is not made a basic principle of construction as it is in Shakespeare's *Richard III.*, Fate permeates the spirit of the action and is constantly the fate of the characters. Stanley's first words after Hastings has been seized are: “Now I see that no one can escape his misfortune, and that whatever Heaven wills shall and must come to pass. In vain it is for man to set against his Fate.” In this speech, as in others through-

the play, Fate is almost always called the will of Heaven. The Bishop of York never loses faith in the ultimate punishment of the bloody tyrant. On the eve of Richard's death, he assures Stanley:

The vengeance of God will yet come, though it be late.

After the tyrant's death, Stanley exclaims, "How fickle fortune can turn her fleet heel!" and the Bishop rejoins, "The punishment of God knows no time nor tide". This idea of Nemesis acting through the judgment of God, however, is little more than a subject of dramatic conversation. It never enters the minds of those who suffer from the vengeance of Fate, as it does in Shakespeare, nor does it become part of the terror of a mental tragedy in the heart of Richard. Only after the ghost has visited him does he look within his foul soul. Then he exclaims:

Oh Conscience smirched with sin and red with shame and guilt!
What bitter torments dost thou spread through my limbs . . .
Alas King Henry! King Henry! Now I see, today I see your blood
pursuing me.

The drama then is in no sense psychological, so that such unity as the play possesses is not due to the dramatist's conception of Nemesis.

In the same superficial way the *Roode en Witte Roos* is a tragedy of revenge. The inevitable ghost of such a play appears here, but not as usual to urge revenge. He is not the spirit of a character wronged by the villain, but the evil spirit of Richard himself. He in no sense directs the course of events, but merely announces to the tyrant that his end is near and causes him to peer into the pit of hell. He makes Richard exclaim: "It is as if hell were opening its mouth and jaws. The earth trembles and roars beneath my feet . . . hell is loose to drive me to distraction". The queen in one of her "reflective diatribes" (IV, 5) says: "Now I am just waiting to see . . . what calamity my sad calamity will bring down upon the person who accomplished it".

The queen addresses Richmond at the end of the play as

"faithful avenger of my heavy cross", and the Duke rejoice with her "in the avenging of your insults and of the tyrant's accursed and godless deeds". Yet references of this sort are external to the spirit of the play which has, therefore, only superficial and, as it were, residuary resemblances to the typical tragedies of revenge.

Thus none of the Senecan characteristics of this play are fundamental enough to give it structural unity or to determine its dramatic spirit. Furthermore the recognizable Senecan scenes are intermingled with those of a quite different character. Such is the long discussion between Stanley and York in Act II, Scene IV, on the respective rights of the Houses of Lancaster and York to the throne. Historical surveys of this sort are in the English tradition of Chronicle play. This same question, indeed, is discussed in the *Contention* and in *I Henry VI*.⁵ In the Dutch play *England* crime in putting the House of Lancaster on the throne instead of that of Mortimer (as the author designates the House of York) is, to be sure, the cause of the present troublous times. This wrong, fate is avenging.

Another scene completely out of the spirit of Seneca's drama is the encounter that Buckingham has with Dighton. The murderer has dispatched the Princes and is seeking Tyrone (sic) to report that the deed has been done. On his way he meets Buckingham. Dighton is preoccupied and confused and makes ridiculous and compromising answers. A prince has charged him. "What prince?" Buckingham asks. "Prince Robert", he replies, thinking of Robert Brakenbury, keeper of the tower,—though this reference would have been utterly lost on a Dutchman who did not know the story of Richard in all its details. Their dialogue then continues as follows:

Buck. What, you dull gallows bird!

Dighton. No, I mean Edmond, I mean Prince Edward (I am going in bad).

⁵ II, 5, 63 ff. e. g., *Mortimer*. Henry the fourth, grandfather to the King Deposed his nephew Richard,—Edward's son. . . . Young King Richard thus removed Leaving no heir begotten of his body, etc.

Buck. Had charged you to do what?

Dighton. To ride his horses.

Buck. When?

Dighton. Immediately.

Buck. In the dead of night?

Dighton. Yes, that is so, I had not thought of that at all.

This is a bit of clumsy humor, introduced in the manner of the great Elizabethans at a moment when the tragedy is most painful. Of all the scenes in the play these two are perhaps the most completely out of harmony with the Senecan spirit. Others, like the long address of Buckingham to the citizens, are mere transcripts of the Chronicle tradition. They are innocent of any formative dramatic influence.

The *Red Rose and the White*, then, shows no real dramatic unity. The individual scenes make immediate theatrical effects of an exaggerated Senecan sort. The individual acts are unified by action relating to one central dramatic fact. Yet there is no sweep of Nemesis from act to act, no character dominating events until, faithless to him, they turn his mind upon itself in deep psychological tragedy. Richard's career uninterpreted by any profound artistic judgment binds the drama together and nothing else.

The Dutch play is the product of a more sophisticated technique than that which produced the earlier naive English dramatizations of the historical material. The authors of these first English Chronicle plays followed the historical sources closely, selecting and discriminating but little. In so doing they naturally smothered the central character in the multitude of events. These blemishes the author of the original of the *Roode en Witte Roos* has avoided. The subject of his play is the historical fact of Richard's rise and fall, and of that the spectator is never permitted to lose sight. Of the later and most effective manner of writing this form of drama, in which the attention of the spectators, as in Shakespeare's *Richard III*, is riveted upon some mighty figure and his gigantic conflict with circumstance or struggle with his own soul, there is no trace. It is such a play as might have been written in England by some inferior dram-

artist after the purely Senecan tradition had been modified by some of the early work of Marlowe. The interest of this tragedy does not lie, then, in its intrinsic value, but in its position in the great Saga of King Richard III, and particularly in its relation to Shakespeare's famous tragedy.

II

The most natural hypothesis about a play published in 1651 which deals with the career of Richard III is that it is a translation or an adaptation of Shakespeare's work. But it can be easily shown that the *Roode en Witte Roos*¹ is not a translation of *Richard III*.² In the first place D does not cover the same ground as S. It begins with events which are not treated in S until the very end of the second act. Almost two whole acts of S are therefore unrepresented in D. Furthermore the two tragedies are quite unlike in dramatic character, D being more persistently and circumstantially Senecan. Finally no line in D is a translation of anything in S.

Granted that this is true, is it not possible, nevertheless, that van den Bos used S as the source of the historical material that he incorporated in his play? This theory is untenable because the material in D in many respects is more nearly like that of the Chronicles than is S; and attaches itself, therefore, to the tradition of Richard III at a point earlier in its development than that represented by S. The resemblances which establish this point are of two sorts: (1) those of dramatic construction and (2) those of verbal similarity.

1. The first resemblance of the constructive sort occurs in D, I, 1. There the Churchman who discusses the rights of sanctuary with Buckingham and later seeks to induce the queen to entrust her second son to the regent is the Arch-

¹ Hereafter in this discussion the Dutch play will be indicated by the letter D.

² Hereafter to be indicated by S.

bishop of York. In presenting this character van den Bos follows the tradition as it appears in Holinshed³ and More; S, on the other hand, gives this part to Cardinal Bouchier of Canterbury,⁴ as do Hall⁵ and Polydore Vergil.⁶ At this point, therefore, D attaches itself to the Richard III saga in a manner different from S and quite independent of it.

2. In D (I, 3, ll. 12-15) before Gloucester acquaints Buckingham with his fell purposes, he seeks to bind him as a confederate by promising him, as he does also in S,⁷ the Duchy of Hartford. Then in D Gloucester adds, as he does not in S, "You know what my favor will be able to accomplish further when our houses are bound together in marriage." In adding this second point D is following the tradition as it appears in Holinshed, where we find the following:

Then it was agreed that the protector should have the duke's aid to make him King and that the protector's onelle lawfull sonne should marrie the duke's daughter.⁸ etc.

In this respect D depends on an earlier and more circumstantial form of the tradition than that appearing in S.

3. In the same scene in D (I, 3, ll. 17ff.) immediately after Gloucester has made the above agreement with Buckingham, he introduces the subject of the murder of his nephews in the following absurdly nonchalant fashion:

When my nephews have been murdered by my hands, etc.

Buckingham is greatly shocked and suggests, instead of this crime, mere imprisonment and the scheme of asserting them to be bastards. In S, to be sure, Gloucester also tells Buckingham of his desire to have his nephews murdered, but only much later in the action.⁹ It is in the tradition as it appears in the Chronicles that Richard, as in D, bares his most sinister intentions to Buckingham as soon as he has both young

³ III, pp. 370ff.

⁴ *Rich. III*, III, 1, *passim*.

⁵ P. 352.

⁶ cf. Churchill, p. 207. For this reason and others of a similar sort, when I quote the Chronicles, I shall choose Holinshed.

⁷ *Rich. III*, III, 1, ll. 218-220.

⁸ Holinshed, III, p. 378.

⁹ *Rich. III*, IV, 2, 123, "Shall I be plaine? I wish the bastards dead."

princes in his power. The passage as it appears in Holinshed is as follows:

But when he had imprisoned the queen's Kinsfolks and gotten both his sonnes into his owne hands, then he opened the rest of his purpose with less feare to them whome he thought meet for the matter and speciallie to the duke¹⁰ etc.

4. The dramatization in D of the famous assembly in the Tower at which Hastings is accused of treason and hurried off to death contains more elements of the earlier version of the Chronicles than does S. Holinshed's description of the actual arrest is as follows:

And therewith as in a great anger, he (Gloucester) clapped his fist upon the boord a great rap. At which token one cried, Treason, without the Chamber. Therewith a doore clapped and in came there rushing men in harnessse, as manie as the chamber might hold.—And another let flic at the lord Stanlele, which shrunke at the stroke, and fell under the table, or else his head had beene cleft to the teeth: for as shortlie as he shrank, yet ran the blood about his eares.¹¹

D adopts practically all the features of this account.

DUKE: The matter lies all too clear. O wicked violator. Hear!
FROM WITHIN: Treason, treason!

DUKE: Come hither, soldiers of my body guard.

CAPT: Who is making an uproar here? Are you the one?

STANLEY: Silence, you miscreant. Lord Protector, what is the matter? Do you permit this mischief? Wherein have I offended your majesty?

DUKE: Stop! here is the man.¹²

In D the seizing of Stanley is clearly an unintentional mistake of the Captain; otherwise it follows the version of the Chronicle closely.

In S there is no signal to the body-guard ready to shout Treason; and Stanley is not even present.

¹⁰ Holinshed, III, p. 378.

¹¹ Holinshed, III, p. 381.

¹² D. II, 2. II. 100ff.

Rich.—

thou art a Traytor,
Off with his Head; now by Saint Paul I sweare
I will not dine, until I see the same.
Lowell and Ratcliffe, looke that it be done! [Exeunt.¹³

5. Another resemblance between the version of D and that of the Chronicles appears in Tyrrel's report of the murder of the Princes. In D (IV, 4, ll. 11, 12) he announces that they have been smothered adding

They are close by hidden secretly in the earth and the grave covered with stones, so that it won't be dug up.

This statement is exactly like that in the Chronicles:

They laid their bodies naked out upon the bed and fetched Sir James to see them; which upon the sight of them caused these murtherers to burie them at the staire foot, meetlie deepe in the ground, under a great heape of stones.¹⁴

S, following a later sentence in the Chronicle,¹⁵ has Tyrrel say,

The Chaplain of the Tower hath buried them,
But where (to say the truth) I do not know.¹⁶

In the treatment of these facts, S depends as clearly as D on the early version represented by the Chronicles; but the author of the latter selects an entirely different fact for dramatic use and so at another point attaches his play to the saga independently of S.

These examples are typical. Many others of a like sort exist, but the point need not be labored. One or two close verbal agreements between D and the language of the Chronicles will perhaps serve to establish D's independence of S beyond doubt.

¹³ *Rich.* III, III, 4, ll. 85ff.

¹⁴ *Holinshed*, III, 402.

¹⁵ Whereupon they saie that a priest of Sir Robert Brakenberies tooke up the bodies againe, and secretlie interred them in such place, as by the occasion of his death, could never since come to light. *Holinshed* 402.

¹⁶ *Rich.* III, IV, 2, ll. 170-171.

I. The discussion between the Bishop and Buckingham on the subject of sanctuaries follows the Chronicle much more closely than does S. The following parallel passages are from the Bishop's speech:

HOLINSHED

D

Howbeit if she could be in so wise intreated with her good will Inasmuch as she can be made to deliver him then thought he, yield by sweet and gentle reason—that it were not in anie wise to be my judgment is to employ neither attempted to take him out against force nor hard constraint her will.

For it should be a thing that One should not violate a sanctuary which the popes gave us—would turne to the great grudge of the violation of which might easily all men, if the privilege of that the violation of which might easily holie place should now be broken, be prejudicial to the State . . . which both Kings and Popes so Never has a Prince laid violent good had granted. Was there hands upon so dear a pledge and never so undevout a King that not burned his fingers.¹⁷ durst that sacred place violate.¹⁸

These extracts are enough to show how closely parallel the two speeches are. The Cardinal's speech in S, on the other hand, though embodying the same ideas, has not the verbal similarity to the type speech established above.

My Lord of Buckingham, if my weake Oratorie
Can from his mother winne the Duke of Yorke,
Anon expect him here; but if she be obdurate
To milde entreaties, God forbid
We should infringe the holy Priviledge
Of blessed Sanctuarie: not for all this Land,
Would I be gulltie of so great a sinne.¹⁹

In both D and the Chronicle the Bishop toward the end of his speech says that if he fail, it will be through womanish fear. This phrase Buckingham catches up in both accounts in almost the same words.

¹⁷ Holinshed, III, p. 371, *passim*.

¹⁸ I, 1, ll. 86ff.

¹⁹ Rich. III, III, 1. ll. 49-55.

CHRONICLE

D

Buckingham breaks in upon the Bishop's "womanish feare" as fol- In D he interrupts the Bishop's womanly feare (vrouwelijke vrees) lows:—"Womanish feare, nale wo- with "rather stubbornness" (eer manish frowardness." hartnekkigheid).

In S, on the other hand, Buckingham interrupts, not to criticize the queen, but to attack the Bishop.

You are too senseless obstinate, my Lord,
Too ceremonious and traditional.²⁰

With this utterly different beginning, the speech of Buckingham in S diverges completely from the Chronicles, while that in D follows the Chronicle with the same fidelity as does the above speech of the Bishop.

Of many other verbal agreements between the Chronicle and D, one further striking one will suffice. According to the Chronicles, after the capture of Rivers and Gray a messenger came from the lord chamberlain to the Archbishop of York assuring him that in spite of the capture all would be well. Then—"I assure him" (quoth the archbishop) "be it as well as it will, it will never be so well as we have sene it."²¹ Act I, scene 2 of D begins as follows:

QUEEN: Well, what kind of an answer did you give the messenger?

HASTINGS: However it is or not.... and whatever the Chamberlain strove to make me believe.... however men arrange things, they shall not be as they were aforetime.

Hastings, who has been substituted for the Bishop, following as we shall see, a purely dramatic tradition, speaks the exact words of the Chronicle. Indeed without the aid of the historical source, we should have no idea what was the news that the messenger in D had brought. The Bishop in S makes no such speech to the messenger.²²

²⁰ *Rich. III*, III, 1, ll. 56-7.

²¹ *Hollinshed*, III, p. 368.

²² *Rich. III*, II, 4, ll. 43ff.

All this evidence makes it certain that the author of D had access to sources in which the Richard saga appeared in an earlier form than that it has assumed in S. This source may conceivably have been one of the Chronicles itself or perhaps a poem or drama somewhat slavishly dependent on such a history. Now it can be shown that a few years later in his life van den Bos had access to an English Chronicle. This fact would at first seem to indicate that D is an original Dutch composition based on English Chronicle material. The facts are these:

In 1658, seven years after the publication of *Den Roode en Witte Roos*, van den Bos published a *Fall of Princes*²² in three volumes. Volume two, which covers approximately the hundred years from 1500 to 1600,²⁴ begins with the history of the Red and White Rose. It is a prose account of the struggles of the Houses of Lancaster and York, beginning with the reign of Richard II and ending with the betrothal of Henry VII and the Princess Elizabeth. This history is filled with details and circumstances to be found only in the extended Chronicles. Evidence of this truth is overwhelming.

In one interesting respect, to be sure, this Dutch prose history differs from all the Chronicle sources and resembles S. The Chronicles report that John the Duke of Norfolk was warned not to fight in the Battle of Bosworth field on the side of Richard. Indeed the night before he was to set forth to join the King, some one wrote on his gate

Jacke of Norffolke be not too bold
For Dikon thy maister is bought and solde.²⁵

S, however, writes the couplet with the word "too" in the first line changed to "so".

Jockey of Norfolke, be not so bold
For Dickon thy maister is bought and sold.²⁶

²² *Het Vorstelick Treur-Toonneel of Op-en Onder-gang der Grooten, uyt verscheide Schrijvers en Talen versamelt.* Door L. v. Bos. Amsterdam, 1658.

²⁴ "Bekrypende omtrent hondert jaren van 1500 tot 1600 toe."

²⁵ Hollinshed, p. 444. Hall, p. 419.

²⁶ *Richard III*, V, 3, ll. 347-8.

The Dutch story curiously enough has embodied the same change:

O Jack of Norfoleke be not *so* bold
For Dicke thy master is bought and sold.²⁷

This small coincidence is, however, not enough to prove that van den Bos had other sources than the Chronicle before him when he wrote his prose account of the Wars of the Roses.

We must accept therefore, as proved, that before 1658 van den Bos knew at least one *English Chronicle story of Richard III*. Is it not then possible to say at once that the same Chronicle was the source of his tragedy written sometime before 1651, and that from this alone he obtained the material which he composed into a Senecan play stamped with his own genius?

This hypothesis is not a probable one for two reasons. In the first place there is some evidence to show that the source of van den Bos's play is not the same as that of his prose history. In the second place there are many facts which tend to show that D belongs to the English dramatic tradition of Richard III as distinguished from the purely historical saga. D shows resemblances to each of the extant Richard III plays—*Richardus Tertius*,²⁸ *The True Tragedie of Richard the third*,²⁹ and Shakespeare's *Richard III*³⁰—in respects in which they differ from each other and from the Chronicle sources.

In writing D, van den Bos followed, as we have seen, the historical tradition which is represented by the account in Holinshed. He follows that version of the story instead of the one appearing in Hall in mentioning Gloucester's scheme for uniting his family with that of Buckingham through mar-

²⁷ *Het Vorstelick Treur-Toonneel*.

²⁸ Repr. in *The Publications of the Shakespeare Society*, No. 21, pp. 73-166, London, 1844.

²⁹ *The True Tragedie of Richard the Third: Wherein is shewne the death of Edward the fourth, with the smothering of the two young Princes in the Tower: with a lamentable end of Shores wife, an example for all wicked women. And lastly the coniunction and loyning of the two noble Houses Lancaster and Yorke*. London, 1594. (Text, Shak. Soc. No. 21, pp. 1-72, London, 1844.)

³⁰ References are to The New Variorum Edition.

riage,³¹ and in having Richard send the Archbishop of York instead of the Archbishop of Canterbury to persuade the queen to allow her second son to leave the sanctuary.³² In this later prose history, however, van den Bos follows the latter tradition and substitutes Canterbury for York.³³ This fact suggests that the source of the Dutch prose work was different from that of the play. It also tends to show that van den Bos in at least one case and perhaps in both followed his source slavishly. The Archbishop of York plays an important part in D. If he were in any sense the artistic creation of van den Bos, it is difficult to believe that he would not remember that it was this prelate who went to get the Duke of York out of sanctuary and not Cantelbury (sic), a name written down with obvious carelessness.

The accounts of Hall and Holinshed diverge so seldom in essentials of the narrative, that other differences between the drama and prose history directly traceable to a different source have not appeared. The significance of this difference in source for the two works lies in the fact that D does not depend on the chronicle source which we know van den Bos used a few years later for his prose history. That D is not derived from any chronicle at all, but from some dramatic version of the saga seems highly probable when we begin to examine the relation of D to the extant plays on the subject of Richard III.

III

The oldest of the three dramas known to have been composed on this subject in England is the Latin *Richardus Tertius* written by Thomas Legge, Master of Caius College, probably about 1573.³⁴ It is a university play in which

³¹ Vid. sup. p. 2.

³² Vid. sup. p. 2.

³³ *Het Vorstelck Treur-Tooneel*. II, p. 29. Hy dan sendt Thomas Aertsbissop van Cantelbury (sic) met eenighe andere etc.

³⁴ See Churchill, *Richard III up to Shakespeare*, p. 267.

Richard is presented as a typically Senecan tyrant.³⁵ The author follows the chronicles closely for his facts and Seneca for his characterization and dramatic effects. Again and again he sees a resemblance between a situation in his story and one of Seneca's plays and puts into the mouths of his characters a paraphrase or even a transcript of the corresponding speech in the Latin drama. This play was never printed, as far as is known, until the 19th century, so that van den Bos can hardly have seen a copy of it. The resemblances between D and this *Richardus Tertius*³⁶ would rather show, therefore, that the Dutch author had access to some play into which had been incorporated some of the essential features of R. T.

The first scene of R. T. is typically Senecan in the dramatic effect that it seeks to make. The queen is discovered in sanctuary, utterly disconsolate and relating all her troubles to the Archbishop of Canterbury. Her husband is dead and she instinctively fears the tyranny of Richard. Her imagination conjures up fears of every conceivable sort, which the Archbishop attempts to dispel. He is met at every turn by fresh presentiments of evil with the result that the scene produces a distinctly Senecan effect of suspense and foreboding.

The chronicle authority for this scene is as follows: (I quote from Holinshed.)³⁷

The queene herselfe sate alone alow on the rushes all desolate and dismaide, whome the archbishop comforted in best manner he could; showing hir that he trusted the matter was nothing so sore as she tooke it for, and that he was put in good hope and not of feare by the message sent him from the lord Chamberlaine. "Ah wo worth him!" (quoth she) "for he is one of them that laboreth to destroie me and my blood." "Madame" (quoth he) "be yee of good cheere, for I assure you, if they crowne anie other King than your sonne, whome they now have with them, we shall on the morrow crowne his brother whom you have with you," and therewith he betooke him the greates seale, and departed home againe, yet in the dawning of the dale.

³⁵ See Churchill's excellent analysis of this play, pp. 280-371.

³⁶ Hereafter to be indicated as R. T.

³⁷ III, p. 368.

This is but a scrap of dialogue in which the dramatic nature of that in R. T. is only remotely suggested. Legge has deliberately transformed it, so that he might give his play at the outset a Senecan atmosphere of approaching calamity. Van den Bos has given the similar scene in his play exactly the same spirit of suspense, produced by the same sort of elaboration.

In D this scene is the second one in the play, showing incidentally that D and R. T. begin at almost exactly the same place in the saga. Hastings, who takes the place of the Archbishop, is discovered in conversation with the queen in sanctuary. She shows the same instinctive dread of Richard's tyranny, the same oft-repeated presentiment of evil; and Hastings, like the Archbishop, makes the same unsuccessful efforts to soothe and comfort her. The conversation is filled with the same spirit of foreboding and produces the same breathless suspense.

These scenes are not alike in spirit and general outline alone. The phrases of D continually echo those of R. T., as the following examples attest.

1. R. T.

Cardinal

Cesset timere matris infaelcis amor,
 Vanosq. desine falsa mentiri dolos
 Injustus est rerum aestimator dolor.
 Nunquid juvat terrere vano pectora
 tremore? pessimus augur in malis timor.
 Semperque sibi falsò, et suam
 Vocat ruinam quamvis ignotam priùs."²⁸

D.

Hastings

A disordered imagination will not hasten on your misfortune
 And a sad heart interprets everything in the worst possible way."²⁹

²⁸ P. 78, col. 2.

²⁹ I, II, ll. 48-49.

Do not let grief overpower you before your misfortunes assume clearer form in your mind.

2. R. T.

Cardinal

Hoc facile credunt, qui nimis miseri timent.

Regina

Quisquis cavet futura, torquetur minus.*

D.

Queen

But if I may believe my feelings in this matter, my grief today is great, but awaits a still greater blow.^a

3. R. T.

Cardinal

Semper esse nun miseram juvat.

Regina

Timere didicit quisquis excelsus stetit.
rebusque magnis alta clauditur quies.
Auro venenum bibitur ignotum casae
humili malum, ventisque cunctis cognita
superba summo, tecta nutant culmine.^a

Bishop

The whims of the mind alter with the times.

Queen

As my Lord has well and tersely said. He who now lies stricken was formerly in high position? I feel honored, and I think with reason, to have endured with others the chastisement of God.^a

It may be argued that these verbal similarities are not close enough to establish the direct dependence of D upon R. T.

* R. T., p. 79, col. 2.

^a D. I, II, II. 45-46.

^a D. I, II, II. 64ff.

The sentiments are all commonplaces in Seneca and those in D might easily have been taken directly from the Latin author. This is true, but the important point for this study is that both plays embody the same Senecan sentiments in the same scene. This is stronger proof than closer similarity would be of the point I am trying to establish, which is not that R. T. is the source of D, but that the latter is at this point definitely like one dramatic tradition of the Richard III saga.

Another scene of the first act of D resembles in both spirit and language a similar one in R. T. I refer to the scene in which the queen surrenders her second child to the Archbishop, who has come as the Protector's emissary. In the *Chronicles* the queen talks and acts with dignity and restraint. She argues with skill and cogency; and when, persuaded by the Cardinal's promise to stand surety for the boy's safety, she takes leave of him, she shows the same control.

And therewithall she said unto the child; "Fare well mine owne sweete sonne, God send you good keeping: let me kisse you yet once eer you go, for God knoweth when we shall kisse togither again." And therewith she kissed him and blessed him, turned his backe and wept and went hir wale, leaving the child weeping as fast.*

Legge transformed this scene into one of Senecan foreboding and wailing. He has clearly modelled it on the similar one in the *Troades* in which Andromache yields up Astyanax. This lament in R. T. continues for over forty lines. In D there is even a longer wail; in its various forms it extends over more than a hundred lines. In the frenzy of her refusal to give up her son, the queen faints from sheer suffering, but is quickly revived only to continue her invective against the protector and his emissary and to weep over her son. At one place she is interrupted long enough to carry on a short dialogue with the bishop in lines of well balanced stichomythia. In the treatment of this incident, then, D and R. T. are again very much alike in construction and dramatic spirit.

* Hollinshed, III, 377.

The phrasing, too, is enough alike to show that both echo the impassioned verbiage of Seneca.

1. The queen in R. T. describes the manifestations of her grief as follows:

Regina

Concussit artus nostros horridus timor,
torquetque vinctus frigido sanguis metu
Quid agimus, animum distrahit dubius pavor
Hinc natus urget, fortius illinc patruus

Quid fluctuaris? ergo prodixi filium?
et sponte quaesitum neci mater dabis?⁴⁴

The mother in D is just as solicitous for the symptoms of her grief and just as doubtful about giving up her son.

This unwilling mood, this hammering of my veins, this beating of my heart, this stammering of my tongue, this trembling of my limbs, etc.⁴⁵

.....Ah, my hand is willing to give him up, but my heart cannot. I will not surrender him; I will not be the cause of his death.... I will not betray him.⁴⁶

2. The Queen in R. T. in addressing the child says:

Si vulnus haud statis miser, matris tuae
imitare luctus: sin negat lachrymas tibi
generosus animus; at suos planctus tamen
concede matri, flere novimus prius
En, sume fletus matris, è misero patris
quicquid relictum funere: an quicquid potest
flebilis esse regis Eduardi nece?⁴⁷

In D, too, the same ideas are presented by the queen:

Come here my dear child and help me to grieve for you.....
You go to Edward and with him to the grave. You go to Edward
to visit my Edward. You weep, and rightly.⁴⁸

⁴⁴ R. T., I, IV, p. 95, col. 1.

⁴⁵ D, I, II, ll. 199ff.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, II, 228ff.

⁴⁷ R. T., I, IV, p. 96, col. 1.

⁴⁸ D, I, II, ll. 187ff.

3. In both laments, too, the queen threatens to kill herself if her boys are slain.

Si dura parvum fata quaserunt, ultimum
domus tuae funus, petam mater simul
viventis oculos ad mea claudam manu
et matris in sinu puer pereas....⁴⁹

In D she says:

Ah, well, let them bring to you then my one solace, lead him where you will.... But don't think that I shall remain after my treasures in your wretched vale of sorrow or that I shall survive them.⁵⁰

4. In D the queen swoons after she has accused the Bishop of conspiring with all her enemies even to dig up the bones of King Edward.⁵¹ In the Chronicle this swooning takes place later in the story, when the death of the princes is announced to her.

Fore feare she sounded and fell doune to the ground and then lay in a great agonye like to a deade corps.⁵²

In R. T. the swoon takes place at this later point in the narrative. The Ancilla, imitating closely the description of Hecuba's swoon in *The Troades*,⁵³ describes the Regina as follows:

Labefacta mens succumbit: assurge: hei mihi
rursus cadentem misera spiritum leva.
Spirat, revixit, tarda mors miseros fugit.⁵⁴

The swoon in D, I, ii, follows this Senecan tradition. The queen's daughters upon whom she calls take the place of the Ancilla. The Bishop calls to her and his final "Soft, she revives" corresponds to the Ancilla's solicitous attentions to the queen.

⁴⁹ R. T., I, IV, p. 96, col. 2.

⁵⁰ D, I, II, ll. 183ff.

⁵¹ D, I, II, ll. 123ff.

⁵² Hall, p. 379.

⁵³ *Troades* 949-954. cf. Church III 327.

⁵⁴ R. T., III, I, p. 135, col. 1.

The first act of *D* contains one other Senecan characteristic in common with the first act of *R. T.* In scene 1, Gloucester, in trying to convince the young King that his arrest of Rivers and Gray was justified, makes extravagant protestations of complete loyalty.

Realize that your uncle's heart beats true within its breast, that it would rather break and split by main force than have anyone reproach it with faithlessness.⁸⁵

In *R. T.* I, ii, the corresponding scene in which Gloucester and Buckingham meet the young King, the former makes similar exaggerated profession of his loyalty.

Sulcabit astra navis et saevo mari
ignota quercus surget, oblitum tui
si quando falsa corrumpat fides.⁸⁶

These extravagant Senecan protestations, unlike anything in the *Chronicles*, come at the same point in the story in both plays. The one in *D*, therefore, is clearly the echo of the other.

In Act II of *D* there are at least two dramatic moments which bear distinct resemblance to *R. T.* After Hastings has been arrested on the absurd charges of Richard, Stanley in lamenting for him utters the familiar Senecan cry against fortune.

Now I see that no one may escape his misfortune, and that whatever Heaven wills, that shall and must come to pass. In vain it is for man to strive against his Fate—Despise, oh wretched man, if you will, the warnings which Heaven gave you—O Hastings! Hastings! if you had not rejected my faithful service. It is often one's friend himself who lays snares for one.⁸⁷

In *R. T.* Hastings himself, after he has been arrested, utters the same sort of Senecan cry against fortune. He expresses the same ideas that Stanley does.

⁸⁵ *D*, I, i, ll. 26–28.

⁸⁶ *R. T.*, I, II, p. 83, col. 2.

⁸⁷ *D*, II, iv, ll. 1ff.

1. The helplessness of man in the toils of his Fate, *e. g.*,

ludunt genus

mortale caeca fata: praemonstrant malum
vitare, quod vetant tamen.⁸⁸

2. That one is often betrayed by one's apparent friends:

meorum prodidit fallax amor

3. The folly of having despised the warning of Stanley's dream.

Perteritus

somno nihil Stanleyus haeros commovet etc.⁸⁹

For none of these ideas is there any direct authority of the *Chronicles* at this point, so that the appearance of these two similar speeches at the same point in the story indicates that the two plays belong to the same dramatic tradition. In *S*, too,⁹⁰ Hastings makes a speech as he is hurried to execution. In it he laments his folly in not heeding the warnings of Stanley, but utters no cry against Fate.

In both *D* and *R. T.*, moreover, a messenger gives an account of Hastings's death for which there is but the barest hint in the *Chronicles*. *Holinshed* has the following:

So was he brought forth to the greene beside the chappell within the tower, and his head laid downe upon a log of timber and there stricken off.⁹¹

The messenger's account in *D* is like this in that he calls the place of execution "the green field" and says that he laid his head upon a "beam found there by chance." Here *D* is more like the *Chronicles* than any of the other dramatic versions. The messenger then adds a description of the stoic bravery of Hastings and reports two speeches,—one in which he sends his thanks to Stanley for past favors and one in which he hurls defiance at the tyrant who has caused his death.

⁸⁸ *R. T.*, I, v, p. 105, col. 2.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 106, col. 1.

⁹⁰ *Rich. III*, III, iv, ll. 90ff.

⁹¹ *Holinshed*, III, p. 381.

In R. T., also,⁶² a messenger gives an account of the death of Hastings, which resembles the report in D in that he makes direct reference to the executioner's leading the condemned man to the block.

Postquam ad locum durus satelles traxerit,
Ad astra tollit heros lumina:
Ex ore casto concipit Deo preces

Vix ultimas moratur carnifex preces
quin solvit illico ense corporis obicem.

The reference to this fact in D is as follows:

Then gripped he by the hand the executioner, who led him to the block.—He waited for the blow which the murderous axe immediately gave him, and thus cut the praiseworthy head from the body.

Hasting's prayer in R. T. also corresponds roughly to the speeches which he makes in D. The Dutch version, as usual, whenever it shows resemblance to the Latin play, represents a very much expanded account of the dramatic material contained in R. T.

After these events there is a scene in R. T., like many others in this play, in which Richard and his fellow conspirators consult and agree upon events which later come to pass.⁶³ Here Gloucester tells Buckingham that Hastings is dead. Then Buckingham asks:

Puerum levem regnare? fortunae jocus
lasciva ridens sceptrum miscet litibus:
Virtus suo succumbet infans ponderi.⁶⁴

In D at exactly the same place Richard advances the same excuse for assuming the crown. The change in speaker is natural because Richard in D has none of the hypocritical deference which in both R. T. and S induces him to permit certain suggestions to come from his confederates.

It has then been accomplished and in this manner Hastings has been destroyed.—To prevent so great a burden from being too

⁶² R. T., I, v, p. 106, col. 2.

⁶³ cf. Churchill, p. 301.

⁶⁴ R. T., II, i, p. 110, col. 2.

heavy for them, I remove it from their shoulders and place it upon mine."

Act III of D bears no distinctive resemblance to R. T. Buckingham's long speech to the populace and Gloucester's first vehement rejection of the proposal to make him king can both be regarded as dramatic intensifications of the material in the Chronicles. Thus such remarks of Gloucester's as, "Do you thus paint black with horrors the years in which it is fitting for me to think of the grave?" exaggerate almost to the point of absurdity the hypocrisy of the Chronicles. It is exaggeration in the spirit of Seneca, though not in imitation of the corresponding part of the story R. T. In D, furthermore, Richard does not appear between two bishops, as he does in all the other dramatic versions including R. T. In this respect D is like the account in Holinshed. Richard's appearance between the two bishops is an addition made to More's story by the Hardyng continuator and copied by Hall and Grafton but not by Holinshed.⁶⁶ Here then, D shows, as elsewhere, complete independence of the known dramatic versions.

In Act IV of D occurs one of the most striking resemblances between this play and R. T.,—namely a scene in which Richard woos his niece, in person. The Chronicles furnish only the merest hint for this dramatic situation. Hall and Holinshed have the following:

The King thus" (according to his long desire) loosed out of the bonds of matrimonie, began to cast a foolish fantasie to ladie Elizabeth his niece making much sute to have her ionied with him in lawful matrimonie. But because all men and the maiden herselfe most of all detested and abhorred this unlawfull and in manner unnaturall copulacion; he determined to prolong and defer the matter, till he were in a more quietnesse.⁶⁷

The words "making much sute" are the vague suggestions from which Legge and van den Bos have developed dramatic

⁶⁶ D., II, v, *passim*.

⁶⁷ cf. Churchill, p. 314.

⁶⁸ By the suspiciously timely death of Queen Anne.

⁶⁹ Holinshed, III, p. 431; Hall, 407.

scenes of the King's wooing of his niece. In R. T. it is distinctly Senecan in character. As Professor Churchill has suggested,⁶⁹ it is doubtless reminiscent of the scene in *Hercules Furens* in which the tyrant Lycus woos Megara only to be rejected with the utmost scorn. The Filia in R. T. is revolted by Richard's past crimes and by the new one he purposes to commit in marrying her. Though he frankly admits his wickedness, he declares himself repentant and willing to expiate his crimes by death.⁷⁰ The Filia however repels him violently.

Prius Aetna gelidas emittet ardeus aquas,
Nilusque vagus ignitas laminas vomet

Sit amor, sit odium, sit ira, vel sit fides;
Non curo: placet odisse, quicquid cogitas.
Tuus prius penetrabit ensis pectora,
Libido quam cognata corpus polluat

When he attempts to force her to accept his offer by threatening her with death, she replies,

Malle mori virgo, tyranna quam viro
incesta vivere, diis, hominibus invida.

and a moment later she breaks out again:

Neronis umbrae, atque furlae Cleopatrae
truces resurgite, similem finem date
his nuptiis, qualem tulit Oedipodae domus.
Nec sufficit fratres necasses tuos principes?
et nobili foedare caede dexteram?
Quin et integram stuprare quaeras virginem
maritus? o mores, nefanda o tempora.

As she rushes out in horror, Richard remarks,

Discessit et nostras fugit demens thoros
negligit amores stulta virgo regios.⁷¹

⁶⁹ p. 349.

⁷⁰ In this respect, as Churchill indicates, (p. 349) this scene resembles the one in S., in which Richard woos Lady Anne.

⁷¹ R. T., III, iv, p. 155, *passim*.

It is obvious that Legge's interest in this scene lay in the Filia's rhetorical assertions of her passionate devotion to purity.

In D there is a scene very similar to this one.⁷² The Princess is summoned by her mother to submit to Richard's wooing. She repulses it as violently as does Filia. She is filled with horror at giving her hand to a man "who has drunk his father's blood and ours too." Of a more masculine temper than the Filia, she wishes the sword, which in R. T. she is willing to let be her executioner, were put into her hand so that she might pierce her uncle's "cursed entrails". Rather than endure even the sight of Richard, she prefers blindness. And she leaves threatening to take vengeance herself. Then Richard, like the King in R. T. remarks,

Accursed woman, what must I endure from you.
She goes and leaves me here alone.

This scene only remotely suggested by the Chronicles is obviously like the similar one in R. T. in dramatic value and verbal content. The Princess here is, to be sure, more of a virago. She does not feel that mere willingness to sacrifice all for purity will bring her the vindication she desires. She is eager to brandish a sword and to avenge herself the insult offered her. The dramatic interest in both scenes, however, lies in the repulse which the villain encounters from a resolute girl.

In Act IV, Scene V of D, the queen makes one speech of Senecan foreboding which can be understood only when it is compared with a speech of the Regina in R. T. in the same situation. The Queen in D has apparently been told of the death of her sons and opens the scene with the line, "Was it not that which my heart previously seemed to forebode." Unless she is referring to the premonitions of disaster to which she gave expression early in the play, this line conveys no definite impression at all. In R. T., however, the Regina on this

⁷² D., IV, vi, *passim*.

occasion has a dream which has rightly filled her with gloomy fears.

vidi minantem concito cursu heu aprum
natosque frendens dente laniavit truci
utrosque saevus mactat.⁷³

Some definite presage of disaster, such as this dream, must be presupposed if the first line of *D*, IV, V, is to be more than the vaguest sort of Senecan cry against Fate. Its omission from the Dutch play looks like an oversight of the compiling author.

Finally in the fifth act of *D*, there is a scene the dramatic effect of which is like a similar scene in *R. T.*, largely because both are founded on the same perversion of the *Chronicles*. Both of these plays make Richmond's landing on the coast of Wales a preliminary rout of Richard's forces and a foretaste of the final disaster. This transformation of the landing into a terrifying military incursion is completely at variance with the accounts given in the *Chronicles*. Both Hall and Holinshed have the following:

He arryved in Wales in the evenyng at a porte called Mylford Haven and incontinent tooke land and came to a place called Dalle where he heard saye that a certeine company of his adversaries were leyd in garrison to defende his arryvall all the last wynter, and the earle at the sunne rising remooved to Hereford west, being distant from Dalle not full ten miles, where he was ioifullie received by the people, and he arryved there so suddenlie, that he was come and entered the towne at the same time when the citi-zenz had but knowledge of his comming.⁷⁴

Scene v of Act III of *R. T.*, which is entirely devoted to Richmond's invasion, is opened by a messenger, who gives the following alarming account of the landing.

Fuge, fuge, civis, haeret a tergo Comes:
minatur horrendum furor Richmondius;
portum pedite Milfordium immani premit
totamque calcat proditam sibi Walliam
furens comes toti minatur Angliae.⁷⁵

⁷³ *R. T.* III, i, p. 134, col. 2.

⁷⁴ Holinshed, III, p. 434; Hall, p. 410.

⁷⁵ *R. T.*, III, v, p. 156, col. 2.

At this news men rush away in fear, while their wives cling to them and an old woman beseeches her son not to desert her. That all this may have the proper dramatic force, the author inserts the following marginal stage direction, "Heare let divers mutes run over the stage from divers places for feare."

This scene is directly at variance with Legge's main dramatic purpose,—that of representing Richmond as coming not as an object of fear, but as a deliverer from the oppressions of Richard. But Seneca's influence indicated that here an effective scene might be presented: so the *furor Richmondus* and *furens Comes* appear in spite of their inconsistency with the larger aspects of dramatic construction.

From this point R. T. dramatizes the various speeches and parleys of the Chronicles between Richmond's arrival in England and the final battle. The progress of this conflict itself is indicated dramatically by mutes and messengers. The stage directions are as follows: "Let hear be the like noyse as before, and after a while let a capitaine run after a souldier or two, with a sword drawne driveinge them againe to the feild and say as followeth

Centurio

Ignave milles, quo fugis? nisi rediis
meo peribis ense

After the like noise againe, let souldiers run from the feild, over the stage one after another, flinging of their harnesses, and att length let some come haltinge and wounded." . . . Then a messenger enters to describe Richard's death. His account follows the Chronicles closely. Richard slays Sir William Brandon, Richmond's standard bearer and overthrowing Sir John Cheney comes face to face with Richmond. The two fight.

Aequo Marte pugnatur diu
donec tot hostes convolent illo simul
ut ille multis vulneribus fossus cadat."

"R. T., III, v, p. 163 *passim*.

The dramatic description of the battle in *D* (V, v) is given as in *R. T.* by fleeing soldiers and messengers. By a strange misconception the landing of Richmond in Wales is here made a part of the Battle of Bosworth Field. The first messenger, fleeing wounded, reports to Stanley and the Bishop of York, Richmond's landing to be of the same alarming character as it is made to appear in *R. T.* The soldier had been on guard in some sort of fortress at Bishopsport. In the middle of the night he, with his companions, had been surprised by Richmond's force, which beat down the "wooden gate" and overwhelmed them before they could arm themselves. He had done his best, but now must flee to safety. "Pardon me, my Lord, that I cannot do anything here. The threatening danger forbids me to stay."⁷⁷

This speech is plainly the Dutch dramatic equivalent of the scene in *R. T.* in which Richmond's landing produces the same sort of sudden terror and helter-skelter flight. The two plays at this point, therefore, represent the same specific dramatic tradition.

A second messenger in *D* describes Richard's death, as does the similar messenger in *R. T.* Only in the former Richmond himself is able to give the arch traitor the sword-thrust which kills him. He, too, flies in terror, after having delivered himself of his message. This resemblance between the second messengers in the two plays is only a general one of Senecan tradition. It is of some significance, however, that this likeness to the older tradition appears at the same point in both plays.

The resemblances between *D* and *R. T.* which I have pointed out are too numerous and circumstantial to be fortuitous. They are not, to be sure, of that exact sort which establishes one play as the direct source of the other. Verbal similarities when they appear are nearly always in the form of some common Senecan apothegm. The facts which I have presented, therefore, tend to show merely this: *D* and *R. T.* at some points belong to the same dramatic tradition of the saga of Richard III. More definite pronouncement of the

⁷⁷ *D*, V, v, ll. 54-55.

character of this relationship can be made only when the relation of D to the other extant English plays on Richard III has been examined.

IV

With *The True Tragedy of Richard the Third*¹⁸ D possesses but one resemblance of a large constructive sort. This play of anonymous authorship first appeared in the *Stationers Register* under date of June 19, 1594. Written probably about 1590, it is one of the dramas of that time which are both history-plays and plays of revenge. It is written partly in prose and partly in verse of the most various sorts, including heavy blank verse and rhymed couplets,—the verse form of D.

In this play there is presented a scene for which there is no Chronicle authority. After Richmond's victory over Richard, the queen Elizabeth appears¹⁹ with her daughter to thank the new King for avenging her wrongs and to give him her daughter to wife. In D, too, there is exactly such a scene.²⁰ The mere fact of the existence in the two plays of this scene which has no Chronicle warrant is in itself remarkable, but the two scenes are not unlike even in verbal particulars.

In T. T. the Queen says,

Richmond, gramercies for thy kinde good newes²¹ which is no little comfort to thy friends, to see how God hath beene thy happie guide in this late conquest of our enemies.²²

So in D the queen remarks:

May Heaven let the Kingdom remain forever in your family, noble Prince, faithful avenger of my burdensome cross.—Oh that

¹⁸ Printed for the Shakespeare Society, London, 1844. All my references will be to the text of this edition. Hereafter in this discussion this play will be indicated by T. T.

¹⁹ T. T., pp. 67 and 68.

²⁰ D., V, vi, ll. 58ff.

²¹ This refers to Richmond's assurances that Dorset will come home again safe.

²² T. T., p. 67.

Heaven might grant me time and occasion to do you such service as you deserve from me."

Then in T. T. Richmond asks the queen for the hand of Princess Elizabeth:

Madame pardon me tho' I make bold to charge you with a promise that you made which was confirmed by diverse of the Peeres, touching the marriage of Elizabeth, and having ended what I promised you, Madam, I looke and hope to have my due.

In D the Duke makes the same request in these words:

If you might deem me worthy of so great an honor, I ask your child, Elizabeth, in marriage, in order that the great break may be healed forever and thus joined the red and white rose."

In T. T. Elizabeth meekly submits herself entirely to her mother's wish,

Then know, my Lord, that if my mother please,
I must in dutie yeld to her command.

In D this same attitude of submission is shown by the mother,

Receive her not as her husband, receive her as her Lord. As her mother, I shall never cease to admonish her to consider herself as one among all your subjects."

In T. T. the mother, with obvious reference to the great Faery Queen, wishes Richmond joy as follows:

And we pray all, that faire Elizabeth may live for aye, and never yield to death.

In D the corresponding wish of the queen is given a more pious tone.

I pray that the Lord may wish you eternal joy."

"D., V, vi, ll. 63ff.

"*Ibid.*, ll. 78ff.

"*Ibid.*, ll. 90ff.

"*Ibid.*, ll. 92.

These two scenes, then, both quite without Chronicle authority, are alike both in general nature and definite dramatic structure. Such similarity is hardly fortuitous.

Furthermore in both plays this meeting between Richmond and the queen and the princess is part of the scene in which he is crowned king. This function has Chronicle authority. Holinshed writes:

He ascended up to the top of a littell mountain, where he not only prayes and lawded his valiaunt souldiours, with promise of condigne recompense for their fidelite and valiaunt factes, willing and commaunding al the hurt and wounded persons to be cured, and the dead carcasses to be delivered to the sepulture.²² Then the people reioysed and clapped handes crying up to Heaven Kyng Henry, Kyng Henry. When the lord Stanley saw the good will of the people he took the crowne of King Richard which was founde amongst the spoyle in the felde, and set it on the erles head.²³

In T. T. the crown and insignia are presented to Richmond by Stanley with full consent of the Peers; in D the insignia is presented by the Mayor before he is acclaimed King. In T. T. all shout,

Long live Henry VII, King of England!

In D all shout,

Long live King Henry! Long live King Henry!

In T. T. he responds,

Thanks, loving friends and my kind countrymen, and here I vow in presence of you all, to root abuses from the Commonwealth.

In D he says,

I thank you a thousand times, my loving subjects; may Heaven long grant you the enjoyment of peace and protect you from strife and mutual quarrels.

²²In D this becomes a command to search out the bodies of the murdered princes and to bury them in the tomb of their fathers.

²³Hall, p. 420.

These resemblances are significant only when it is remembered that they appear in scenes which are alike and distinct from all other versions of the saga.

There are a few other interesting, though unessential resemblances between T. T. and D. In T. T. Buckingham in lamenting the part that he has played in advancing Richard's plots says:

Ah Buckingham, was not thy meaning good in displacing the usurper, to raise a lawfull King? Ah Buckingham it was too late, the lawfull heires were smothered in the Tower.⁸⁹

So Buckingham in D is *too late* to prevent the death of the princes.

BUCK: I go straightway to prevent the deed, in whatever way it is being accomplished.

RICH: I command you to stay.

BUCK: I shall go anyway.

RICH: I tell you it is too late.

BUCK: Oh godless compulsion, oh tyrant! oh traitor!⁹⁰

In both T. T. and D also especial emphasis is laid on the fact that by smothering the Princes the murderers will have to shed no blood. Only Hall among the Chroniclers mentions this, and he in a cursory fashion.

For James Tirrel devised that they should be murdered in their beddes, and no blood shed.⁹¹

But in T. T. Terril makes this definite announcement.

The King's pleasure is this, that he will have no blood shead in the deed doing.⁹²

Similarly in D. Richard exclaims,

With pillows you say, you put an end to their lives? That's excellent. Thus you did not have to spill any blood.⁹³

⁸⁹ T. T. p. 46.

⁹⁰ D., IV, II, ll. 31ff.

⁹¹ Hall, p. 378.

⁹² T. T., p. 41.

⁹³ D., IV, iv, ll. 3ff.

Finally it may be worth noting that in T. T. and D, Richard is actually slain by Richmond (as, to be sure, he is in S but not in the Chronicles or R. T.) and that the death in both cases is reported by a messenger.²⁴ The dramatic value of the death of Richard is identical, then, only in these two plays.

V

Not only does D resemble these early English plays about Richard III, but in certain points of structure it approaches Shakespeare's play more nearly than any other known version of the story. One of the most striking of these correspondences is the scene in which Richard sues Queen Elizabeth for the hand of her daughter. The only hint for this scene in the Chronicles, I have quoted above in discussing its relation to the scene in Legge where the king woos his niece.

Shakespeare has introduced no such encounter between Richard and the Princess Elizabeth. Such a direct check as hers at this point in Richard's career would have been incompatible with the guiding principle of his dramatic construction. The tyrant's triumphs were to continue unchecked until Nemesis through the instrumentality of Richmond overtook him. Shakespeare, therefore, substitutes a trenchant dialogue between Richard and the queen in which he gradually wins from her something near to consent to his wooing of the princess.

The king's method is very like that which he adopted in his wooing of Anne. He adroitly kindles her anger in the hope that it will burn itself out in a series of flashes. He begins by merely mentioning the princess:

You have a daughter call'd Elisabeth
Vertuous and Faire, Royall and Gracious

To this the queen replies with a burst of irony and anger not all unexpected:

²⁴ In T. T. it is a page who makes the report, cf. p. 65.

And must she dye for this? O let her live
And I'll corrupt her manners, staine her beauty,

At first the queen bitterly attacks Richard for his crimes against her family, without provoking him, however, to any sort of defence. He treats all her personal anger with studied irrelevance, adroitly transforming an apparently frank admission of guilt into skilfully reiterated pleading. For example, when she violently reproaches him with his foulest deeds, he suggests.

Say that I did all this for love of her.

After wooing of this sort, half-ironical in method, but wholly serious in intention, he breaks into speeches of sustained ardour which seem to have won the queen. Richard, at least, is convinced that she has consented to be the attorney of his love to her daughter.

In *De Roode en Witte Roos* Richard opens the corresponding scene with an attempt to comfort the grieving queen which seems to her pure hypocrisy: "You are no stranger to the cause of my grief", she exclaims in a sentence which in this play is the sole equivalent of the series of reproaches uttered by Shakespeare's queen. Then, as in *Richard the Third*, the king admits the grievous wrong he has done her, but suggests that he did it reluctantly, at the behest of the commons. At this moment he is eager to make amends:

Here now I stand, nay I kneel at thy feet, ready in every way to assuage thy grief. My true love shall make recompense for all my guilt. Dry thy tears, my Lady, have more patience. Instead of sister—a name which I today will forget—henceforth thou shalt be called my mother. What if the people has transferred the crown from thee to me! I shall again confer it with all honor upon thy heritors—if thou wilt but consent to my desire. Give me now thy daughter Elizabeth in marriage.⁹⁵

These lines certainly recall the following lines from Shakespeare:

⁹⁵ *De Roode en Witte Roos*, IV, vi, 29-36.

Looke what is done, cannot be now amended:
 Men shall deale unadvisedly sometimes,
 Which after houres give leysure to repent.
 If I did take the Kingdome from your Sonnes,
 To make amends, Ile give it to your daughter.
 If I have killed the issue of your wombe,
 To quicken your encrease, I will beget
 Mine yssue of your blood upon your Daughter.
 A Grandam's name is little lesse in love,
 Then is the doting Title of a Mother.⁸⁶

Go then (my Mother) to thy Daughter go.⁸⁷

Therefore deare Mother (I must call you so).⁸⁸

The intellectual content of these two passages is practically the same.⁸⁶ In both plays Richard insinuates with an hypocrisy donned for a definite purpose the repentance of his crimes.⁸⁷ In both passages he offers to make amends for his theft of the crown. From the queen's family he has stolen it; to the queen's family he will return it through his projected marriage with her daughter.⁸⁸ In both passages Richard makes much of the new relationship which he hopes is to be established between him and the queen. He seeks to win her with the dear name he has robbed of half its significance. Only in Shakespeare, to be sure, does "mother" flash out each time Richard's diabolical humility and ironical tenderness.

The queen in the Dutch play answers the pleading of the king with feigned humility. "You really do us too great an honor," she says. "A person of greater power would be a stronger stay for your throne. As for us, let us enjoy but peace and oblivion." To which Richard replies: "You mock me, lady."

In Shakespeare's plays he makes exactly the same remark to the queen. There, to be sure, it is a reply to her savagely sarcastic advice as to the proper methods of wooing her daughter.

⁸⁶ *Rich. the Third*, IV, iv, 308-317.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 1, 340.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 1, 435.

Send to her by the man that slew her Brothers
A paire of bleeding hearts.....

Richard. You mock me, Madam, this is not the way
To win your daughter.

This bit of verbal identity between the plays is interesting; and if fortuitous, really remarkable.

In spite of the hostile attitude of the queen, in both plays Richard urges the mother to further his wishes. "Your maternal influence in the matter reassures me," he says in the Dutch play,—a speech which is a condensed equivalent of his long appeal in Shakespeare's play for the mother to serve as his active emissary. The queen in van den Bos's play disclaims any influence upon her daughter and urges Richard not to make an effort to win her which she knows will prove futile. Nevertheless he orders the obdurate princess to come into his presence at once. She appears and repels her uncle's advances with as much horror as she had shown in *Richardus Tertius* and more fury. She even begs for a sword to plunge into the cursed entrails of her brother's murderer. Her mother's plea that she heed her uncle only aggravates her righteous anger and she leaves threatening Richard with dire vengeance. The queen after reminding the rejected lover that she had warned him of the refusal, begs permission to depart. Richard, by this time irate, shouts,

Go, and may the Devil curse you and all your race!

In Shakespeare's play the interview ends with a similar contemptuous thrust by Richard:

Beare her my true loves kisse, and so farewell,
Relenting Foole, and shallow-changing Woman.

Except for the introduction of the princess in an interview which might be an intensified version of the similar one in *Richardus Tertius*, the two scenes are alike in construction and progress of dramatic idea. The very conception of the dialogue between the queen and Richard on this subject, alike in both plays, yet not indicated in chronicle sources, suggests a relation of some sort between the two dramas. Moreover,

Richard attempts to win the mother to his plans by the same sort of specious, insinuating flattery. The Dutch play may well represent a version which is an elaboration of Legge's simple Senecan invention. If such a version had been known to Shakespeare, it is easy to see why he should have rejected this part of the story on the ground that Richard's repulse by Elizabeth would be inconsistent with his conception of his villain hero and the nature of his tragedy.²⁰ Nemesis could not have been allowed to possess a multitude of instruments or gradually to have worn away the king's insolent power. It had to strike instantaneously and through a single human agent. Once the princess is eliminated from this scene, however, the dialogue that remains is nothing but a rudimentary form of Shakespeare's highly wrought scene.

The *Rooden en Witte Roos* is like Shakespeare in other respects in which they both differ from the chronicles. One case in point is the interview between Gloucester and the young king upon the latter's arrival in London to be crowned. The boy is greatly distressed at the cruel arrest of his uncles Rivers and Grey. Richard naturally asserts that they were dangerous traitors, seeking thereby to transform his own base conduct into disinterested patriotism in the eyes of his nephew and to allay his intrusive suspicions.¹

In both Hall and Holinshed the rudiments of such a scene take place at Stony Stratford, whither Gloucester and Buckingham have ridden to get the king completely in their power before he reaches London. In Hall's Chronicle the events are related as follows:

And then (after River's arrest) they mounted on horsebacke and came in haste to Stony Stratforde, where the Kynge was goyng to horsebacke, because he would leave the lodgyng for them, for it was to straight for both the compaignies. And when they came to his presence, they alighted and their compaignie aboute them and on their knees saluted hym, and he them gently received. nothing yerthly knowyng nor mistrusting as yet.—And therewith in the Kynge's presence they picked a quarrel to the Lord Richard

²⁰ The scene found inept at this point, Shakespeare probably used as a model for Richard's wooing of Anne. Vide infra, pp. 53ff.

¹ *Rooden en Witte Roos*, I, 1 and *Richard the Third*, III, 1.

Grey, the quene's sone, and brother to the lord Marquess and halfe-brother to the King, sayng that he and the Marques his brother and the lord Ryvers his uncle had compassed to rule the Kyng and realme—and towarde the accomplishment of the same, they sayde, the lord Marques had entred into the towre of London, and thence had taken out treasure and sent men to sea, which thynges these dukes knewe well were done for a good purpose and as very necessary, appointed by the whole counsaill at London, but somewhat they muste say. Unto the whiche woordes the Kynge answered, what my brother Marques hath done I cannot say, but in good faythe I dare well answer for mine uncle Rivers and my brother here, that they be innocente of suche matters. Yee, my lieage, quod the duke of Buckyngham, they have kept the dealyng of these matters farre from the knowledge of youre good grace.—And there they sent from the kyng whom it pleased them, and set aboute him such servantes as better pleased them then him. At which dealyng he wepte and was not content, but it booted not.. In this maner as you have heard, the Duke of Gloucester toke on him the governaunce of the younge Kynge, whom with much reverence he conveied towards London.³

The scene in the *True Tragedie of Richard the Third*, the earliest extant dramatization of this particular part of the story, follows closely the above account. It, too, is laid in Stony Stratford, and in all essentials is a mere mechanical elaboration of the material in the chronicles. After Gloucester, Buckingham and "their train" have arrested Rivers, they meet the young King.

RICHARD: Long live my Princely Nephew in all happinesse.

KING: Thanks unckle of Gloster for your curtesie, yet you have made hast, for we lookt not for you as yet.

Then Lord Grey upon the merest pretext is accused of malice to the royal blood and arrested as traitor. The young King protests against this seizure as palpable contempt for his authority and as unjust to Lord Grey.

KING: I know my uncle will conceale no treason, or dangerous secresie from us.

³ Edward Hall's Chronicle, etc., carefully collated with the editions of 1548 and 1550. London, 1809, p. 349.

RICHARD: Yes, secrets that are too subtil for babes. Alasse, my Lord, you are a child, and they use you as a child; but they consult and conclude of such matters as were we not carefull, would prove preiudiciall to your Maiesties person. Therefore let not your grace feare anything by our determination, for as my authoritie is only under your grace, so shall my loyalte deserve hereafter the just recompense of a true subject, therefore I hauing charge from my brother, your father, and our late deceased king, during the minorite of your grace, I will use my authoritie as I see good.³

In Shakespeare there is no scene exactly corresponding to this one. The arrest of Lord Rivers and Lord Grey is reported by a messenger. The interview between the young king, Gloster, Buckingham, the Lord Cardinal and others, in defiance of Chronicle authority laid in London, is as follows:

Buckingham. Welcome, sweete Prince of London,
To your Chamber.

Richard. Welcome deere Cosin, my thoughts Soueraign
The wearie way hath made you Melancholly.

Prince. No Unkle, but our crosses on the way,
Haue made it tedious, wearisome, and heauie.
I want more Unkles heere to welcome me.

Richard. Sweet Prince, the untainted vertue of your years
Hath not yet diu'd into the World's deceit;
No more can you distinguish of a man,
Then of his outward shew, which God he knowes,
Seldome or never jumpeth with the heart.
Those Unkles which you want, were dangerous:
Your Grace attended to their Sugred words,
But look'd not on the poyson of their hearts:
God keepe you from them, and from such false Friends.

Prince. God keepe me from false Friends,
But they were none.⁴

In the Dutch play the scene is also laid, not at Stony Stratford, but in London,—a significant point of agreement. The nobles who greet the king are Gloucester and Buckingham, as in Shakespeare; but instead of the Lord Cardinal, the Archbishop of York. This last substitution suggests that the ulti-

³ Hazlitt's *Shakespeare's Library*, V. pp. 77ff.

⁴ III, i, ll. 5-22.

mate source of *De Roode en Witte Roos* at this point was not Hall as in *Richard the Third* but Holinshed.

The dialogue of this scene in the Dutch play is as follows:

GLOCESTER: Believe me, nephew, your gracious Majesty in truth hath no cause at all for fear. Am I not of thy blood, thy nearest kin? Was not the care of thine estate entrusted to me? Did not thy father command me to guard thy precious head? Ah, believe thine uncle and let no suspicions be harbored in thy heart. 'Tis all to thine advantage, for thy good, whatever may happen anywhere, however thy Majesty may choose to interpret it. 'Tis true, and ought to give thee the greatest joy that hands have been laid upon thy brother.

GREY: But what, I pray thee, is the cause of such an act?

GLOCESTER: Was it not sanctioned by all the other noblemen as a fitting penalty for the crimes of such filthy villains?

KING: That's not proved.

GLOCESTER: Ha! They have feigned very well. Their supreme cunning is that their deeds are easily concealed from thy royal throne. But there is proof enough. 'Tis known that they did steal away from the tower its treasure and its arms. Why did they this but to beleaguer thy youthful Majesty? They know that thou art yet in years tender and inexperienced; and that breeds plots against thy life. Such traitors fail to remember that thine uncle's heart would rather burst within its breast than be reproached by anyone with lack of faith.

This dramatic version follows the account in the Chronicles rather faithfully. Yet it differs from the traditional story (1) in that the scene is laid in London, (2) in that the hypocrisy of Richard is made a little more suave and intriguing, and (3) in that the young king is made more determined in his assertion of the innocence of Rivers and Grey. Shakespeare's scene differs from the Chronicle sources in these same respects. The manner in which the prince develops from a mere counter in expository dialogue into a figure upon whom the dramatic appeal is designedly centered is illuminative of the true relations between the various accounts.

In Hall the king defends his relatives in the following careless fashion:

In good faythe I dare well answer for mine uncle Rivers and my brother here that they be innocente of suche matters.

In *The True Tragedie* his reply is of the same mild, impersonal sort:

I knowe my uncle will conceale no treason or dangerous secrets from us.

In the Dutch play he vindicates his relatives with much more assurance and determination. In reply to Richard's assertion that the two have received condign punishment for their villainy, he replies sharply, "That's not proved."

In Shakespeare's play this courageous attitude of loyalty is made the point of the interview between the King and his uncle:

Richard. Your Grace attended to their Sugred words,

But looked not on the poyson of their hearts;

God keepe you from them, and from such false Friends.

Prince. God keepe me from false Friends,

But they were none.

All the conversation in this scene is designed to lead up to this speech. More than any other remark the prince makes, this one establishes the wistful charm of his character and the utter pathos of his fate. As soon as he has made this brave speech, Shakespeare purposely diverts our attention to an entirely different situation.

Assuming for the moment that the Dutch scene represents a dramatic version earlier than that of Shakespeare, one could hardly find a better illustration of the gradual emergence of dramatic point and instantaneous revelation of character out of artless narrative, than in the successive stages of the development of this one speech of the young king.

Perhaps the most interesting point of comparison between the two plays is found in the appearance of the ghosts. The *Chronicles* contain but the barest suggestion for such a highly complicated scene as that in Shakespeare. Hall has merely the following:

The fame went that he had the same night a dreadful and a terrible dreame, for it seemed to him beyng a slepe that he saw diverse ymages lyke terrible devilles whiche pulled and haled hym.

not sufferynge hym to take any quyet or rest. The whiche straunge vision not so sodeinly strake his heart with a sodeyne feare, but it stuffed his hed and troubled his mynde with many dreadful and busy Imaginacions. For incontynent after, his heart beynge almost damped, he prognosticated before the doubtful chaunce of the bataille to come, usynge the alacrite and myrthe of mynde and of countenance as he was accustomed to do before he came toward the bataille. And least that it might be suspected that he was abashed for feare of his enemyes, and for that cause looked so piteously, he recyted and declared to his famylyer frendes in the morenyng hys wonderfull visyon and terribel dream. But I think this was no dreame, but a punccion and pricke of his synfull conscience.⁵

The author of *The True Tragedie*, the first extant play to embody this particular material, indicated the dramatic possibilities of the "diverse ymages lyke terrible devilles which pulled and haled him" without actually dramatizing them. The following monologue of the King recounts his dreadful colloquy with the "ymages."

ENTERS THE KING AND LORD LOVELL.

King. The hell of life that hangs upon the Crowne,
The daily cares, the nightly dreames,
The wretched crewes, the treason of the foe,
The horror of my bloodie practise past,
Strikes such a terror to my wounded conscience
That sleep I, wake I, whatsoever I do,
Meethinkes their ghoasts comes gaping for revenge,
Whome I have slain in reaching for a Croune.
Clarence complaines, and crieth for revenge,
My Nephues bloods, Revenge, revenge doth crie.
The headless Peeres come preasing for revenge.
And everyone cries, let the tyrant die.
The Sunne by day shines hotely for revenge.
The Moone of night eclipseth for revenge.
The Stars are turned to Comets for revenge.
The Planets chaunge their courses for revenge.
The birds sing not, but sorrow for revenge.
The silly Lambes sit bleating for revenge.
The screeking Raven sits croaking for revenge.

⁵ Hall's Chronicle, p. 414.

Whole herds of beasts comes bellowing for revenge.
 And all, yea all the world I think
 Cries for revenge, and nothing but revenge.
 But to conclude, I have deserved revenge.*

The author spends most of his creative energy in this scene in the rhetorical massing of the all important Senecan word. Yet, in passing, as it were, he has transformed the vague "diverse ymages" into the ghosts of those

Whome I have slaine in reaching for a Crowne.

Part of Shakespeare's ghost scene is merely a dramatization of this suggestion. The ghosts of Prince Edward, Henry the Sixth, Clarence, Rivers, Grey, Vaughan, Lord Hastings, the two young princes, his wife Anne, and Buckingham, each arises in turn to take his ominous revenge. Each one rehearses briefly the circumstances of his death and then ends with a cry which becomes a sort of refrain, "Despaire and dye." When the last one has vanished, Richard starts from his dream and utters his famous speech:

Giue me another Horse, bind up my Wounds:
 Haue mercy Jesu. Soft, I did but dreame.
 O coward Conscience! how dost thou afflict me?
 The Lights burn blew. It is not dead midnight.
 Cold fearefull drops stand on my trembling flesh.
 What? do I feare my Selfe? There's none else by,
 Richard loues Richard, that is I am I,
 Is there a Murtherer heere? No; Yes, I am:
 Then flye; What from my Selfe? Great reason: why?
 Lest I reuenge. What? my Selfe upon my Selfe?
 Alacke, I loue my Selfe. Wherefore? For any good
 That I my Selfe, haue done unto my Selfe?
 O no. Alas, I rather hate my Selfe,
 For hatefull deeds committed by my Selfe.
 I am a Villaine: yet I Lye, I am not.
 Foole, of thy Selfe speake well: Foole, do not flatter.
 My Conscience hath a thousand seuerall Tongues,
 And euery Tongue brings in a seuerall Tale,
 And euery Tale condemnes me for a Villaine;
 Periurie, in the high'st degree,

* Hazlitt's *Shakespeare's Library*, V, 117.

Murther, sterne murther, in the dyr'st degree,
 All seuerall sinnes, all us'd in each degree,
 Thronge all to' th' Barre, crying all, Guilty, Guilty.
 I shall dispaire, there is no Creature loues me;
 And if I die, no soule shall pittie me.
 Nay, wherefore should they? Since that I my Selfe,
 Finde in my Selfe, no pittie to my Selfe.
 Me thought, the Soules of all that I had murther'd
 Came to my tent, and euey one did threat
 To morrowes vengeance on the head of Richard.'

This speech has been usually considered a mixture of tragical effectiveness and mere verbal quibble. The following sentence from Skottowe's *Life of Shakespeare* expresses the traditional critical opinion of the passage. "The first six lines of this soliloquy", he writes, "are deeply expressive of the terrors of a guilty conscience; but the conceits and quibbles which disfigure the remainder completely destroy the moral impresion."⁸

I believe that a possible explanation of this psychologizing may be found in the ghost scene as it appears in *De Roode en Witte Roos*. (V, ii, ll. 1-27.)

RICHARD. GHOST.

RICHARD: What art thou? Gracious Heaven! What terror shakes my limbs! Vain fear. I will approach it somewhat nearer. Who art thou? Speak, I say. May the thunder smite thee! What is thy name?

GHOST: My name is Richard.

RICHARD: Richard?

GHOST: Yes.

RICHARD: I am startled and quake with fear. What seek'st thou here?

GHOST: Myself.

RICHARD: O God! What horror comes to pierce my heart. My mind is completely amazed, and finds no peace. There it departs and flees much lighter than the wind. What ghost or frenzy has come hither to assail me?

GHOST FROM WITHIN: Hold, Richard!

⁷ V, iii, 209-238.

⁸ II, 202.

RICHARD: Who is there?

GHOST FROM WITHIN: Your death is at hand.

RICHARD: Ah me!

If Shakespeare had known such a scene as this in which the ghost of Richard's own self⁹ had appeared to him, it is not improbable that he would have transformed it into an introspective soliloquy such as his character utters. His villain hero was too brave and too masterful to be reduced to a state of nervous terror by his own image. The prophecy of death appropriate enough in the mouth of the ghost himself, reiterated again and again as in Shakespeare, becomes a vast

⁹ This doppelgänger may be the invention of van den Boe. At any rate this ghost is like none that I know in Elizabethan tragedies of revenge. In Plutarch's *Life of Brutus* the ghost which Brutus sees may be regarded as this sort of "doppelgänger." "So, being ready to go into Europe, one night very late, as he was in his tent with a little light thinking of weighty matters; he thought he heard one come in to him, and casting his eye towards the door of his tent, that he saw a wonderful strange and monstrous shape of a body coming towards him and said never a word. So Brutus boldly asked what he was, a god or a man, and what cause brought him thither. The spirit answered him "I am thy evil spirit Brutus: and thou shalt see me by the city of Philippi." Brutus being not otherwise afraid, replied again unto it: "Well then I shall see thee again." The spirit presently vanished away, and Brutus called his men unto him, who told him that they heard no noise, nor saw anything at all." (Quoted F. W. Moorman, *Shakespeare's Ghosts*, in *Modern Language Review*, I, 3. p. 194-195.) In both *Caesar's Revenge* and Shakespeare's *J. C.* (IV, III, l. 272) this wonderful strange and monstrous shape is clearly Caesar's ghost.

Nothing in the mere dialogue of *Julius Caesar*, however, indicates that the ghost is more than he himself professes to be,—Brutus's evil spirit. The similarity of Richard's situation to that of Brutus in this extract from Plutarch might easily have struck the dramatist at work on a play about Richard III. This would have been particularly evident if the author of some of the lost plays on Julius Caesar had made the ghost no more than he was in Plutarch,—Brutus's own evil spirit. Brutus is in his tent "one night very late"; Richard says: "The lights burne blew. It is not dead midnight."

The ghost says to Brutus, "I am thy evil spirit." Richard in D learns that the ghost is himself. The men whom Brutus calls in "heard no noise, nor saw anything at all"; the page whom Richard's terror summons finds nothing but "empty mist which confuses the eye of your understanding."

This is highly conjectural, of course, but it is an indication of the manner in which the ghost of Brutus in Plutarch may have served as an analogy for this strange *alter ego* in an early English drama. The terrifying noises that the Dutch Richard hears are but echoes of the horrible sounds of Hades which ring in the ears and overflow in the speech of every Senecan ghost.

pervasive supernatural curse beneath which even a strong man might quail. Moreover, the actual appearance of Richard's ghost might have seemed over ingenious. As an excited recognition of the duality of his personality, the idea was more impressive. Yet certain parts of Shakespeare's scene,—notably such lines as,

Is there a murderer here? No, Yes, I am.
Then flye: What from my Selfe? Great reason, why?
Lest I revenge, What? My Selfe upon Myself.

taken by themselves are almost inexplicable. Only when we read them in relation to some such postulated source as that represented in the Dutch play do they become intelligible.

The wooing of Anne in S, for which there is not the slightest Chronicle foundation, resembles in some interesting particulars the scene in D in which Richard woos his niece. The likenesses between this scene and the corresponding one in *Richardus Tertius* have already been pointed out.¹⁰ The similarity between the scene in Legge's play and *Richard III* has been noted,¹¹ yet it has seemed to all critics almost impossible to believe that Shakespeare should have been acquainted with this cloistered play.

The resemblances between S and D in these scenes are fully as close as those between S and R. T. The superb daring of the hero in each case is of the same sort. He attempts to win the hand of the woman whose nearest and dearest he has murdered. In D, Elizabeth repulses him successfully; in S, Anne at first repulses Richard as vigorously as does Elizabeth, but finally yields to his flattering appeals for her hand. It is the first part of the two encounters where we should expect to find similar dramatic structure.

1. In D, Richard begins his flattery by calling Elizabeth "Lovely creature. Most beautiful child in which earth takes pride." Richard in S, calls her "Sweet Saint" (l. 54) and "divine perfection of a woman" making the same appeal to her vanity.

¹⁰ Vide supra. pp. 30ff.

¹¹ Churchill, p. 394.

2. In D the princess recoils in horror at his proposal and starts to leave. Then Richard asks "Why this pretence?" "No pretence at all", answers Elizabeth, "but real terror for your vile deed." So in S, Anne is on the point of leaving with "Therefore be gone" (l. 53).

RICHARD: Sweet Saint, for charity be not so curst.

ANNE: Foule Divell—.....

Thy deeds inhumane and unnaturall
Provokes this deluge most unnaturall.

3. In D Elizabeth calls Richard a murderer in so many words, "who has drunk his father's blood and ours too."

In S we find the following dialogue:

ANNE: That did'st unworthy slaughter upon others.

RICHARD: Say that I slew them not.

ANNE: Then say they were not slaine
But dead they are, and divilish slave by thee.

4. Elizabeth says, "My eyes cannot endure the sight of you. If it might be, I should prefer to be blind to seeing you any longer."

Anne says, "Out of my sight thou dost infect my eyes."

5. Finally Elizabeth longs for a sword that she may pierce her uncle's vitals. In S, Richard offers his sword to Anne in mock despair:

Loe heere I lend thee this sharpe-pointed Sword
Which if thou please to hide in this true brest,
And let the Soule forth that adareth thee,
I lay it naked to the deadly stroke,
And humbly begge the death upon my knee
(He layes his brest open, she offers at with his sword.)

The resemblances in the resistance of the two women to the wooing of Richard, presented in speeches of the same sort of Senecan extravagance in both emotion and speech, are striking. Up to the moment at which Richard begins to sway Anne, the two scenes, both without any warrant in the chron-

icles, are alike even to a number of details.¹² The constructive differences can all be attributed to the change in the character of the scene which Shakespeare decided to make from that in his source. To change the rebuff in D to a triumphant manifestation of Richard's almost superhuman influence upon mortals would then be one of the operations of Shakespeare's genius which transformed the bloody tyrant of the early story into a character of immense and malign force. This sheer power in his Richard III makes him the supreme villain-hero.

One minor likeness in the disposition of characters in S and D may be noted here. In D, Hastings is present when the Archbishop of York pleads with the queen to release the Duke of York from sanctuary. Indeed he plays an important part in this scene.

The Chronicles have merely the following:

The Cardinal leaving—departed into the sanctuary to the queene, accompaigned with certain lordes.¹³

In S, too, the certaine lordes have become Hastings alone. No scene of the sort occurs, but the Cardinal, as he leaves to visit the queen says:

CARD: My lord, you shall o'er-rule my mind for once
Come on Lord Hastings, will you goe with me?¹⁴

These resemblances which D shows in turn to the Chronicles and then to each of the three English plays in points peculiar to them, shows, first, that the *Roode en Witte Roos* belongs to the English *dramatic*, as distinguished from the *historical*, tradition of *Richard III*.

¹² Loocrine's successful wooing of Estrild (*Loocrine* IV, I) on the field of battle after Humber, her husband, has been killed by one of Loocrine's lieutenants, and Suffolk's wooing of Margaret, (*I Henry VI*, V, III) also on the battlefield, show the popularity of this specific situation among English dramatists at about the time that the English source of D must have been written.

¹³ Hall, p. 355.

¹⁴ S, III, I, ll. 69-70.

VI

The facts invite further explanation. All the similarities which have been indicated can be explained by assuming that van den Bos had before him, when he wrote, one of the English Chronicles and *all three* of the English plays under discussion. Such an hypothesis is inherently improbable and becomes practically impossible when we remember the nature of *Richardus Tertius*, which has perhaps the most points in common with D. It was an academic play, never printed, as far as is known, until the nineteenth century. It was so cloistered that no critic has thought it possible to assume that even Shakespeare knew it. That it should have travelled to Amsterdam is highly improbable; that it should have travelled in company with a Chronicle and two other plays on the same subject is, humanly speaking, sheer impossibility.

The other possible hypothesis is that van den Bos received, through the same channel by which he received *Lingua*, an English play which he translated freely into Dutch. Such is the method by which his other translations were produced. The pathetic figure of the roses in his dedication of the play is most easily explained if it be regarded as the description of the vicissitudes of an old play.

The position of such a lost tragedy in the English dramatic saga must remain conjectural. The following guess seems to satisfy all the conditions. Sometime after the composition of *Richardus Tertius* one of the university dramatists¹⁵ who was familiar with the Latin play wrote a Chronicle History on the subject of Richard III, in a popular form designed for the popular stage. Being strongly under the Senecan influence

¹⁵ Marlowe was at Cambridge in 1582, when we know from the Bodleian MS of R. T. that it was produced at St. Johns. Greene took his B.A. at this same college in 1578 and his M.A. in 1583. He, too, was thus probably present when the play was given. Peele was a student at Oxford for nine years before 1581 and helped Dr. Gager produce two of his Latin plays there in June, 1583. (Churchill, 271.)

of R. T., he introduced many of the successful effects of that play into his dramatic version. Writing also sometime after the authors of Chronicle plays had learned from Marlowe how to group the scattered historical material around one dominating character, he wrote a much more condensed and unified tragedy than Legge had produced. The few resemblances between D and the *True Tragedy* make it impossible to tell whether the one striking resemblance between the two is due to the author of the lost English play's copying an effective scene in a play that in general seemed crude, or whether the imitation proceeded in the other direction. The first hypothesis seems the more likely. This lost play, thus composed, Shakespeare must then have known and used, now and then, to point material which he derived largely from Holinshed. This fact would help to explain the strong Senecan flavor of *Richard III*, which has led numerous critics to believe that it must be the direct descendant of an earlier play.

The lost tragedy in question is clearly not the projected one of which we have extracts of five scenes among the papers of Edward Alleyn.¹⁶ There is not the slightest trace in D of the dramatic memoranda sketched there. Fleay, in one of his bold guesses, says of a possible dramatic source for *Richard III*:

There can be little doubt that in this (*Richard III*), as in *John*, Shakespeare derived his plot and part of his text from an anterior play, the difference in the two cases being that in *Richard III* he adopted much more of his predecessor's text. I believe that the anterior play was Marlowe's, partly written for Lord Strange's Company in 1593, but left unfinished at Marlowe's death, and completed and altered by Shakespeare in 1594.¹⁷

None of these conjectures finds corroboration in the *Roode en Witte Roos* except that the play clearly shows a formative

¹⁶ Collier, *Memoirs of Edward Alleyn*, p. 120-121.

¹⁷ *Chronicle History of the Life and Work of William Shakespeare*, London, 1806, p. 533.

influence upon the early Senecan treatment of the Chronical material like that which Marlowe indubitably exercised.

Questions of authorship of the lost English play must at the moment remain unsettled. At present we are able to see that all the indications are that D had for its source an English tragedy now lost; that this drama attaches itself to the English dramatic tradition of Chronicle plays as it existed about the year 1590; that Shakespeare apparently knew the play. He seems to have used it, however, not as the source of his work, but as a repository of suggestions for the effective composition of material mainly derived directly from Holinshed.

This rounded theory is inevitably involved with a certain hazardous conjecture. The nature of the Dutch document here presented does show with reasonable certainty one important fact,—that the *histrionic* story of the swift rise and fall of the sinister King Richard III has stimulated the position of at least one more English Chronicle History than has heretofore been supposed.

¹⁸ Verbal parallels between D and English Chronicle plays doubtless have been almost completely obscured by the nature of van Bos's translation. One interesting example has met my attention.

D I, l. 228. The queen says on giving up her son:

"My hand is willing to give him up, but my heart cannot."

cf. I, *Henry VI*, V, III, 360-1. *Suff.*:

"O stay: I have no power to let her pass.

My hand would free her, but my heart says—no."

Further search for verbal parallels may throw light upon the authorship of the lost English play.

L. VAN DEN BOSCH,
ROODE en WITTE
R O O S.
OF
LANKASTER en JORK.

BLYEINDENT TREURSPEL.

*Qui terret plus ipse timet, fors ista Tyrannis
Convenit.* CLAUDIAN.

TAMSTERDAM, Gedrukt by TYMON HOVTHAAK.
Voor Dirk Cornelisz'. Houthaak, Boekverkooper op de hoek
van de Nieuwezijds Kolk. MDC. LI.

SPREEKERS.

RICHARD, Hartog van Glocester, naderhand Konink.
EDWARD DE VIJFDE, Jonge Konink van Engeland.
HARTOG VAN BUCKINGHAM.
AERTSBISSCHOF VAN JORK, Kancelier.
ELIZABETH, Oude Koningen van Engeland.
HEER HASTINGS.
HEER STANLEY.
ELIZABETH, Princes van Engeland, dochter van Eduard de IV.
HENDRIK, Graaf van Richmond.
MAJOR VAN LONDON.
1, 2, 3, RAADSHEEREN.
HOPMAN.
KAMERLING van RICHARD.

DRAMATIS PERSONAE.

RICHARD, Duke of Gloucester, afterwards King.
EDWARD THE FIFTH, Young King of England.
DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.
ARCHBISHOP OF YORK, Chancellor.
ELIZABETH, Former Queen of England.
LORD HASTINGS.
LORD STANLEY.
ELIZABETH, Princess of England, Daughter of Edward the IV.
HENRY, Duke of Richmond.
MAYOR OF LONDON.
1, 2, 3 Councillors.
CAPTAIN.
CHAMBERLAIN OF RICHARD.

EDELMAN van den GRAAF van RICHMOND.

1, 2, BOODEN.

KAMENIER van de KONINGEN.

SIR TYREL.

ROBBERT, Dienaar van Stanley.

DIENAAR.

DIGTON.

SPOOK.

NOBLEMAN OF THE DUKE OF RICHMOND

1, 2 MESSENGERS.

A LADY IN WAITING OF THE QUEEN.

SIR TYREL.

ROBERT, Servant of Stanley.

SERVANT.

DIGHTON.

GHOST.

ZWYGENDE

JONGEN HARTOG van JORK.

TWEE DOCHTERS van KONINK EDWARD.

EENIGE EDELEN EN SOLDATEN.

SUPERNUMERARIES

YOUNG DUKE OF YORK.

TWO DAUGHTERS OF KING EDWARD.

NOBLEMEN and SOLDIERS.

HET EERSTE BEDRYF

SCENE I

HARTOG VAN GLOUCESTER. DEN JONGEN KONING. BUKKINGHAM. BISSCHOP VAN IORK.

GLOUCESTER: Gelooft my Neef, en dus u waarde Majesteit
En heeft in waarheit gantsch geen reden dat
gy schreit;

Ben ik u bloet niet, en van uwe naaste magen?
Is my de zorge van u staat niet opgedragen
Heeft my u Vader niet dit kostelijke hoofd
Op't hoogst bevolen? ach mijn jonge Heer!
gelooft,

Gelooft u Oom, en laat geen achterdenken
vesten

Haar wortel in u hart: 't is al tot uwen besten,
Tot uwen voordeel, wat of hier of daar gebeurt,

[10] Waar voor u Majesteit ook alles acht en keurt.

THE FIRST ACT.*

DUKE OF GLOUCESTER, THE YOUNG KING, BUCKINGHAM, BISHOP OF
YORK.

GLOUCESTER: Believe me cousin, your noble Majesty has truly
no cause for fear at all. Am I not of your blood, of your nearest
kin? Have I not been charged with the care of your estate?
Did not your father commend especially to me your precious head?
Oh my dear young Lord, trust, trust your uncle and let no suspicions
take root in your heart: Whatever happens anywhere is all for
your good, to your advantage, [10] whatever your Majesty's opin-
ion may be.

*I have had the invaluable aid of my colleague Professor Arnold Dresden in solving the meaning of many puzzling passages in the text. I have tried to make my translation as literal as is consistent with the English idiom.

't It waar (en laat u dit ten hoogsten vry behagen)
 Men heeft de handen aan u broeder Grai gelagen,
 En hoe is zulken zaak, dat bid ik u, geschiet?
 Was zulks met toestant van de rest der Grooten niet!
 En om de misdaet van zo vuile schelmeryen.

KON: Dat's niet bewezen.

HART: Ja, dat zijn hun veinzeryen!
 Hun meeste loosheit is dat hunnen handel licht
 Niet kom ten voorschijn aan u Koninklijk gezicht:
 Daar's echter blijk genoeg, als alle oogen zagen
 [20] De schatten uit den Tour, en wapens weghgedragen.
 En waarom (al en wort dat niet zo klaar gezeit)
 Als tot belaging van u jonge Majesteit.
 Zy weten dat gy zijt noch teer en onbedreven,
 En dat maakt schelmen toe te leggen op u leven;
 Maar weinig denkt dien drog, en wie u meer belaagt,
 Dat uwen Oom een hart in zijnen boezem draagt,
 't Geen eerder breken, en door kragt van een zal
 splyten,
 Eer dat hem iemant schult van ontrouw zal verwyten.
 Gy slacht een zieke die door koorts aan 't razen slaat,

It is true and it should please you in the highest degree that your brother Grey has been arrested. And how, I ask you, did such a thing occur? Was it not sanctioned by all the rest of the Noblemen on account of the wrong of such filthy villanies?

KING: That's not proved.

DUKE: Yes, so they pretend! Their greatest cunning is that their machinations are not evident to your royal eyes. There was real proof enough, when all eyes beheld [20] the treasure taken from the tower and the weapons carried off. And for what purpose (even though they do not say so openly) but for the beleaguering of your young Majesty? They know that you are still callow and inexperienced, and that causes the villains to scheme against your life. But little do these deceivers and whoever else threatens you, realize that your uncle's heart beats true within his breast, that it would sooner break and split by main force than have anyone reproach it with faithlessness. You are like a sick

- [30] Die de genezing van zijn heete qualen haat,
 En poogt de dekens zelfs te plukken en te trekken,
 Die hem de klamme leên behoeden en bedekken.

KON: Mijn oude dienaars.....

HART: Ja, dat's waar, men heeft u die
 Ontnomen; maar gelooft niet zonder reên, als wie
 In zulken handel, als zich doenmaals toe gink dragen,
 Met duizent oogen wel vereischten gaê geslagen
 In hem die't uitvoert is de grond niet van het quaat;
 Maar eer in hem die staag omtrent den Koning staat
 En zijn geheimen weet met loosheid uit te vissen,

- [40] Op dat den aanslag heb te minder noot van missen.
 U Majesteit, doch 't is de schult van vleesch en bloet,
 Vertrouwt de heerschzucht van dat volk te veele goet;
 Maar leert my den Marquis, noch Grai, noch Rivers
 kennen,

Ik weet maar al te wel wat gasten dat zy bennen.
 My staat te quijten en betrachten mijnen eed,
 Als die vertrouwt ben, en het toevertrouwde weet
 Voor quaat te hoeden, wie het immer mach mishagen,
 Zo lang my niemant, dat'k my qualijk heb gedragen,
 Te last en leid, ik sta voor d'hooge Ov'righeid

man who in a fever begins to rave and [30] who hates the remedy for his hot pain and tries to pluck and pull the very bedclothes which cover and protect his clammy limbs.

KING: My old servants——

DUKE: Yes, that is true; you have been deprived of them; but do not believe without cause. For in such affairs as were toward at that time men were required who observed with a thousand eyes. The foundation for the crime is not laid by him who brings it to pass, but rather by the man who is constantly about the King and knows cunningly how to find out his secrets, [40] so that the attempt at evil has less danger of failing. Oh, your Majesty, though the fault is one common to all flesh and blood, you trust too much the eagerness of these people for power. But do not try to teach me what manner of man the Marquis or Gray or Rivers is. I know all too well what sort of men they are. It is my duty to acquit myself well and to observe my oath as one who has been trusted and knows how to protect his ward from evil, no matter whom it may displease. As long as no one can charge me with unworthy

- [50] Des Hemels, en ten dienst van uwe Majesteit,
 Vergunt den Heer u slechts een langer tijd van le
 Een beter tuighenis zult gy van my noch geven.
 Gy hebt geen reden dat gy zo u hart bedroeft,
 Gy vreest het gene gy geenzins te vrezen hoeft,
 Zo lang ook als ik leef, zal (by manier van spre
 Geen vinger iemant u aan uwe Kroone steken.
 Bezieet wat reën gy hebt, dat gy u harte meugt,
 Vermits u groot geluk, wel koesteren in vreugt;
 Gy zijt zo jong, en stapt alreeds op Konings Troc
- [60] Men wacht alleenig maar de tijd om u te kroo
- KONG: Dat is de minste zorg die mijn van binnen druk
- HART: Ik kan niet lyden dat u zinnen dus verrukt
 En droevig zijn.
- KONG: Dat zal zo wezen, al zo lange
 Mijn moeder, broeders, en mijn zusters zijn
 vangen.
- HART: Gevangen! en wat is dat, bid ik, toch gezeit?
 Heet gy gevangen, die tot hunne zekerheid,
 En angstig voor 'k en weet wat hinder aan hun l
 In heil' ge hoede en bescherming zich begeven?
 Wie doet hen leet, van wie verwachtenze ongen

action, I stand before the high Magistrate [50] of Heav
 readiness to serve your Majesty. If the Lord will but grant
 long life, you shall yet have a better opinion of me. There
 reason that you should grieve so sorely. You fear somethi
 which there is no danger. As long as I live, no one, (so to s
 shall lay a finger on your crown. See what reasons for your h
 delight you have because of your great fortune in being so we
 joyfully cherished. You are so young and already ascend the
 throne. [60] We are waiting only for a fitting time for
 coronation.

KING: That is the least of the griefs which oppress my sou

DUKE: I cannot bear to see you thus disturbed and melan

KING: I shall be thus as long as my mother, brothers, an
 ters remain imprisoned.

DUKE: Imprisoned, pray tell me what do you mean? Do
 call those imprisoned who for their own safety and anxio
 cause of some trouble or other in their lives give themselves
 the protection and guardianship of the Church? Who causes
 to suffer? From whom do they expect disfavor?

[70] KONG: Gy doet hen vreezen.

HART: Ik, doe ik hen vreezen?

KON: Ja.

HART: Dat is wat wonders! en waarom? laat my eens hooren,
Ik zie hier uit dat u de schrik is aanangeboren,
U is dit vreezen van u ouders aangeërst,
En zult dat, ducht ik, niet verwerpen voor gy sterft.

KONG: Dat mogt wel wezen.

HART: Om dees quelling te ontvlieden,
Vint gy het goet, men zal u broeder hier ontbieden,
Om door zijn byzijn aan u Majesteit vermaak
Te geven.

KONG: Doet gelijk gy wilt in deze zaak.

HART: Wat dunkt de Heeren?

BUK: Zulx en kan niet qualijk slagen.

[80] HART: Voor my, ik stemmet toe, doch elk zijn welbehagen.

Wie neemt de last om na de Koningin te gaan?
Heer Kancelier, neemt gy voor u de moeiten aan,
Doet onze Konings lust zo veele ten gevalle,
Gy stond ooit wel met haar.

[70] KING: You cause them to fear.

DUKE: I cause them to fear?

KING: Yes.

DUKE: That is wondrous strange! And why? Pray let me hear.
I see from this that terror with you is innate. Your fear has been
inherited from your parents and that, methinks, you will not cast off
before your death.

KING: That may well be.

DUKE: In order to banish this vexation, if you approve, your
brother shall be summoned here to cheer your Majesty by his
presence.

KING: Do as you wish in this matter.

DUKE: What do the Lords think?

BUCK: That such a project cannot very well succeed.

[80] DUKE: For my part, I agree, but let everyone have his own
opinion. Who will undertake the mission of visiting the Queen?
Lord Chancellor, do you assume the difficult office; do our King's
pleasure to that extent. You were ever in her favor.

Biss:

Indien gy Heeren :

My zulks vertrouwt, wel aan, ik voeg my derw
heen;

Doch, by zo ver men haar door zoete en zachte re
Vermurwen kan, noch tot alzulk een zaak bewege
Mijn oordeel is, geweld noch harde dwang te pleg
Voor my, ik hou van zulks, en wasch mijn hande

[90] Men schen geen Heiligdom, die d'Heiligheid on
Der Pauzen, noch besta zo licht een plaats t'ont
Wiens schennis licht de staat tot nadeel mocht ge
Tot noch toe heeft nooit Vorst aan zulk een die
pant

Zijn hand geslagen, noch zijn vingers gebrant,
En laat ons ook zo ver ons zelven niet toegeven,
Dat wy in ons alzulk een zware schult beleven;
Doch, hoop dat mijne zorg hier zal onnoodig zij
't En waar verkeerde zucht, en moederlijke pijn
En't hart't geen noode van zo zoeten pant
scheiden,

[100] De weg voor zwaarder, en geweltdwang mogt bere
Daar vrouwelijke vrees gemeenlijk onder speelt.

BUK: Of eer hartnekkigheid. wie't scheelt of niet en se
Ik neem 't op my, en dus vind zich mijn ziel behot

BISH: Since all your Lords entrust such a mission to me,
it, I will betake myself thither. Still, inasmuch as she can be
to yield by sweet and gentle reason and can be persuaded to s
course, my judgment is to employ neither force nor hard const
As for me, I refrain from such courses and wash my hands of

[90] One should not violate a sanctuary which the Popes
us, and be so ready to desecrate a place, the violation of v
might easily be prejudicial to the State. Never has a prince
violent hands upon so dear a pledge, without burning his fin
and let us not ourselves give way to such an extent that we
live to see such heavy guilt fall upon us. Yet let us hope th
office will be unnecessary in this case, where misplaced solie
and maternal grief, and a heart that reluctantly gives up so
a possession, [100] might make necessary severity and co
sion, which in women commonly provoke fear.

BUCK: Say rather stubbornness. Whomever it may or ma

Zy heeft geen oorzaak van het minste quaat vertrouwen.

Heer Kancelier, ik zie in mijn gedachten niet,
Wat oorzaak dat gy tot alzulks te vreezen ziet,
Mistroutze my, haar Zoon, de Oom van hare kind'ren?
Wie zal in's Broders Rijk een Konings Broeder hind'ren?

En of ik toestont dat hier wettige oorzaak licht
[110] Van vreezen, vrees ontslaat geen dienaar van zijn plicht;

Voor my, geen Heiligdom en zou mijn wil verhind'ren,

Van mannen hoord ik wel, maar van geen jonge kind'ren,

Die zulk een Heiligdom, gelijk in's Moeders schoot,
Om schult en misdaat kost bevryden voor de doot.

'k Zeg noch, den Bisschop heeft geen oorzaak van verschoonen;

Maar wel om plichtige gehoorzaamheid te toonen.

BISS: Wat my belangt, men spreek mijn hart van onwil vry;
Ik ga, en volg, mijn last, den Hemel blijf u by.

HART: En die wil u met al zijn Engelen geleyden:

[120] Die wil de nevelen van uwe oogen scheyden,
Verheven Vorst, en doen aan uwe Majesteit

concern, I take it upon myself and my conscience is untroubled when I say that she has not the slightest reason to be suspicious. My Lord Chancellor, I cannot conceive what cause there is for this fear of yours. Is she suspicious of entrusting her son to me, the uncle of her children? Who shall harm a brother of the king in his brother's kingdom? And if I admit that perhaps there is legitimate cause [110] for fear, fear excuses no subject from the performance of his duty. As for me, no sanctuary shall thwart my will. Of men I have heard, but not of young children whom such a sanctuary, like a mother's bosom, could protect from death for guilt or misdeed. I say, that the Bishop has no reason for excusing himself but rather, for showing dutiful obedience.

BISH: As for my part in the affair, my heart is absolved from evil; I go; I assume my burden. God be with you.

DUKE: And may He and all His angels conduct you, [120] and clear away the mists from your eyes, Sublime Prince, and give Your

Oprechte blijk, wat hart in deze boezem leit.
 'k Zeg noch, en neem u al gy Heeren tot getuiger
 En hem, voor wie dat wy en alle harten buigen,
 Dat nooit gedachten hier zijn wortel heeft geves
 't Geen niet en strekte, ô mijn Neef, tot uwen l
 Stelt u daarom gerust, mijn Heer, laat u genoeg
 De tijd, verhoop ik, zal het al ten besten voegen:
 Hy heeft nooit rust, die voor en na zijn onheil sch
 [130] Den Vorst vertrekt, maakt plaats daar voor zijn
 jesteit.

KONINGIN. HASTINGS. BISSCHOP VAN IORK.

KON: En wel, wat kreeg van u den Bode voor bescheit
 HAST: Hoe 't is of niet, zaid ik, en hoe men't overleit,
 En wat den Kamerling my tracht om wijs te ma
 Van dezen toestant, en verandering van zaken,
 't En zal, hoe dat men't stelt, niet zijn als 't een
 was,
 Men wend' het zo men wil, het spit dat moet in
 Verandering, hoe het ook schijnt tot onzen best
 Is zelden goet, en dus verzond ik hem ten lesten
 En nu Mevrouw, ei! gunt u zelf wat meerder lus
 [10] KON: O Koning Eduart! u ziel die is in rust,
 Mijn waarde Man, eilaas! wat baart u doot
 and'ren,

Majesty sincere proof of the nature of the heart that lies in
 breast. I assert it, and call all you lords to witness, and Him
 whom we all bow our hearts, that no thought has ever taken
 root here which did not, oh my nephew, serve your best inte
 Set your mind at rest on that subject, My Lord, and be co
 Time, I hope, will arrange everything for the best. He is ne
 peace, who before and after the event bewails his misfortunes.
 The Prince departs, make way there for his Majesty.

Ach! dat wy ons gebeent verzaamden met mal-
 kand'ren,
 Wat ongeval had ik dan t'effens afgeleit,
 Wat ongeval en leet voor my noch toebereit!
 Och! zo de zaligen, gescheiden uit het leven
 Van's werelds ydelheid, gedachtenis gebleven
 En nagelaten is, zo slaat u oogen neêr,
 En ziet u Broeder, al u hoop en troost wel eer,
 Nu uwe weduw en u kinderen verdrukken,
 [20] En (kunt gy) gaat te moet zo menige ongelukken.
 Hoe komt my staag te voor, in't midden van mijn leet,
 U laatste redenen en woorden die gy deed',
 U aanspraak, zo aan my als aan u Staatgenooten,
 Waar in gy op het hoogst de rust en vree de Grooten

Scene II.

QUEEN, HASTINGS, BISHOP OF YORK.

QUEEN: Well, what kind of an answer did you give the messenger?

HAST: "Whatever the state of affairs may be," I said, "and in whatever way it has been considered, and whatever the Chamberlain strove to make me believe about the condition and change of events, however men arrange things, they shall not be as they were aforetime. But turn it as men will, the spit will into the ashes. Change, however it appears to be for our best interests, is seldom good." And I finally sent him away. And now, my lady, do allow yourself somewhat greater pleasure.

[10] QUEEN: O King Edward, O soul of thine in peace, my true husband, alas! What changes has your death caused! Oh that our bones had been gathered together! What misfortunes had I then at once escaped! What misfortune and grief that is still brewing for me! Oh if to the blessed departed from this life, from the world's vanity, memory has survived, yet cast down your eyes and behold your brother, of old all your life and comfort, now oppressing your widow and your children. [20] And, if you can, ward off these many misfortunes. How steadily in the midst of my woe, do your last spoken words of wisdom come to my mind,—your speeches both to me and to your fellow-citizens, wherein you sought, in the highest degree, to inspire the Lords with peace and quiet, for the welfare of the State and the prosperity of your all too unlucky

Zocht in te planten, tot bevord'ring van de staat,
En welstant van u al te ongelukkig zaat;
Maar weinig komt men't na. den Hemel zal
wreken.

HAST: Ei! stilt u druk Mevrouw, wat baat nu zulk
spreken?

KON: Ondankbaar volk van u zo trouwe en goeden He
[30] Ondankb're Broeder, ja verbastert, dat's noch n
Gaat voort als gy begost.

HAST: De tijd zal't al verke

KON: Dat geen den Hemel.

HAST: Laat geen druk u overhe

Voor dat gy klaarder ziet u ongeval te moet;
Ik hoop, ja ben gewis, dit bitter zal in zoet
Veranderen, de tijd van kroonen die zal naken,
En dan, 'k verzekert u, verandering van zaken
Zal ook u zwaarigheid verlichten op het endt:
't Volk dat niet eer, zo't schijnt, zijn rechten Ko
kent,

Zal dan door trouw en eed, en duizent and're ba

[40] Verbonden, vyeriglijk hem vliegen van de handen

KON: Wie leeft die tijd?

family. But too little do they heed it. Heaven shall take re

HAST: Oh still your grief, my Lady, what boots it now t
such things?

QUEEN: O people, ungrateful to your lord who was so goo
true! [30] Oh ungrateful brother, yes, bastard brother, that
worse, continue as you have begun!

HAST: Time will change it all.

QUEEN: May Heaven grant it.

HAST: Do not let grief overpower you before your misfor
assume clearer form in your mind. I trust, yes, I am certain
bitterness will turn to sweet. The time of the coronation wi
proach, and then, I assure you, change will finally lighten you
culties, too. The people who, it seems, will not before that tim
ognize its real King, [40] bound by faith and oath and a
other bonds, will then be rendered wholly amenable.

QUEEN: Who will be alive in that time?

HAST: Al't geen daar toe vereist is wert
Vast klaar gemaakt.

KON: Het leid my al te zwaar op't hert,
Die uur en zal ik, och! dat vrees ik, niet beleven.

HAST: Ik hoop gy zult Mevrouw.

KON: Den Hemel wil het geven;
Maar zo ik mijn gemoed hier in gelooven mach,
Mijn smart is heden groot, maar wacht noch grooter
slag.

HAST: Verkeerde inbeelding zal u onheil niet verhaasten,
En een bedroeft gemoet duit alle dink ten quaaften.
Voor my, ik zweert u toe met duizent eên Mevrouw,

[50] Ik was u man, en blijf u kinders ook getrouw;
Geen onheil zal my, by zo var ik zo mach spreken,
Die band van liefden in mijn hart in stukken breken,
Het ga zo't wil, ik blijf voor u mijn leven lank.

KON: Getrouwe en waarde Heer, ik weet't u duizent dank,
Den Opperheer die wil u trouwe liefde loonen.

HAST: Ten zyze uwen zoon tot onzen Konink kroonen,
Ik meen die by haar is, ik stel mijn lijf te pand,
Zal ik zijn broeder, hier by u, met deze hand

HAST: All that is necessary for it has already been prepared.

QUEEN: My heart is all too heavily oppressed, and I fear that I
alas! shall not live to see that hour.

HAST: I hope that you will, my Lady.

QUEEN: May Heaven grant it! But if I may believe my feelings
in this matter, my grief is great today, but awaits a still greater
blow.

HAST: A disordered imagination will not hasten your misfor-
tune, and a sad heart interprets everything in the worst possible
way. As for me, I swear to you, my Lady, with a dozen oaths, [50]
that I was faithful to your husband and shall remain faithful to
your children too. In as far as I am able to say, no misfortune shall
shatter the bond of love in my heart. Whatever happens, I shall
remain true to you all my life long.

QUEEN: True and worthy lord, I thank you a thousand times.
God in Heaven will reward your faithful love.

HAST: Unless they crown your son as our king, I mean the elder
one, I pledge my life that with this hand I will crown his brother,

De Kroon opzetten, 't spijt zo wie dat mach benyden
[60] Al kost het my mijn hoofd, voor u, ik mach't wel
lyden;

Maar ziet, den Kancelier.

BISS: Hoe gaat het u Mevrouw?
Heer Hastings, zijt gegroet.

KON: Gedurig in de rouw,
Mijn Heer, mijn treurig hart kan geen vertroosting
lyden.

BISS: De tochten van't gemoed verand'ren met de tyden.

KON: Gelijk mijn Heer zeer wel en bondig heeft gezeit,
Wel eer was hy in staat die nu ter neder leid;
Ik geef mijn zelf de eer, en zo ik denk met reden,
Gods roei te hebben met veel andere geleden.

BISS: De tegenspoeden die den mensch op aarden lijd,
[70] Zijn bitter, al zo lang gy in het midden zijt;
Maar alsze deur zijn, en berooft van hare krachten,
Verwekkenze in ons hart verheugde nagedachten:
't Zijn vruchten, die, hoe wars en walg' lijk datze zijn,
Het hart verstrekken tot bequame Medecijn;
Maar in het aanzien van zo u als onze dingen,
Vind ik geen oorzaak van zo veel bekommelingen,
Zo innebeelden, 't geen ook hier niet komt te pas,

the one here with you, in spite of those who oppose it. [60] Even though it costs me my life, for your sake, I will endure it. But see, the Chancellor comes.

BISH: How is it with you my lady? Lord Hastings, my greeting.

QUEEN: Steadily mourning, my Lord; my sad heart can brook no comfort.

BISH: The whims of the mind alter with the times.

QUEEN: As my lord has well and tersely said, he who now lies stricken was formerly in high estate. I feel honored, and I think with reason, to have endured with many others the chastisement of God.

BISH: The adversity which man endures on earth [70] is bitter as long as he is face to face with it. But when it is past, and shorn of its power, it awakens in our hearts happy reflections. It bears fruits, which however unpalatable and nauseous, afford the heart effective medicine. But in the aspect of your affairs, as well as of our own, I find no reason for so much grief. Vain imaginations

U smart niet maakt veel meer en zwaarder alsze was;
 U man, wiens byzijn u, zo 't blijkt, den Hemel weigert,
 [80] Wort met een zoon geboet, die vast ten Troon opstei-
 gert,

Een wensch die ieder een van's hartzen gronde gaat,
 Te zien voor zijne dood zijn kinderen tot staat:
 Den broeder hebt gy met zijn zusters in u handen,
 Nu heb ik last.

KON: O God! hoe schrikken d'ingewanden!

BISS: Nu heb ik last Mevrouw.

KON: Eilaas! wat zal het zijn?

Ik vrees die last die strekt alleen tot last van mijn.
 Bedroefde vrouw, hoe var vervalt gy noch in treuren!

BISS: Gy vreest een quaat het geen u nimmer zal gebeuren;
 Niet verder strekt mijn last, Mevrouw, ei! stilt u wee,

[90] Als een gering verzoek, een slechte en kleine beë,
 Geen onheil schuilt' er in, gy moogt my zulks vertrou-
 wen,

U zoon verzoekt alleen, om hem te onderhouwen,
 Zijn broeder by hem.

KON: Ach! getuigden't harte niet?

Vaar voort bedekte list, ga, laad my al't verdriet

of this sort do not make your woe much greater and heavier than it was. Your husband, whose presence, so it seems, Heaven refuses you, [80] has been compensated for by a son, who will surely ascend the throne. A wish which everyone makes from the bottom of his heart, is that he may see before his death his children established. You have the brother with his sisters in your hands. Now I am charged—.

QUEEN: Oh God! what terror stirs my inmost soul.

BISH: Now I am charged, my Lady . . .

QUEEN: Alas! what can it be? I fear this commission is designed only to trouble me. Grieving woman, how much deeper in woe are you to sink?

BISH: You fear an evil that no one shall inflict upon you. Oh my Lady, still your grief! My commission is nothing more [90] than a mere request, a simple and little favor. No misfortune lurks in it; you may trust me on that point. Your son merely begs to have his brother with him for his entertainment.

QUEEN: Oh, did not my heart inform me? Fare forward,

En quelling op, tot datze eindlijk my verdrukken,
 't Begin is goet, het eind zal u ook wel gelukken;
 Gy eist mijn zoon! niet waar! den Rijksvoogt eyscht
 mijn kind,
 Voor my, 'k en geef hem niet, gaat, zoekt daar gy hem
 vind;

Maar brand u vingers niet, noch kreukelt u geweten,
 [100] De plaats, waar in wy zijn, is heilig moet gy weten.
 O! adderlijk gebroet, wat broet gy niet voor quaat,
 Hoe ver dat ook de drift van uwe boosheid gaat.
 O staatzucht! wat vermach u yver doch te stuiten!
 Wat ommekring dat bits en loopend vuur te sluiten!
 Gy eyscht mijn zoon! ja, kom en eischt de moeder me,
 En hare dochters, rukt haar uit de heil'ge steê,
 Schent Kerk en Kerkenplicht, drijft spot met alle
 Rechten,

Kant u met dwinglandy om Godsdienst te bevechten.
 Vertreet de Wet en al wat tot de Wet behoort,

[110] Haalt vloeken op u hals, ja, vaart 'er vry mee voort,
 Geen dwang en stut u, 't zal u alles wel gedyen.

HAST: Mevrouw.....

secret cunning; go, load me with grief and torture, until they at last overwhelm me. The beginning is auspicious, and the end will also prove favorable to you. You demand my son, do you not? The regent demands my child. For my part, I will not give him up. Go seek him where you can find him, but take care lest you burn your fingers or besmirch your conscience. [100] The place in which we are, you must know is holy. Oh serpent race, what evils do you not breed! How far the eagerness of your evil extends! Oh political ambition! What then may check your zeal? What circumference can bound your fierce and running fire? You demand my son! Come, I pray you, and demand the mother too, and her daughters; drag her from the sanctuary; scorn the church and her ordinances; make sport of all her laws; join with tyranny in war on religion. Override the law and all that pertains to it, [110] draw curses down upon you. Yes, fare freely forward; no compulsion restrains you; you shall prosper in all that you do.

HAST: My lady—

- KON: Komt gy al meê?
- BISS: Ei! laat haar eerst betyen.
- KON: Spant al te zamen aan, blijf niemant in gebrek,
Helpt haar met alle macht het jukhout op de nek,
Verdrukt het Konings bloed tot heul van dwingelanden,
Slaat aan gezalfden en haar kinders uwe handen;
Gaaf voort, verdrukt het zaat van mijnen Eduart,
Ja, haalt zijn grafsteê, 't heilig marmer, ook omvart,
Verstoort zijn beenderen, en wilt zijn asch verbranden,
[120] 't Is al georeloft, en niets verstrekt tot schande.
Ei my! bedroefde vrou, wat's dat gy niet en lijf,
Mijn hart wort flauw, ei! stut my dochters, waar gy zijt.
- HAST: Ach! zy beswijkt. och God! wat raat dient hier genomen?
- BISS: Brengt water, wie gy zijt, op datze mach bekomen:
Mevrou, ach! vrijft haar doch de slapen van het hoofd.
- HAST: En noch bekomtze niet, maar blijft van kracht berooft.
- BISS: O! vrouwelijke drift.
- HAST: Zegt, grouwelijke plagen.

QUEEN: Are you against me too?

BISH: Let her first control herself.

QUEEN: Conspire together all of you, let no one remain aloof, help with all your power to place her under the yoke. Overpower the King's race in the aid of tyranny, strike at the Lord's anointed and her children. Go on, destroy the seed of my Edward. Yes, seize and overthrow his grave stone, the holy marble, disturb his bones and order his relics consumed by fire; [120] all these things may be done and nothing evokes shame in you. Ah me, afflicted woman, what do you not suffer? My heart waxes faint. Oh support me, daughters, wherever you are.

HAST: Alas, she faints! Oh God, what counsel shall we follow here?

BISH: Bring water, whoever you are, to revive her. Oh my lady! Rub her temples.

HAST: She does not revive, but remains bereft of strength.

BISH: Oh the passion of a woman!

HAST: Say, rather, horrible torment.

BISS: Vol tochten in den geest.

HAST: Vol druk en harde slagen.

KON: Ei! my!

BISS: Zagt, zy bekomt.

KON: Waar heen, vervloekte hant!

[130] Waar henen met mijn kint, mijn hart, mijn ingewand!

Kom, neemt de Moeder meê, of doot my voor het scheyen.

BISS: Mevrouw.

KON: Wie roept my daar!

BISS: Bedaar, laat af van schreyén.

KON: Zijt gy't mijn waarde man! zijt gy't mijn betgenoot!
Och Eduart! men rukt u kinders uit mijn schoot;
Och man!

BISS: Mevrouw, bedaar, komt weder by u zinnen.

KON: Och laas, waar ben ik? smart, hoe zal ik u verwinnen!

BISS: Princes, zet u ter neêr, en geeft doch reên gehoor.

KON: Ja gy, gy zijt de man, ô Bisschop! is dat voor
De gunst die gy wel eer hebt van ons huis genooten!

[140] Des tuig u eigen hart, des tuigen alle Grooten,

BISH: Her spirit full of passion.

HAST: Full of oppression and hard blows.

QUEEN: Ah me!

BISH: Soft, she revives.

QUEEN: Whither, accursed hand! [130] Whither with my child,
my heart, my very bowels. Come take the mother too, or slay me
before the separation.

BISH: My Lady —.

QUEEN: Who calls me there?

BISH: Calm yourself, cease crying.

QUEEN: Is that you, my true husband? Is that you, my bed-
fellow? Alas, Edward! your children are snatched from my bosom.
Oh my husband!

BISH: Calm yourself, my Lady, return to your senses.

QUEEN: Alas, where am I? Grief, how shall I conquer thee?

BISH: Princess, sit down, and give ear to reason.

QUEEN: Yes you, you are the man, oh Bishop! Is this repayment
for the favors from our house which formerly you have enjoyed?
[140] Of this let your own heart be witness; of this let all the

Des tuig de meester, wiens onheil'ge wil gy dient,
 In zulk een heiloos werk, ô snoode, ô valsche vriend!
 Zo ver is't oost van't west als dit van mijn vertrouwen.

BISS: Mevrouw, gy volgt den aart hier in van alle vrouwen,
 Het eerste voorwerp is u driften aldernaast,
 Maar g'hebt een onrecht voor, dit is het alderquaast,
 Gy bijt den steen, en laat hem diese werpt met vreden.
 Ei! waar toe dienen doch alzulke bitterheden?

Wat heb ik immermeer verhandelt of verricht

[150] Omtrent u man, of u, tot nadeel van mijn plicht?
 En nu, wat recht heb ik mijn zelf met kracht te zetten
 Daar tegen, 't geen ik doch geenzins en kan beletten?
 En zal ik spreken na de zaak my spreken doet,
 En weest verzekert dat ik spreek na mijn gemoed;
 'k En zie geen oorzaak van u zelven zo t'ontstellen,
 Noch zaak, waar in gy dus u eigen hart moogt quellen.
 De Rijkxvoogt eischt u zoon, en wettigt zijn begeer:
 Waarom? om hem ter dood te brengen? dat zy veer;
 Maar om den Koning vol, als gy, van misvertrouwen

[160] Met zijn gezelschap in vermaak te onderhouden.

Ei! gaat wat nader by u zelf in u gemoed,

nobles be witness; of this let the master whose unholy will you serve
 in such nefarious work, be witness. O wicked one! Oh false friend!
 As far as the East is from the West, so far is this office of yours
 from my confidence.

BISH: In this, my Lady, you follow the nature of all women.
 The first thing that you see becomes the object of your anger. But
 you are wrong: that is the worst of it. You bite the stone and leave
 in peace the man who hurls it. Oh, what end does all this bitterness
 serve? What have I ever accomplished or brought to pass [150]
 in regard to your husband or you that was prejudicial to my duty?
 And now what reason have I to set myself violently against events
 which in spite of everything I can in no way hinder? And if I
 speak in the manner in which the affair directs me, rest assured I
 shall speak as my conscience directs. I can see no reason why you
 should be thus beside yourself. The regent demands your son and
 makes his request official. Why? To accomplish his death? By no
 means. But in order that the King, who is, like you, full of suspi-
 cion, [160] may be agreeably entertained with his company.
 Come, examine your thoughts a little more closely and consider

En overlegt het geen u ziele duchten doet.
 Is't uwe zoon, gereed om op den Troon te stappen?
 Of is't zijn oom, die zo veel aards en eigenschappen,
 Zijn bloed, zijn eer en eed misschien verlooch'nen kan?
 Vertrouwt gy wat gy wilt, 'k ontken hem voor die
 man;

Of ben ik die gy schijnt alleenig te mistrouwen?
 Zo hebt gy mijne trouw ten besten niet onthouwen.
 Wat zeg ik veel? 't en zy u gezeggen laat,

[170] Ik vrees, geloofst Mevrouw, ik vrees een arger quaat;
 Gewelt zal dan de plaats van vriend'lijkheid bezetten,
 Noch gy zo kloek zijn om die voortgank te beletten,
 Ik zal mijn leed, en gy u onwil moeten zien.

KON: O kranke toevlucht, om in noot na toe te vliën,
 O yd'le zekerheid! wat moogtge u zelven venten,
 En zien op yd'le wint van broosche parkementen,
 Wat baat nu voorrecht, eed, en Geestelijke bant,
 Wat oude vryigheid, gejoint van hand tot hand?
 Westmunster, ziet alhier u recht te gront gestooten,

[180] U toevlucht weér ontveilt, u Heiligdom ontslooten;
 Waar heb ik op gesteunt? waar heb ik op gebouwt?

the thing which causes apprehension to your soul. Is it your son who is ready to ascend the throne or is it his uncle who can perhaps renounce so much of his nature, his characteristics, his blood, his honor, and his oath? Believe what you wish, I do not consider him to be such a man. Or is it I alone whom you appear to suspect? If so, you do not remember my fidelity to your best interests. Why do I speak thus at length? Unless you show yourself tractable, [170] I fear, believe it, dear Lady, a worse evil will befall you. Force will take the place of friendliness, and you will not be clever enough to prevent this change. I shall be obliged to see what I dread come to pass and you, the thing that you least desire.

QUEEN: Oh ill refuge, to which in time of need to flee! Oh idle security! You may well make vaunt and rely on the idle words of brittle parchments! Of what avail now is privilege, oath and spiritual bond; of what, ancient liberty, handed down from generation to generation? Westminster! Behold now your privilege overthrown, [180] your refuge again betrayed, your sanctuary desecrated. In what have I placed reliance? What have I builded

Op wat een zekerheid heb ik mijn zelfs vertrouwt.
 Wel aan, men haal u dan mijn eenigh welbehagen,
 En voert hem waar gy wilt, mijn moed kan 'tal ver-
 dragen ;

Maar denkt niet dat ik in dit droeve jammerdal
 Mijn panden blyven na, of overleven zal.
 Koomt hier mijn waarde kind, en helpt u zelf be-
 treuren,

Kust my voor't laatst, wie weet of't ooit weer zal
 gebeuren,

Onthoud dees laatste min die u dijn moeder gaf,

[190] Gy gaat na Eduard, en met hem na het graf,
 Gy gaat met Eduard, mijn Eduard bezoeken,
 Gy schreit en hebt gelijk, maar wilt u zelf verkloeken,
 Te minder is u leed, te minder is u noot,
 Dat gy al stervend hebt geen wezen van u dood.

BISS: Ik hoop de waarheid zal u reden niet verzellen.

KON: Wacht u voor my, ik weet van ongeluk te spellen.

BISS: Geen dink waar in den mensch zo dik bedrogen wert,
 De feil is hier gemeen.

KON: Maar in geen moeders hert:
 Dit weigerend gemoed, dit huplen van mijn aaren,

upon? To what sort of security have I entrusted myself? Ah, well, let them bring to you, then, my one comfort, and lead him where you will. My spirit can endure it all. But do not suppose that I shall remain after my treasures in your wretched vale of sorrow or that I shall survive them. Come here, my dear child, and help me grieve for you. Kiss me for the last time. Who knows if we shall ever kiss again. Remember this last love which your mother gives you. [190] You go to Edward and with him to the grave. You go with Edward, to visit my Edward. You weep and rightly, but you will prove courageous. And less will be your grief, and less will be your sorrow in that in dying, you shall not be conscious of your death.

BISH: I hope that your speech will not come true.

QUEEN: Beware of me, I know how to prophesy disaster.

BISH: There is nothing in which man is so often deceived. Error is common here.

QUEEN: But in no mother's heart. This repugnance, this

- [200] Dit kloppen van mijn hart, dit rijzen van mijn haaren,
 Dit staam 'len van mijn tong, dit beven van mijn leën,
 Dit tranen van 't gezicht, 't geen uitgemergelt scheen
 Door lankzaam hartenleed, en onvermoeide klachten,
 Bereiden my geen minder onheil te verwachten.
- BISS: Al't geen Mevrouw noemt is treurigheid gemeen.
 KON: Maar van geen vrou als ik.
- BISS: Van jammer overstreên.
 KON: Maar van 't begin geleert tot druk en onbehagen.
 BISS: Te meer vermoeit van zo bezwaarden pak te dragen.
 KON: Die de vermoetheid zelf voor lang al is gewent.
- [210] BISS: 't Blijkt klaarlijk aan de staat waar in gy
 heden bent.
- KON: Maar nu betreur ik niet het geen ik heb te lyden;
 Maar't geé ik wagt.
- BISS: Een droom.
 KON: Een onheil niet te mijden
 Een onheil 't geen my naakt en zo de vrees vergroot
 En had ik't op den hals alreeds, 't en was geen noot,
 Al dragende zou ik dat lyden leeren dragen,
 Nu vrees ik te gelijk, en moet mijn leed beklagen,

hammering of my veins, [200] this beating of my heart, this rising of my hair, this stammering of my tongue, this trembling of my limbs, these tears on my face which through slow grief of the heart and ceaseless complaint is exhausted in appearance, prepare me to expect no lesser misfortune.

BISH: All that my Lady says is characteristic of all sorrow.

QUEEN: But of no woman like me.

BISH: Overcome with grief.

QUEEN: From the beginning instructed in sorrow and distress.

BISH: The more wearied from supporting so grievous a burden.

QUEEN: Who long has been familiar with weariness itself.

[210] BISH: That is shown clearly by the state of mind in which you are today.

QUEEN: But now I do not regret the suffering itself but the anticipation of it.

BISH: A dream!

QUEEN: A misfortune not to be avoided,—one which approaches and thereby magnifies the fear. If it were already upon me, it would be no grief. In enduring the sorrow I should learn how to

Angstvallig schrik ik voor een droevig overval,
 't Geen, als't my by komt, licht mijn schrik benemen
 zal;

Maar 'k houd op mijn Heer, gy wacht van my t'ont-
 fangen

[220] Het kind, 't geen ik u lang, en weiger om et langen.
 Gy wacht op 't geen ik zelf voor lang al heb verwacht,
 Mijn laatste toestant, ach! mijn laatste goede nacht:
 Hou daar, maar laat my noch voor't laatst die lippen
 kussen.

Ach tranen! dat gy mocht en kost en wilde blusschen
 't Natuurlijk vuur, het geen als noch mijn ziele stooft,
 En laten deze lamp ten naasten by gedooft,
 Ten laatsten uitgeblust. Vaart wel mijn lieve leven!
 Maar ach! de hand die wil, maar't hart en kan niet
 geven,

En ook ik geef hem niet, ik wil geen oorzaak zijn

[230] Van zijne doot, en van mijn doodelijke pijn,
 Ik wil hem niet veraân, en waar toe langer temen?
 Indien gy hem begeert, mijn Heer, gy moogt hem
 nemen,

Ik zal u hooge wil maar slap'lijk tegen staan.

Gaat, neemt hem, ik laat los, ontfangt, ik laat hem
 gaan;

endure it. Now at the same time I fear for the future and must lament my present grief. Anxiously I fear a grievous onslaught, which, when it reaches me, will easily banish my fear. But I detain you, my Lord, you are waiting to receive [220] the child from me, the one I deliver to you and yet hesitate to deliver. You wait for that which I myself have long expected,—my final appearance, alas, my last good night. Keep him, but still let me kiss his lips for the last time. Oh tears! that you could and might extinguish the natural fire which yet warms my soul, and let this lamp which has nearly failed, be finally extinguished. Farewell, my dear life! But ah! my hand is willing to give him up, but my heart cannot. And I will not surrender him; I will not be the cause [230] of his death and of my own deadly grief. I will not betray him. Why lament longer? If you desire him, my Lord, you may take him. I will oppose your high will but weakly. Go, take him, I let him go;

Maar wat hem overkomt, gy moet u ziel verpanden,
 Alleenig zal ik hem weêr eischen van u handen.
 Gaat Bisschop, gaat mijn kind! vertrekt, gy hebt ver-
 lof.

BISS: Vaart wel Mevrouw, den Heer die wisch u tranen of,
 Die wil u droeve zorg met nieuwe vreugt betalen.

[240] KON: Of eer op 't alderlest ten gravewaard doen
 dalen.

Ach! brengt my na mijn bed, mijn dochters, brengt
 my heen,

'k En mag van droefheid my niet houden op de leên.
 Heer Hastings, zo gy wilt, gy hebt verlof te scheiden.

HAST: Mevrouw, ik moet u eerst tot uwe rust geleiden.

ACT. I. Scene 3.

BUCKINGHAM. HARTOG VAN GLOUCESTER. BISSCHOP VAN IORK.

BUK: En ofze niet en wou?

HART: Men zouze moeten dwingen.

BUK: En waar dog toe?

HART: Om op een andren toon te zingen.

seize him; I release him; but whatever happens to him, your soul
 must be surety. From your hands alone shall I demand him again.
 Go, Bishop; go my child; depart; you have my permission.

BISH: Farewell, my Lady. May the Lord dry your tears,—He
 who will reward your bitter grief with new joy.

[240] QUEEN: Or rather, at the last make me descend into the
 grave. Oh, take me to my bed, my daughters, bear me hence. For
 very sorrow I may not stand upon my legs. Lord Hastings, if you
 desire it, you have my permission to depart.

HAST: My Lady, I must first conduct you to your couch.

BUCKINGHAM, DUKE OF GLOUCESTER, BISHOP OF YORK

BUCK: And what if she did not wish to do it?

DUKE: She would have to be compelled to do it.

BUCK: And for what purpose?

DUKE: In order to sing in another key.

BUCK: The holy place protects her from your compulsion.

BUK: De heil'ge plaats houd haar voor uwe dwang bevrijt.

HART: Voor Koningen en is geen plaats genoeg gewijt.

BUK: Zo acht gy dan gering zo diere vrygheden.

HART: Als zulks de staat vereischt, en's Konings woord, met reden,

BUK: Zo kan ik niet verstaan wat Heiligdom beduit.

HART: Ik wonder wel.

BUK: Het komt noch op mijn zeggen uit,

U vierigheid zal ons de kans de rug doen bieden.

[10] HART: Wat veinzery vermach, dat zal door my geschieden:

Voor my, ik geef u weêr op nieuw mijn eed en woort;

Mijn Graafschap Hartfort is het uwe rechtevoort,

Indien gy my u hand en bystant wilt vergonnen,

Voorts weet gy wat mijn gunst te weeg zal brengen kunnen,

Wanneer door houwelijk ons huizen zijn verplicht;

Wie is zo stout die ons maar geeft een quaat gezicht?

Als mijne Neven dan daar na door mijne handen

Vermoort.

BUK: Wat zeit de Vorst?

DUKE: No place is consecrated enough to afford protection from a king.

BUK: So you have but scant respect for such precious prerogatives.

DUKE: If the State and the King's decree demand it, but within reason.

BUK: Then I cannot understand what sanctuary means.

DUKE: I wonder indeed.

BUK: It will come to pass just as I tell you. Your zeal will cause Fortune to turn her back upon us.

[10] DUKE: What dissimulation can do, that I shall do. As for me, I give you my oath and promise anew that my dukedom of Hartford shall be yours at once, if you will but grant me your hand and support. You know what my favor will be able to accomplish further, when our houses are bound together in marriage; who will be bold enough then to make a wry face at us? When my nephews by my hands have been murdered—.

BUK: What, my Lord!

HART: Verzonden, of in banden.

Gelegt zijn, of het geen gy zelfs het zekerst acht.

[20] **BUK:** Wat gy besluit, of niet mijn Heer, in u gedacht,
'k En hoop niet dat gy zoud u Neven onheil brouwen,
Was't zo? rond uit, zo was de raadsdag my berouwen;
Laat u de heerschzucht doch vervoeren nooit zo veer,
(Dat ik dus ernstig ben vergeeft my doch mijn Heer)
Den Hemel wil u voor alzulken zin behoeden,
Zou't zo toegaan, 't gedijde ons nimmermeer ten
goede,

Uit schelms bestaan en nam nooit Christen goede
hoop.

HART: Stelt gy een Koninkrijk, een Kroone zo goet koop?

BUK: Acht gy onnoozel bloed dan zo gering van waarden?

[30] **HART:** Hy moet geen bloed ontzien die Scepters durft
aanvaarden,
Gemeenlijk koopt men zo de Rijken.

BUK: Wel, voor my,
Heeft sulks de Rijkxvoogt voor, ik hou mijn handen
vry.

HART: Een kind'ren hart heeft nooit een mannen daad be-
gonnen.

DUKE: Dispatched or put in chains or whatever you yourself
deem the surest way.

[20] **BUCK:** Whatever you have resolved in your mind, I hope
that you would not brew mischief for your nephews. Were this so,
frankly I should repent of the plot. Never let ambition lead you
so far astray. (My Lord, you will forgive me that I am thus in
earnest) Heaven will keep you from such a sin. Should such a
thing come to pass, it would never yield us good. A Christian
never derives good hope from the courses of a rogue.

DUKE: Do you consider a kingdom, a crown so cheap?

BUCK: Do you then consider innocent blood of so little worth?

[30] **DUKE:** He who dares to take sceptres must not be afraid
of spilling blood. A kingdom is usually bought in this way.

BUCK: Well, for my part, if the regent has such plans, I shall
keep my hands free.

DUKE: A childish heart has never performed a man's deed.

BUK: Een Christen hart en heeft Gods beelt'nis nooit geschonnen,

Ik zwijg onnoozelen, ik zwijg zijn eigen bloed.

HART: Ik ben mijn zelfs het naast.

BUK: Wel, nadert u gemoed

Dan noch een weinig, en bezieet of gy kunt vinden

Geen driften, die u aan u eigen zelf verbinden.

HART: Och, dat ik d'eerste was die zulks ten ende bragt.

[40] BUK: Och! dat dit was het laatst dat zulks u harte dacht.

Beraad u beter, en verwerpt die snoo gedachten.

HART: Wat zoud gy om te doen voor ons dan beter achten?

BUK: Bewaart haar, steltze vast. Hoe Prins! mishaaft u dat?

HART: 'k En zie nooit tot mijn wit te komen langs dat pat,

Een korter word ons door een stoute daad gewezen.

BUK: Maar veel onveiliger.

HART: Wat stond' my niet te vreezen

Voor oproer, list, bedrog, verrassen en verraad,

Zo lang zy leefden.

BUK: Zeg, uit zo vervloekten daad;

Wat eerlijk Engelsman uit edel zaad gewonnen,

[50] Met goede oogen zulks niet zou beschouwen konnen,

BUCK: A Christian heart has never sullied God's image, to say nothing of the innocent, to say nothing of his own blood.

DUKE: I am myself his nearest kin.

BUCK: Well, commune with your own soul, be still a little and see if you can find no impulse to bind you to your true self.

DUKE: Oh that I were the first to accomplish such a thing!

[40] BUCK: Oh that this might be the last thing your heart would think of! Be better advised and reject this wicked thought.

DUKE: What in your opinion were it better for us to do?

BUCK: Guard them; imprison them. What, Prince! does that displease you?

DUKE: I see no way of reaching my goal along that path. A shorter one is shown us by a bold deed.

BUCK: But much less safe.

DUKE: What turmoil, cunning, deceit, surprise and treason should I not fear, as long as they were alive?

BUCK: Say, rather, because of such an accursed deed every honorable Englishman of noble birth, [50] who could not regard such

Was strakx een aanwas tot beroerten in u staat;
 Of d'een of d'ander, die u handel tegen gaat,
 Was machtig om u Kroon en leven te berooven,
 Zo dik zijn moedigheid zijn reden gink te boven;
 Of't leven minder wierd van prijs als lof en eer,
 Elk na Tyrannen bloed zou dorsten even zeer.

HART: Die schantnaam en zal ik doch echter niet ontvlieden.

BUK: 't Is beter zonder bloed te winnen het gebieden,
 Als dat men zijne Troon op bloed en tranen vest,
 [60] Als't quaat zal zijn, is 't minst te kiezen 't alderbest.

HART: 't Is maar een voorstel, en noch var van mijn geden-
 ken,

En of ik toestand hen aan't leven niet te krenken,
 Met wat voor middelen, zeg op, en wat voor kunst
 Breng ik hen uit, en my in d'onderdanen gunst!
 Men kent hen datze zijn uit Eduard gesprooten,
 My voor een broeder, hen voor erfelijke looten.

BUK: Zulx moest door loosheid zijn verduistert en verdooft,
 Men geef van Bastardy een brandmerk voor haar
 hoofd.

HART: Van Bastardy! hoe dat?

BUK: De wettigheid te stooren

an act approvingly, would immediately add strength to the turmoil in your kingdom. Someone or other who objected to your acts would be strong enough to rob you of your crown and your life as surely as his bravery was stronger than his reason. Whether or not mere life is worth more than praise and honor, in any case, everyone would thirst equally for a tyrant's blood.

DUKE: That shameful name I shall not escape in any case.

BUCK: It is better to gain a kingdom without bloodshed than to establish a throne on blood and tears. [60] When some evil is inevitable, it is best to choose the least one.

DUKE: It is but a suggestion and still far from my thought. And if I agree that their lives are not to be injured, by what means pray, and by what sort of art shall I supersede them in favor with the subjects? It is known that they are born of Edward's stock, and that I am his brother and they, his legitimate offspring.

BUCK: This must be made obscure and destroyed through cunning. Let them be branded with bastardy.

DUKE: With bastardy? How?

BUCK: By destroying the legitimacy [70] of the marriage from

[70] Van't houwelijk, waar uit zy beide zijn gebooren:
 Gy weet, en dit en komt u nu niet eerst te voor,
 U broeders trouwbeloft' met vrou Eleanoor,
 Met Talbeth naderhand verknocht door echte banden,
 En hoe dat evenwel zijn eed en waarde panden
 Te rug gestelt, hy des niet minder naderhand
 Gaf aan Elizabeth troulooslijk zijne hand;
 Gy vat mijn meening, hier is iets om op te bouwen:
 Men zal de goê Gemeent dien handel voor doen
 houwten,

En hunne Bastardy bevesten op die grond:

[80] En door wie anders als der Geestelijken mond?
 Geen krachtiger venijn en doet d'onnooss' len slapen,
 Als't smakeloos vergift van opgeruide Papen,
 Verknocht door giften tot een snoode broederschap,
 En die hun valsch verraad verbergen door de kap.
 Laat my begaan, ik weet het alles wel te klaren.

HART: Ik ben benieuwt hoe dat den Kancelier zal varen,
 En wat in deze zaak by hem zal zijn gedaan.

BUK: 't Is te vergeefs gezorgt, zwijg stil, daar komt hy aan,
 Beneffens't jonge kind.

HART: Nu is het tijd te veinzen.
 Hoe vaart Mevrouw, mijn vriend?

which they have both been born. You know (and this does not occur to you for the first time) of your brother's betrothal with lady Eleanor, afterward joined with Talbeth in marriage; how later, nevertheless he gave his hand faithlessly to Elizabeth although in so doing he broke his pledge and his oath. You comprehend my intention; here is something on which to build. These acts ought to be put before the people and the bastardy of his sons established on these [80] grounds, and through whom but the priesthood? No venom puts innocent people more surely to sleep than the tasteless poison of incited Popery,—those who, bound by their wives into a wicked fraternity conceal their false deceit with their cope. Let me proceed; I know how to have it accomplished.

DUKE: I am anxious to know how that will strike the chancellor and what he will do in this affair.

BUK: Your anxiety is in vain. Silence, there he comes, together with the child.

DUKE: Now is the time to dissemble. How fares my Lady, my friend?

- [90] BISS: Dat kunt gy zelf wel peinzen,
 Een moeders hart hoe nood' het zulke panden geef.
- HART: Vergeefze moeilijkheid. Weest welkom lieve Neef,
 Den Heer die weet alleen, gezeten in den hooge,
 Met welken vreugt ik u doorluchtigheid beooge;
 U naakt noch smart noch smaat, ten minsten dat ik
 weet,
 Is moeder droevig, dat is my van harten leet;
 En heeft Mevrouw haar hier zo qualijk in gehouwen,
 Ik hoop zy heeft van my geen quaat of misvertrouwen.
- BISS: Dat's meerder als ik weet, ten minsten geeft het smart,
 [100] Te scheiden van een kind, aan't moederlijke hart,
 't Is al haar troost na't schijnt, en wat belangt het
 schroomen,
 Ik heb het alles op mijn ziel en eed genomen.
 Ontfangt mijn Heer nu voorts het geen my is ver-
 trouwt.
- HART: Getrouwe Heer, ik dank u yver duizentvout;
 Kom gaan wy. dat men voort mijn waarde Neven
 beide
 Met Vorstelijke stoet tot na het Hof geleide,
 Op dat zy in den Tour verzorgt en zeker zijn.
 Mijn Neef, met u verlof. kom Heeren, volgt gy mijn.

[90] BISH: You can well imagine yourself with what difficulty a mother's heart gives up such a pledge.

DUKE: Fruitless anxiety! Welcome, dear nephew, God on His Heavenly throne alone knows with what joy I behold your Highness. Neither grief nor injury threatens you, at least as far as I know. If your mother is sad, that grieves me to the heart. And if my Lady acts with so much grief in this matter, I hope that she has no evil suspicions or mistrust of me.

BISH: That is more than I know. At least it pains a mother's [100] heart to part with a child. He is, it seems, nearly all her comfort; but, as far as her fear is concerned, I have taken an oath on my soul to be responsible for everything. Receive, my Lord, what has been entrusted to me.

DUKE: Faithful Lord, I thank you a thousand times for your zeal. Come let us go. Let both our worthy nephews be conducted to the Court with royal escort that they may be cared for with safety in the Tower. My nephew, by your leave. Come Lords, follow me.

HET TWEEDE BEDRYF

HARTOG VAN GLOCESTER. BUCKINGHAM.

GLOCESTER: Tot noch toe gaat het wel, en alles na mijn hand,
Alleenig Hastings moet nootzakelijk aan kant,
Ik merk hoe zeer hy veinst, en zulks my poogt
t'ontgeven,
Zijn onvervalschte trouw omtrent mijn jonge
Neven:
'k Zou elders achten zulkx een loffelijke daat;
Maar haatze nu, dewijl't my enkel tegen gaat;
'k Heb stofs genoeg om hem die handel te ver-
leeren.
Maar zacht, daar komt hy aan, verzelt met eenige
Heeren.

HASTINGS. HARTOG. BISSCHOP VAN IORK. BUCKINGHAM.
STANLEY.

HASTINGS: Den Rigkxvoogt zy gegroet.

HART: De Heeren van gelijk,
Gy komt heel wel te pas, ten dienste van het Rijk,

THE SECOND ACT

DUKE OF GLOUCESTER. BUCKINGHAM.

DUKE: Up till now all goes well and everything plays into my hand. Only Hastings must necessarily be despatched. I mark how he feigns, and how he tries to conceal from me his genuine loyalty to my young nephew. Under other conditions I should consider such conduct praiseworthy. But now I hate it because it is directed solely against me. I have cause enough to make him unlearn this way of acting. But soft, there he comes accompanied by some gentlemen.

ACT II. Scene 2.

HASTINGS, DUKE, BISHOP OF YORK, BUCKINGHAM, STANLEY.

HASTINGS: Greetings to the regent.

Om van de krooning van ons jonge Vorst te spreken:
De tijd die nadert vast, en om in geen gebreken
Te blyven, is het nut de zaken gaê te slaan.
Is't alles wel?

BISS: God lof.

HART: De Vorsten zitten aan.

BUK: De Rijxvoogt neem zijn plaats.

HART: Ik moet wat staande kouten.

Heer Bisschop, by zo var'k mijn zelven dorst ver-
stouten,

[10] Een beed' was 't die ik u wel garen vergen zou.

BISS: Een beed'mijn Heer!

HART: Een beed', en die ik u vertrouw
Gy niet zult weigeren.

BISS: Geenzins.

HART: Ik ben met lusten,
En kreeg ik't niet, gewis ik zou niet kunnen rusten;
Ik hoor gy schoone vrucht in uwen boomgaard hebt,
En schoon ik weet dat gy daar groot vermaak in
schept,

Verzoek ik, ach! 'k en durf, ik schei'er uit ten lesten.

BISS: Zo't u gelieft mijn Heer, 't is al tot uwen besten.

DUKE: The same to the Lords. You come in good time to serve the kingdom by discussing the coronation of our young Prince. The time is surely approaching, and in order to have nothing neglected, it is necessary to consider the matter. Is all well?

BISHOP: Yes, thank God.

DUKE: Let the Princes take their places.

BUCK: Let the regent take his place.

DUKE: I must chat a little standing. Lord Bishop, if I dare venture it, [10] there is a request which I should like to make of you.

BISH: A request, my Lord?

DUKE: A request,—one which I trust that you will not refuse.

BISH: By no means.

DUKE: I have desires and if I do not satisfy them, I shall surely not be able to rest. I hear that you have fine fruit in your orchard, and I already know that you take great delight in it. I ask, yes, I dare it. No, I shall have to give it up after all.

BISH: As you wish, my Lord; it is just as you please.

HART: Een schotel.

BISS: Ei! waar van.

HART: Maar van u aardbezien.

BISS: Is dat ook vragens waard? mijn Heer wil slechts gebiën.

Mijn dienaar, ga terstond zijn Hoogheid te vernoegen.

[20] HART: Heer Hastings, 'k moet my nu een weinig by u voegen.

HAST: Kan ik mijn Heer dan ook een welgevallen doen?

BUK: Zijn Hoogheid is verheugt.

STANL: Niet waar?

HART: Na mijn vermoên,
U Bruiloftsfeest die zal ons haast zijn vreugde toonen,
Na's Konings Krooning zal men u ook moeten kroonen.

HAST: Den Rijkxvoogt boert.

HART: 'k En doe, gelooft, ik spreek hier ront,
'k Ben ernstig in mijn hart, al lach ik met de mond;
Maar Heeren, om een zaak die 'k noodig moet bedekken,
Moet ik een weinig na mijn eenigheid vertrekken,
En dadelijk zal ik hier weder by u zijn.

DUKE: A dish.

BISH: Of what?

DUKE: Why, of your strawberries.

BISH: Is that worth asking for? My lord has only to command.
My servant, go immediately to please his Highness.

[20] DUKE: Lord Hastings, I must now join you for a little while.

HAST: Can I also do my Lord a favor?

BUK: His Highness is in a good humour.

STAN: Is he not?

DUKE: I expect that your wedding will soon be joyfully celebrated. After the King's coronation you must be crowned.

HAST: The Regent jests.

DUKE: Believe me, in this matter I speak quite frankly. I am serious at heart, although I laugh with my mouth. But Lords, because of a fact which I must of necessity conceal, I must depart to

[30] Mijn dienaars, haalt terwijl een fles vol Grieksche wijn.

STANL: Heer Hastings, hoor een woort.

HAST: Wat zal mijn vriend gebieden!

BUK: 't Is quaat te handelen met naauezette lieden,
By namen daar men slechts op bloot vermoeden bouwt,
't Is wonder datze u noch zo veel heeft toevertrouwt.

HAST: Dit is al weêr aan, is't!

STANL: Gy spot weêr met mijn spreken.

HAST: Al weêr aan komt gy my het hooft met droomen breken,

Een man als gy, gaf nooit die beuzelen geloof.

BISS: In die gelegenheid is't oor voor reden doof.

HAST: Maar mits gy my zo veel van droomen weet te zeggen,

[40] Moet gy my, zo gy wilt, die droom eens uyt gaan leggen.

STANL: Wèl, hoort dan: 't varken, 't geen u had gewont aan't hooft,

Dat is.....

HAST: Spreek zacht.

STAUL: Mijn Heer den Rijkxvoogt, en gelooft

be alone for a little while, but I shall soon be here with you again.

[30] My servants, bring straightway a flask of Grecian wine.

STAN: Lord Hastings, a word with you.

HASTINGS: What does my friend wish?

BUCK: It is hard to deal with suspicious people; chiefly because they build on mere supposition. It is a wonder that she has confided so much to you.

HAST: You are at it again, are you?

STAN: You ridicule my speech again?

HAST: Again you come to addle my head with dreams. A man like you surely never gives credence to trifles.

BISH: On this occasion your ear is deaf to reason.

HAST: But if you can tell me so much about dreams, [40] you must, if you will, proceed to explain this dream too.

STAN: Well, hear then, the boar, the one that wounded your head, that is.....

HAST: Speak softly.

STAN: My Lord the Regent; and, believe me, if he is now brew-

Indien geen ongeval van hem u word gebrouwen,
Zo wilt u leven aan mijn woorden niet vertrouwen.

HAST: Om dat hy't tandig zwijn in zijne wapens voert?
Heer Stanley.

STAN: Wel! gy houd mijn woorden dan voor boert,
Wacht op het end.

HAST: Ik hoop my voor mijn leed te wachten;
Terwijl lach ik met u ydele gedachten:

[50] Ha! ha!

BUK: Wat is 'er goets, Heer Hastings, dus verheugt?
Dat moet wat zonders zijn.

HAST: Gelijk gy denken meugt
Mijn Heer.

BUK: Of hebt gy't een of't ander nieuws vernomen?

HAST: Heer Stanley zou my graag doen dromen door zijn
dromen.

BUK: Daar toe is uwe geest, Heer Hastings, al te eel.

HAST: Behalven dat houd' ik van dromen niets te veel.
Heer Stanley droomt zeer wel, hoewel ik lach met
dezen.

STAN: Ik hoop ook dat het ons maar lacchens werk zal wezen.
Maar ziet, den Rijkxvoogt komt.

ing no misfortune for you, then do not trust your life to my words.

HAST: Is that because he bears the toothed boar in his coat of
arms, Lord Stanley?

STAN: Well, you treat my words then as a jest. Do but await
the issue.

HAST: I hope to protect myself from harm. In the meantime I
laugh at your idle thoughts: [50] Ha, ha.

BUK: What is the joke, Lord Hastings, that thus amuses you?
It must be something extraordinary.

HAST: Just what you might expect, my Lord.

BUK: Have you perhaps heard some piece of news?

HAST: Lord Stanley would make me dream because of his dream.

BUK: For that your spirit is altogether too noble, Lord Hast-
ings.

HAST: Besides I am not overfond of dreaming. Lord Stanley
to be sure, has dreams, but I laugh at them.

STAN: I hope too, that it will prove to be only a laughing mat-
ter for us. But see, the Regent comes.

HAST: My dunkt hy is verstoort.
 BUK: Mijn Heer, is u iets quaats bejagent?
 HAST: Niet een woort!
 [60] Heer Kancelier, wat's dit?
 BISS: Wat heeft u overvallen,
 Doorluchte Vorst?
 STANL: Hy zwijgt.
 HAST: Heer Rijkxvoogt.
 STAN: Niet met allen,
 Geen redenen altoos, help Hemel! wat zal't zijn?
 BUK: Zijn Hoogheid open doch zijn mond.
 HART: O mijn! ô mijn!
 BISS: Mijn Heer.
 HART: O boosheit!
 BUK: Ach! wilt dog u hart opbreken.
 HAST: Het schijnt de moed is vol, hy wil en kan niet spreke
 BUK: Wat is den Vorst gebeurt?
 HART: O goddeloos verraad!
 STAN: Wat's dit?
 BUK: Wie is hy die na zulken onheil staat?

HAST: He seems to be disturbed.
 BUCK: My Lord, have you met with any misfortune?
 HAST: Not a word! [60] Lord Chancellor, what is this?
 BISH: What has come over you, Illustrious Prince?
 STAN: He is silent.
 HAST: Lord Regent.
 STAN: Nothing at all, still no answer! Heaven help us; what
 the matter?
 BUCK: Your Highness, do but open your mouth.
 DUKE: Ah me! Ah me!
 BISH: My Lord!
 DUKE: Oh wickedness!
 BUCK: Will your heart then yield its secret?
 HAST: His heart seems too full; he can and will not speak.
 BUCK: What has happened to the Prince?
 DUKE: Oh godless treachery!
 STAN: What is it?
 BUCK: Who is he who attempts such mischief? Let the Pri
 give answer.

¹ Literally "vomit up."

De Vorst geef ons bescheit.

HART: Een ding moet ik u vragen:

Hy die den Rijkxvoogt, door verborge list en lagen,
Na lijf en leven heeft moordadiglijk getracht,

[70] Na't Rijk zijn ondergang, was't slechts in zijne macht,
Wat straf is deze waard, ik vraag't u al te gader?
Hoe! zwijgt gy?

HAST: Om gestraft te zijn als een verrader.

HART: Gy opent my de mond. Zegt, waarom is 'et dan
Dat d'oude Toveres, die broeder tot haar man
Gekent heeft, en geenzins verdient heeft zulk een eere,
Dus heeft getracht mijn lijf en leven ,ten begeere
Van Jane Shoor, die gy als voor u byslaap houd,
Te krenken met verraad, door deze twee gebrouwt,
[80] 't En waar my d'Hemel in zijn bystant had genomen,
Waar door ik echter noch hun lagen ben ontkomen;
Doch zo niet, of zy heeft, gelijk gy zelf beoogt,
Door haar vervloekte kunst dit eed'le lit verdroogt;
Bezieet het kost'lijk pand het welk my is benomen,
En door geen middel staat om weêr te recht te komen;
Bezieet gy Heeren, merkt het goddeloos verraad.

HAST: Indien de Koningin, door bitt're nijd of haat,

DUKE: One thing I must ask you. He who through hidden ruse
and snares has murderously plotted against the body and life of the
Regent [70] and planned the destruction of the Kingdom, had it
only been in his power; what punishment does such a one deserve?
I ask you one and all. What! Are you silent?

HAST: Let him be punished as a traitor.

DUKE: You open my mouth. Tell me why is it, then, that the
old sorceress, she who has known my brother as her husband and
in no wise has deserved such an honor, thus, for the pleasure of
Jane Shore, whom you hold as your mistress, why, I say, has she
attempted to injure my life and limb through treason planned by
these two? [80] In this affair Heaven has granted me His aid,
through which I have been rescued from their toils. But not so
completely, as you yourself see, but that she, through her accursed
art, has withered this noble limb. Look at this valuable member
which has been taken away from me and will by no means be whole
again. Behold, my Lords, mark the godless treason.

HAST: If the queen, through bitter envy or hatred has wounded,

U Hoogheid heeft gequetst, beledigt, of geschonden,
 Tot haar verschooning is geen tong in mijnen monde;
 [90] Maar wat dat Jane Shoor ten laatsten aan mach gaan,
 Ik ken haar onschult, en ik weet daar is niet aan,
 Te goet is't hart om zulk een boosheid te bedryven,
 Verschoont haar, Herr, want ik wil borge voor haar
 blyven.

HART: Gy borge staan voor haar! wie staat dan borg voor u!
 Gy zijt het eens met hen. ziet hier, wat zegt gy nu!

HAST: Wie! ik mijn Heer!

HART: Ja, gy.

HAST: Daar wil my God voor hoede.

HART: Gy zijt alleen den man, ô drog!

HAST: Hou't my ten goede,
 Mijn Heer, gy zijt verdooft, ik stel mijn ziel daar voor.

[100] HART: De zaak leid al te klaar, ô snoode schender!
 hoor:

VAN BIN: Verraat, verlaat.

HART: Zie daar mijn lijfwacht en soldaten.

harm'd, or offend'd you, there is no word in my mouth with which
 to excuse her. [90] But as for Jane Shore, I know her innocence at
 least and know there is nothing in your charge. Her heart is too
 good to commit such an evil deed. Pardon her, my Lord, for I will
 stand surety for her.

DUKE: You stand surety for her! Who, then, will stand surety
 for you? You are at one with her. See here, what do you say now?

HAST: Who! I, my Lord?

DUKE: Yes, you.

HAST: From that may God preserve me.

DUKE: You alone are the man, oh deceit!

HAST: Pardon me, my Lord, you are deceived; upon my soul
 you are.

[100] DUKE: The thing is all too evident, oh wicked violator!
 Hear.

FROM WITHIN: Treason, treason.

DUKE: Come hither, soldiers of my bodyguard.

HOPMAN. MET DE LIJFWACHT. HARTOG. BUCKINGHAM.
BISSCHOP. HASTINGS. STANLEY.

HOP: Wie roert zich hier? zijt gy't?

STAN: Gemak gy onverlaten.

Heer Rijkxvoogt, wat is dit! laat gy dit onheil toe?
Waar in is't dat ik u Doorluchtigheid misdoe?

HART: Laat af, hier is de man.

STAN: Wat reukelooze gangen.

HART: Gy Hastings hebt als nu te wezen mijn gevangen,
'k Beschuldig u, voor al dees Heeren van mijn Staat,
Van t' zamenzweering, en van't opperste verraad;
Des maakt u vaardig, 'k wil terstond het recht vol-
voeren,

Eer wil ik spijs noch drank met mijne lippen roeren.

[10] HAST: Aanhoort.....

HAR: En zwijgt gy niet? verrader! spreekt gy noch?

HAST: Tast gy mijn onschult aan?

HART: U onschult? snood gedroch!

HAST: Stelt.....

ACT II. Scene 3.

CAPTAIN WITH THE BODYGUARD, DUKE, BUCKINGHAM, BISHOP,
HASTINGS, STANLEY.

CAPT: Who is making an uproar here? Are you the one?

STAN: Silence, you miscreant. Lord Protector, what is the mat-
ter? Do you permit this mischief? Wherein have I offended your
majesty?

DUKE: Stop, here is the man.

STAN: How entirely off the scent you are!

DUKE: You, Hastings, now must be my prisoner. I accuse you,
before all these peers of my realm of conspiracy and of the highest
treason. So prepare yourself for this; I desire to do justice ere I
touch meat or drink with my lips.

[10] HAST: Listen.....

DUKE: Are you not silent, traitor? Do you yet speak?

HAST: Do you attack my innocence?

DUKE: Your innocence? Wicked monster!

HAST: Take....

HART: Dwingt u tong.
HAST: My voor-----
HART: 'k Gebied u om te zwijgen.
HAST: Stelt my voor Recht.
HAR: Gy zult terstond u vonnis krijgen.
HAST: En onverhoort?
HART: Ja, reeds verwonnen van de daad.
HAST: Waar is de blijk?
HART: Hier is't.
HAST: Waar van?
HART: Van u verraad.
HAST: Vergun my doch de spraak.
HART: Gy hebt hier niet te spreken.
Vaart met hem voort.
HAST: O Heer! wilt gy mijn onschult wreken.
[20] HART: Mijn Heeren, dit verdriet is my van harten
leedt;
Maar't Recht en mach niet zijn gekreukelt, dat gy't
weet.

DUKE: Hold your tongue.
HAST: Me before.....
DUKE: I command you to keep silent.
HAST: Take me before the court.
DUKE: You shall straightway hear your sentence.
HAST: And unheard.
DUKE: Yes, already condemned by your deeds.
HAST: Where is the proof?
DUKE: It is here.
HAST: Of what?
DUKE: Of your treason.
HAST: But grant me speech.
DUKE: There is nothing for you to say here. Away with him.
HAST: Oh Lord, wilt Thou not avenge my innocence?
[20] DUKE: My Lords, this grief lies heavy on my heart, but
Justice may not be thwarted; that ye know.

STANLEY. BISSCHOP VAN IORCK. ROBERT.

STAN: Nu zien ik't, niemand mach zijn ongeluk ontvlieden,
 En't geen den Hemel wil, dat zal en moet geschieden,
 Vergeefs is't dat den mensch zijn noodlot weder-
 streeft,
 Ent' onty schuwtnen't geen dat God beslooten heeft.
 Heer Kancelier gy ziet, en of wy't niet en zagen,
 Hoe dat den handel van den Rijkxvoogt staat te
 slagen,
 Ons dreigt de ramp genoeg, en twijl men't niet gelooft
 Zo komt ons't ongeval als onverwacht op't hooft.
 Veracht rampzalig mensch, de oop' ning die u dede
 [10] Den Hemel, en verwerpt de reden tegens rede.
 O Hastings! Hastings! zo gy mijn getrouwigheid
 Met hatig ongeloof, en enkel onbescheit
 Niet had verworpen, maar bytijds geduid'ten goede,
 Wie weet het of gy niet dit onheil kost verhoeden.
 Heer Bisschop, maar eilaas! wat dient'er veel gezeit,
 U vriend is't zelve die u dikmaal lagen leid,

ACT II. Scene 4.

STANLEY, BISHOP OF YORK, ROBERT.

STAN: Now I see that no one may escape his misfortune, and that whatever Heaven wills, that shall and must come to pass. In vain it is for man to strive against his fate. And it is in vain¹ to flee from the things that God has decreed. Lord Chancellor, you see, whether we do or not, how the policy of the Regent bids fair to succeed. The calamity threatens us clearly enough and even while it is thought impossible, the disaster will fall unexpectedly upon us. Despise, oh wretched man, (if you will) the warning² [10] which Heaven gave you and unreasonably reject reason. O Hastings! Hastings! if you had not spurned my faithful service with odious unbelief and sheer ungraciousness, but in good season had taken it in good part; who knows whether you might not have avoided your misfortune. Lord Bishop, but alas, to what purpose are many words? It is quite often one's friend himself who lays

¹ Literally, "It is going in the wrong direction."

² Literally, "Opening."

- En van u Broeder word u ondergang beschooren,
 Des, best is't dat ik zwijg, de wanden hebben ooren:
 Niet dat ik u mistrouw, dat wil den Hemel niet!
- [20] Maar d'een of d'ander die ons heimelijk bespriet.
 Dit zal ik zeggen, 't geen my niet en kan bezwaren,
 Ik wenschte aan onzen Vorst een grooter tal van jaren,
 Al zoud' het zelve aan de mijnen zijn gekort,
 (En d'Hemel is mijn tuig dat my de liefde port)
 Zo lief is my't gemeen. nu vrees ik zal ons hind'ren
 Het kleen ontzag van jonge en vaderlooze kind'ren.
 Dat's van de lasten eend die d'onderdaan bereid,
 Het mogende gebied van d'Opperhoofdigheid,
 En't Rijk het welk van stam tot stamme word ged-
 reven,
- [30] En van den Vader erft op kinderen en neven.
 Hier bind u't noodlot aan der Vorsten blaam of deugt
 Met banden, die gy der naturen danken meugt,
 Al dat gy kunt, dat is met u gebeden koopen,
 En met u bidden van den goeden Hemel hoopen
 Een Nazaat voor het Rijk, die pit en harssens heeft,
 En daar de Godlijkheid en gulde deugt in leeft,

snarcs for one; and one's brother who accomplishes one's ruin. Therefore, it is best that I keep silent; the walls have ears. Not that I suspect you, Heaven forbid, [20] but someone or other who is secretly spying upon us. This I shall say and no one can hold it against me. I wish that our Prince could count as his age a greater number of years, even should they be subtracted from my very own. (And Heaven is my witness that it is love that prompts me.) Thus dear is the common weal to me. Now I fear that we shall be embarrassed by the scant respect which men have for young and fatherless children. That is one of the burdens which the mighty power of the chieftainship and the kingdom which descends from family to family [30] and from father first to children and then to nephews, imposes upon subjects. Fate, in this matter, binds one to the faults or virtues of Princes with bands for which one may thank Nature. All that one can do is to purchase, with petitions and prayers, hope that the good Heaven will grant a descendant for the kingdom, who has pith and brain and in whom godlikeness and golden virtue dwell. If one's prayers are answered, it means happiness for many

En lukt het u, 't is heil voor zo veel duizent mannen;
Doch niet, wat leed verwint de boosheid der Tyrannen?

- Maar God verhoede, dat zo var de reden vliên
[40] Van ons vernuft, dat niet ons oog en zoude zien
De straf die nu te recht bezwaart ons aller schoudren,
Door't misverstand begaan voor heen door onze oud'ren,
Toen't wettig errefdeel verloor haar eersten Heer,
En 't Huis van Lankaster voor dat van Mortimeer
Gestelt wierd, in't gezicht van eigen Bloed en Neven,
Daar geen der Vorsten wou zo veel als tegenstreven,
Hoewel men ook genoeg die snoode daad misprees,
En die van Carlil als den middagzon bewees,
Hoe dat niet Hendrik¹ was de eerste van de looten,
[50] Mits uit den Bucchelaar gedaalt en afgesprooten;
Maar eer den Graaf van March, die toen de kans verloor,
Was van een ouder Zoon, een wettelijker oir.
Maar schoon in Ed'ward't Rijk zijn Heer heeft weêr gevonden

thousand men; but if not,—can any grief restrain the wickedness of tyrants? But God forbid that reason should flee so far [40] from our wit that our eyes should not see the penalty which now, rightly inflicted, burdens us all, because of the feud begun of old by our ancestors, when the legitimate line lost its first lord and the House of Lancaster was substituted for that of Mortimer, in sight of his own blood and kin; a penalty imposed because none of the princes would so much as strive against that act, however sufficiently they disapproved of the wicked deed. And the Lord of Carlisle proved as clearly as the noon-day sun that Henry¹ was not the first of the heirs, [50] if he was sprung and descended from the hunchback, but rather that the Duke of March, who then lost the chance, was born from an older son, and so a more legitimate offspring. But although the kingdom has found again its Lord in Edward, our heads are bowed under¹ the burden of great sins. At that time, I say, we

¹ Henry IV.

Blijft echter op ons hals de last van groote sonden:
 Toen, zeg ik, maakten wy ons schuldig aan een quast,
 't Geen eenwig dijd tot schand en smaad van onsen
 staat,

Mits Koning Richard, 't geen noch Pomfret moet
 beklagen,

Den wettelijken Vorst door moorders hand veralagen,
 En zulk een edel bloed zo reuk'loos wierd verplengt,
 't Geen ieder tot een blaam van Engeland gedenkt,

[60] Als 't geen zich zelf zo licht vertast aan wettige Heeren.

BISS: Wat dat belangt, dat was nocht licht lijk te beweezen;
 De schulden doen ter tijd den Vorst te last geleid,
 Bezwaren hem van zwaar gequetster Majesteit.

STAN: Hoe kost hy quetzen 't geen hy zelve moest beklagen?

BISS: De macht des volks.

STAN: Die hem het volk had opgedragen;
 Wie draagt de Majesteit, als die den stoel beslaat?
 't En waar gy teelde twee in een en zelve staat.

BISS: Wy zijn hier vry, en elk mach zijn gevoelen spreken:

[70] Merkt op den handel, en op Richards looze trekken;
 Was hy niet die verdwaast, en quistig te gelijk,

became guilty of a crime, one which forever will remain the shame
 and disgrace of our State, because King Richard, the lawful prince,
 was destroyed by the hand of a murderer,—a crime which Pomfret
 must still lament—and such noble blood was spilled so wantonly.
 [60] Everyone considers it a disgrace to England, that she so
 easily lays hands upon her legitimate Lord.

BISH: As far as that goes, it was easy enough to assert the
 faults, which at that time were laid on the prince as a burden in
 order to accuse him of having gravely injured the royal power.

STAN: Upon what could he inflict injury that he himself would
 not have to lament?

BISH: The power of the people.

STAN: Which the people had conferred on him. Who is en-
 dowed with majesty, if not he who occupies the throne? Unless
 you raise two into one and the same state of power.

BISH: We are free here and each may speak his feeling. [70]
 Observe Richard's behavior, his sly tricks. Was it not he who

¹ Literally, "There remains on our neck."

- Zo schandelijk verdeed de schatten van het Rijk,
In krijgen daar de staat geen nut kost uit bejagen?
- STAN: Om datze quamen toen juist averechts te slagen.
Had hy geen macht daar toe! waarom is't niet belet?
En stond't hem toe te doen! wie stelt de Vorst een
wet?
- BISS: Zo stond hem d'oorlog vry ten last der onderzaten?
- STAN: Zo veel als hem zijn macht en wet scheen toe te laten.
- BISS: Zegt ook met een dat hem zijn Kroon het voordeel gaf,
[80] Te zetten na zijn zin de Standen op en af,
Dat hy den Rijkxraad stelde, en wederom herstellde,
Die voor verraders en voor diergelijke schelde;
Verschoont, zeg ik, met een, en geefst het ook een
glants,
't Vermoorden van zijn Oom, te Kalis, buiten's lands,
Het dwingen van den Bank, om na zijn wil te rechten,
Met wapenen zijn Rijk moetwillig te bevechten,
Zijn trotze woorden, vol van schaad'lijk onverstand,
Dat ieders lijf en goed bestond in zijne hand,
Met goed en bloed alzo van land en volk te speelen,

foolishly and extravagantly wasted the treasures of the kingdom in wars from which the State could derive no profit?

STAN: Because they happened to turn out badly. But did he not have the power to conduct them? Why were they not prevented? And why was he allowed to act? Who imposes laws on a prince?

BISH: Was he free, then, to make war which only placed burdens upon his subjects?

STAN: Yes, in so far as his power and his law seem to permit him.

BISH: Say at once that his crown gave him the right [80] to dismiss and assemble Parliament as his taste dictated, that he established a council of state and again restored it, the members of which he abused as traitors and the like. Excuse, I say, at the same time and glorify the murder of his uncle abroad at Calais, the forcing of the bench to administer justice according to his will; his deliberate attack upon his own kingdom with weapons; his proud words, so full of shameful nonsense that the life and property of everyone rested in his hands in such manner that he could play with the property of his country and the blood of his people,

- [90] Te voeren dit het land de schatten en juweelen,
En watter meerder wierd den Vorst te last geleid.
- STAN: 't Zy var van my, zijn doen en dartel onbescheid,
Zijn quaden handel, en zijn snood bedrijf te rechten,
En zo gerechtigheid hartnekkig te bevechten;
Alleenig dat hy heeft herstelt den grooten Raad,
My dunkt dat zulks niet min in zijn vermogen staat,
Die (daar nooit billijk mensch met reden tegen zeide)
Vermag alleenig die te roepen en te scheiden;
En volgens dien na eisch de leden zelf des Raads
- [100] Te stellen af, en weêr een ander in de plaats;
En of alzulks geenzins genoegzaam toe kost langen,
Wie geeft den Raad de macht te spannen of te vangen?
Die zelf een lit, ja meer, het hooft is van den Raad,
En zonder wie geen macht noch vonnis en bestaat;
Ja, zonder wie (al spreekt my tegen geen of dezen)
Die te gelijk verliest zijn naam, zijn kracht en wezen:
Ook wierd'er vorder niet in deze zaak gedaan,
Als hem te dwingen om zijn Scepter af te staan,
En om dat dwang ook zelf met reden zou verschillen,
- [110] Volgd'hy daar in de dwang en keur van eigen wille,
En zo zijn eigen zin daar tegens had gezecht,

[90] and remove from the country the treasures and jewels; and all the other things that have been charged to the prince.

STAN: Far be it from me to justify his deeds and wanton indiscretion, his wicked actions, his dastardly procedure and his stubborn opposition to justice. Only as to his change in the great council, methinks that such a thing was not less in his power than his sole right to summon and dismiss the members of the council (and against this latter prerogative, no fair-minded man has ever said anything in reason) and, as may prove necessary, [100] to dissolve it and set up another in its place. And even if he had not possessed that power as a right, who gives the council the power to sit in judgment and to imprison? He, who is himself a member, yes, more, is the head of the Council, and without whom no power or judgment exists. Yes, without whom (altho someone may contradict me) this council loses alike its name, its validity and its existence. And if nothing else had been done in this matter except to force him to yield his scepter, and if, because constraint differs from reason, [110] in this matter he had followed the constraint and

Hy had behouden zo zijn Scepter als zijn Recht;
Maar wat men doen mocht, was zijn hoog gezag te
vleug'len,

Met wiegering van geld zijn dolle moed te teug'len,
Die licht vergaat wanneer geen voorraad word be-
schaft,

En dat's, na mijn verstand, een Vorst genoeg ges-
traft.

Verschil is, tussehen een op's Vaders Troon gestegen,
En hem, die zijn gebied by keurregt heeft verkregen.

BISS: Zo was de staat gepárst met slaverny op't zeerst.

[120] STAN: In rechte vryheid, als het billijk word beheerst.

BISS: Een groote zwaarigheid in Opperhoofts gebieden.

STAN: Daar geenzins vry van is de macht der minderlieden;
Merkt op't verschil en twist, de schendige eigenbaat,
d'Onorden in het land, de lankzaamheid van raad,
Wanneerder meer als een, met macht gelijk gemeten,
De staat gebied, en aan den helmstok is gezeten,
En als...Maar wat is dit! mijn dienaar, wat voor
máár

Ach! Hastings is al dood, ik zie't uit zijn gebaar.

ROB: O wreede tyranny! ô wat ongodlijk moorden!

choice of his will, he would have kept his sceptre and his right. But what they could have done was to restrain his high authority and, by the refusal of money, to bridle his mad disposition, which is easily dissipated whenever no provision is made for it. And that is, according to my belief, punishment enough for a Prince. The difference is that between one who mounts his father's throne and one who has gained his dominion by election.

BISH: In this way the state would be oppressed with slavery in the most extreme form.

[120] STAN: Rather exist in true freedom, if it be justly ruled.

BISH: A difficult thing under the rule of an absolute monarch.

STAN: The power of lesser nobles is in no wise free from this difficulty. Observe the dissension and quarrels, the shameful selfishness, the disorder in the land, the slowness of justice whenever more than one, equally supplied with power, rules the state and is put at the helm and— But what is this? My servant, what is the news? Alas! Hastings is dead. I see it in his bearing.

ROB: Oh cruel tyranny! Oh what an ungodly murder!

[130] BISS: Zwijgt stil, zier waar gy zijt, en let wat op u woorden.

Is Hastings om den hals gebracht, gy diennar? zegt.

ROB: Ja, Heer.

STAN: En waar omtrent?

ROB: Hier by, op 't Groene regt.

STAN: O droeve máár! en hoe heeft hy zich toch gedragen!

ROB: Men hoorde uit zijn mond geen zuchten noch geen klagen,

Maar't wezen stond zo vroom als't ooit te vooren stond.

Dees woorden ik alleen ofting uit zijne mond:

Gy dienaar, zegt u Heer dat ik met duizent reden

Hem schuldig ben voor zijn genoten vriend'lijkheden,

En groet hem duizentmaal van my, rampzalig mensch,

[140] En zegt hem dat ik hem een beter uitgang wensch.

Mit als hy had met my gesproken deze woorden,

Keert hy zich om, en riep, zo dat het ieder hoorden:

Waar blijft nu den Tyran, dat hy zijn honger boet,

En zadige zijn dorst met schuld'loos menschenbloed!

Dat hy zijn valschen arm, bequaam om te verrassen

Onnoosle zielen, nu weêr opstroope, om te plassen

In mijn onschuldig, en maar al te trouwe bloed,

[130] BISH: Keep still, remember where you are, and give some heed to your words. Has Hastings been beheaded? Servant, speak.

ROB: Yes, my Lord.

STAN: And whereabouts.

ROB: Near here, on the Green Field.

STAN: O sad tale! And how did he conduct himself?

ROB: No sighs nor any complaint was heard to issue from his mouth. But his bearing was as pious as it had always been before. These words I alone received from his mouth: "My servant, do you tell your Lord that I for a thousand reasons am in his debt because of the kindness which he has shown me. And greet him a thousand times from me, miserable man, [140] and tell him that I wish him a better end." Immediately after he had spoken these words to me, he turned around and shouted so that everyone heard, "Where is now the Tyrant that satisfies his hunger and slakes his thirst with the blood of innocent men? Let him bare his false arm again, fit to take by surprise innocent souls, in order to splash in my innocent and all too faithful blood and make his deceit clear to all the world."

En maake zijn bedrog voor al de werelt goet.
 Mit greep hy by de hand den beul, die hem geleide
 [150] Ter slachtbank, daar hy strakx zich tot de dood
 bereide;

Zijn lokken bond hy zelf met banden boven't hooft,
 En met een kloekheid, meer als eenig mensch gelooft,
 Leid hy zich op een balk daar by geval gevonden,
 En zonder dat hy aan zijn oogen was verbonden,
 Wacht hy den slag, die hem terstont de moortbijn gaf,
 En scheide 't loflijk hooft alzo van't lichaam af.

STAN: O moort! ô ongeval! ô ongehoorde daden!
 O schelm.....

BISS: Heer Stanley, zwijg, u stem zou u verraden.
 Kom gaan wy daar gy om te klagen zeker zijt,
 Het best van al dat is te veinzen voor een tijd.

HARTOG. BUCKINGHAM. DIENAAR. BODE.

HART: 't Is dan volvoert, en dus is Hastings omgekomen,
 En dezen hinderpaal is eind'lijk weghgenomen;
 Heer Buckingham 't gaat wel, zo komt men tot het wit

Then gripped he by the hand the executioner, who led him [150]
 to the block, where he straightway made himself ready for death.
 He himself bound his locks with a band on the top of his head and
 with a courage, greater than anyone believed possible for any man
 to show, he laid himself on a beam found there by chance and with-
 out having his eyes bound, he waited for the blow, which the mur-
 derous axe immediately gave him, and thus cut the praiseworthy
 head from the body.

STAN: Oh death! Oh evil chance! Oh deed unheard of! Oh
 wretch.....

BISH: Lord Stanley, keep silent, your voice might betray you.
 [160] Come let us go where you are safe to lament. The best
 course of all to pursue is to dissemble for a time.

ACT II. Scene 5.

DUKE, BUCKINGHAM, SERVANT, MESSENGER.

DUKE: It is then accomplished and thus Hastings is destroyed,
 and this obstacle is finally removed. Lord Buckingham, all goes
 well. Thus do we approach the end of our desire, and the royal pos-

Van ons begeeren, en het Vorstelijk bezit
Van Broeders Kroon, die eer mijn mannenkruin al
passen

Als hem, wiens teed're kracht noch tijd eischt om te
wassen.

Dit Rijk is veel te groot voor zijn onnezelheid,
En wy te oud, om door een kinderlijk beleid
Gezolt te zijn, en ik en weet niet waar gedreven,

- [10] Ik zoek het best van't Rijk, en't best van mijne Neven:
Op dat zo grooten last hen niet te zwaar zou zijn
Ontlast ik hunnen hals, en stapelze op de mijn,
Dat pak van staat en valt my niet te zwaar om dragen,
Ik neem hun moeiten wech, en d'onderdaan het klagen.

DIEN: Genadig Heer, een Bood'.....

HART: Wat zegt gy?

DIEN: Een gezant

Van Pomfret, wacht vast om te kussen uwe hand.

HART: Wie zend hem?

DIEN: Ratclif, 't schijnt hy wil iets openbaren.

HART: 't Is tien om een hy brengt ons and're nieuwe mären;

- [20] Maakt dat hy binnen komt, en laat ons voort alleen.
De Ridders die zijn dood, het leid my op de leên.

session of a brother's crown, which shall fit rather my man's brow than his, whose delicate power still needs time for growth. This kingdom is much too great for his simplicity, and we too old, to be played with by a child's judgment, and led astray by it. [10] I seek the best for the kingdom and the best for my nephews. To prevent so great a burden from being too heavy for them, I remove it from their shoulders, and place it upon mine. The burden of State is not too heavy for me to bear. I relieve them of their trouble, and my subjects of their complaints.

SERVANT: Gracious Lord, a messenger.....

DUKE: What do you say?

SERVANT: An envoy from Pomfret, awaits, sent to kiss your hand.

DUKE: Who sends him?

SERVANT: Ratcliffe, it seems, wishes to reveal something.

DUKE: It is ten to one that he brings us the latest news.¹ [20] Have him come in, and leave us alone immediately. The Lords are

¹ I. e., new reports.

Mijn vriend, wat tyding is't waar meê gy zigt beladen?

Zeg op.

BODE: d'Heer Ratclif kust de hand van u Genade.

HART: Hoe is't met Grai, en die van zijn gezelschap? zegt.

BODE: Zy zijn al omgebragt door handen van't geregt.

HART: Is't zo?

BODE: Mijn oogen zijn van hunne dood getuigen.

HART: Zo moetenze alle voor 't gerecht hun knien buigen,
Die dus verhinderen de welstand van de staat.

Gy Bode, dat gy u dit niet ontvallen laat,

[30] 'k Gebied u op u lijf; gy zult geen loon ontbeeren.

BODE: Ik ben de dienaar van u Vorstelijk begeeren.

HART: Wat dunkt u?

BUK: 't Schijnt het luk begunstigt uwe daad.

HART: Wat nu?

BUK: Dat men terstond de hand aan't werrik slaat,
Past gy op d'uw, ik ga terstond mijn rolle speelen,
Den Raad van Londen is, gelijk ik acht, ten deelen,
Of wel geheel vergaart, den Stadsvoogt heeft het
woord.

dead, I feel it in my bones. My friend, what are the tidings that you bear? Speak out.

MESSENGER: The Lord Ratcliffe kisses the hand of your Grace.

DUKE: How is it with Gray and those of his company? Speak.

MESSENGER: They have all been executed by the hands of justice.

Duke: Is it so?

MESSENGER: My eyes are the witnesses of their death.

DUKE: Thus may all who hinder the welfare of the state bow their knees before justice. Messenger, [30] I command you on your life to keep this secret,¹ you shall not lack reward.

MESSENGER: I am the servant of your princely desire.

DUKE: How does it seem to you?

BUCK: It seems that fortune favors your deed.

DUKE: What now?

BUCK: Do you play your part in such a way that hands are at once set to work. I go at once to play my rôle. The Council of London is, I think, either partly or entirely convened. The Mayor has the floor.

¹ Literally, "Not to let this escape you."

HART: Let wel op't geen gy doet.

BUK: Ik vaar daar strakx me voort.

HET DARDE BEDRYF.

BUCKINGHAM. MAJOR. RAAD VAN LONDEN.

BUK: Myn Heer den Stadvoogt, gy aanzienlijke Raad,
 Beroemde Burgery, en Dienaars van de Staat,
 Gy alle die het Rijk gedijd 'tot vaste schragen,
 Iets wichtigs staat my nu de Heeren voor te dragen.
 U allen is bekend, en't stoot u noch op't hart,
 Het leed geleden by het Rijk van Eduard,
 En wat voor ongemak, in die bedroefde tijden,
 Het Rijk, het volk, de Staat te zamen had te lyden,
 U, zeg ik, staat noch voor, 't geen ieder noch beklaagt,
 [10] De zware lasten die als noch u schouder draagt,
 Met meer geweld als recht van hem u opgedrongen,
 Alleenig om zijn moed, zo fier als onbedwongen,
 Te stijven in't vervolg van oorlog en van leed,

DUKE: Take heed of what you do.

BUOK: I go thither at once.

THE THIRD ACT.

BUCKINGHAM, MAYOR, COUNCIL OF LONDON.

BUOK: My Lord Mayor, distinguished Council, famous citizens,
 and servants of the Kingdom, all of you who serve as firm pillars of
 the State, I have something of importance to present to the Lords.
 You all know what suffering Edward has inflicted upon the Kingdom
 and it still affects you; and what kind of trouble in those grievous
 times the kingdom, the people, the state together were compelled
 to suffer. You, I say, remember what everyone still complains of,
 [10] —the heavy burdens which even yet your shoulders bear. He
 imposed them on you more through force than justice, only in
 order to stiffen his spirit, as proud as unbridled, in the pursuit of
 war and harm, more to our hurt than our advantage, as you all

- Tot meerder schade als nut, gelijk gy alle weet,
 't Geen meenig onderdaan noch heden moet bezuuren,
 En meenig stad beschreit met neêrgesloopte muuren,
 't Geen meenig Weeuw en Wees, och! dat het God
 verdroot,
 Berooft heeft van haar man, van vader, en van brood;
 Wie telt de zwarigheên gekomen op ons allen
 [20] Door zijn onstuimigheid, en zo veel ongevallen?
 Wie telt de lijken, die veel meer zijn als men looft,
 En daar het Vaderland blijft eeuwig van berooft?
 Wat spreek ik veel? daar gy noch meerder hebt
 geleden,
 En ons verdriet als nu die ongeregeltheden.
 Nu, zeg, ik, is ons wensch en bidden spaade en vroeg
 Het droevig zwaert te zien verandert in den ploeg,
 Den krijgsman in den oogst die handen schijnt te
 eissen,
 En daar te schermen met het flikkerende zeissen:
 Dit wenschen wy, en gy, en al de gantsche Staat,
 [30] En niemand is 'er die den oorlog niet en haat.
 Maar iets nochtans schijnt ons in dezen weg te hind-
 ren,
 En vraagt gy wat het is? 't gebied van jonge kind-
 ren;

know. That spirit many subjects even today must atone for, and many a city with demolished walls deplores. That spirit has bereft many widows and orphans, [Oh, that God may be vexed thereby!] of their husbands, of their fathers, and of bread. Who can count the dangers [20] and the many misfortunes come upon us all through his impetuosity? Who can count the dead bodies, which are many more than is believed, bodies of men of which the Fatherland has been forever deprived? Why do I say these things when you have endured much more? And those events have caused more sorrow than these do now. Now, I say, it is our wish and prayer, early and late, to see the grievous sword transformed into the plough, to see the warrior in the harvest field, which seems to need hands, and to see him there fencing with the flickering scythe. These are the things that I and you and the whole state desire, [30] and there is no one who does not hate war. But something yet seems to hinder us in attaining our desires. And do you ask what it is?

Gy weet waar heen ik wil, doch zijt geenzins verschrikt,

Maar eer met rijpen raad en oordeel overwikt,
(Indien gy anders hebt de staat des Rijks begrepen)
Wat zulke Vorsten al verand'ring met zich slepen.
Ons Nagebuuren, meer door vrees als vreë gestilt,
De Frans, de Schot'en Yer, zoo rusteloos als wilt,
Gestijft in grooten hoop door kinderlijk Regeeren,

[40] Niet zullen laten 't zwaert op nieuw naar ons te keeren;

En gawe God dat zulks op slecht vermoeden lag,
En dat men reets daar van geen klare schijn en zag.
En nu, wat raad om zulks met kracht te rug te houwen?
En vraagt gy 't my? de Stoel een ander te vertrouwen,
Die te gelijk betracht u voordeel en u goet,
En schut met enkel macht zoo zwaren watervloet,
Die met een gantsche zee van jammerlijke stroomen,
Ons leider, eer men 't weet, staat op den hals te koomen.

Hier weet ik staat u nu genoegzaam tegens't hart,

[50][†] Te stooten van den Stoel het zaat van Eduard,
De wettelijke kruin van's Vaders Kroon t'ontbloten,

The rule of young children. You know what I am driving at, but be in no wise terrified. But rather consider with ripe counsel and judgment, (in case you have conceived the state of the kingdom to be different) what changes such princes bring in their train. Our neighbors are subdued more through fear than love of peace. The French, the Scotch and the Irish, as restless as wild, stiffened in great hope through the rule of children, [40] will not hesitate to turn the sword against us anew; and God grant that such a thing were founded upon false suspicion and that there were not already clear evidences of it to be seen. And now, how do you advise holding back such forces with might? Do you ask me? I advise entrusting the throne to some one else, to a man who considers alike your advantage and your good, to a man whose single might dams for us an inundation as mighty as an entire sea of wretched streams, which before we are aware of it, will overwhelm¹ our leader. Here I know, that these proposals run counter to your feelings, [50] namely to banish Edward's seed from the throne; to deprive the lawful head of

¹ Literally, "come up to the neck of."

Te spatten uit de reekx van erffelijke looten,
 Het kinderlijke recht te staaten met de voet,
 En alles wat men voorts in zulken handel doet.
 Maar hier in staat my eerst u oogen op te klaren,
 Een schel t'onttrekken, die't gezicht u zoo veel jaren,
 Belemmert heeft, en voor den rechten dag bedekt,
 Op dat gy word te recht uit dezen droom gewekt.
 Wy zijn (en 't doet my zelf den snooden handel
 schamen)

[60] Niet door het echte zaat, noch wettige erfgenamen,
 Maar door een Bastaartspruit, 't geen ons op't hoogste
 smart,

Tot hier en toe beheerst van Konink Eduard.
 Verschrikt vry! lat u dit vry nieuw in d'ooren don-
 dren;

Maar staakt nu wederom, mijn Heeren, het verwon-
 dren,

En treet met my te rug. U staat, vertrouw ik, voor
 Hoe Konink Eduard zijn trouw aan Leonoor,
 (Zoo wettelijk als met gestaafden eed bezwooren,
 Eer dat Elizabeth wierd tot zijn Bruid verkooren)
 Gegeven had, en hy noch echter naderhand,

[70] Ontziende eer noch eed, noch God, noch smaat, noch
 schant,

the father's crown; to interrupt the sequence of hereditary offspring; to spurn the rights of a child; and everything else that must be done in such an affair. But herein it is my duty to clear your eyes, to remove the scales which for so many years have impeded your true vision and hidden the real light of day; so that you may be rightly awakened from this dream. Up to now we have been ruled (and the wicked business makes even me ashamed) [60] not by the real seed or lawful heirs of King Edward,—a fact which pains me in the highest degree—but by a bastard scion of his. Be as terrified as you wish, let this thunder freely in your ears as something new. But now cease wondering again, my men, and turn back with me to the past. You remember, I believe, how King Edward had pledged his troth to Leonore, a troth sworn to as legally as with an authentic oath, before Elizabeth had been chosen for his bride. And you remember how he, afterwards, nevertheless, [70] considering neither honor nor oath, nor God nor insult, nor

En zelve, zonder zich van dezen band te redde,
 Zich heeft bezoedelt met een ander Bruiloftsbedde,
 Daar deze Kinders zijn als wetloos uit geteelt:
 Aanmerkt wat grouwlijkheid in dezen handel speelt.
 Maar denkt niet dat my dit alleenig kan bewegen,
 Het Land, de Stad, ja zelf de Kerk is allerwegen,
 Van deze schantvlek vol, een ieder maakt geluit,
 Den Preekstoel roept alreeds met volle monden uit,
 De vloek die deze daat, dit overspel, is eigen,

- [80] En die gewisselijk ons onheil schijnt te dreigen.
 Zy leeren, en daar is noch raat noch bidden voor,
 Gloucester is alleen zijn's Broeders wettig oir,
 Zijn Vaders beeltenis; des tuigen alle menschen,
 Niet dezen Eduard, noch d'Hartog van Clarencen,
 De rechte spruit van Jork, die't Rijk op schouders
 draagt,

Het welk hy Lankaster ontvoert heeft en ontjaagt;
 Dus roept nu ieder een, en't volk is niet te keeren.
 Maar om een meerder quaat en ongeval te weeren
 Verzoek ik, dat gy hier met my te zamen staat,

- [90] Een Mannenhooft verkiest, en jonge Kinders laat,

shame, without breaking off his union, disgraced himself by another marriage from which these children, as illegitimate, have been born. Observe what horror lurks in this affair. But do not think that this truth has the power to move me alone. The country, the city, yes, the very church everywhere is fully aware of this shameful stain. Everyone spreads the tidings. The clergy already proclaims at the top of its voice the curse which attaches to this adultery, [80] one which really seems to threaten us with disaster. They teach, and from their reasoning there is no appeal, that Gloucester alone is his brother's legitimate heir, the image of his father. All men bear witness to this. "Not this Edward, nor the Duke of Clarence, is the true scion of York, is the man to bear the kingdom on his shoulders, the one of which he has robbed Lancaster and from which he has driven him off." Thus everyone now shouts, and the people is not to be diverted. But in order to ward off a great evil and misfortune, I ask that you cooperate with me in this matter, [90] that you choose a man and pass by young children, cast

- De Bastaartspruit verwerpt, gelijk wy al te zamen,
 En in de plaats verkiest de wettige erfgenamen,
 U onheil koomt te voor, en wijfzelijk voorziet.
 Wat zegt gy Heeren? hoe! en antwoordt gy my niet?
 Heer Major, wat is dit? wat spel zult gy ons speelen?
 Gy mannen, 'k moet u weèr de zaak op nieuw bevelen:
 Voorziet u ongemak, ik raade u voor het lest,
 Betracht de goede stant van het gemeene best,
 Verhoed' gemeene twist, toont u als onderzaten.
- [100] Als noch geen antwoord? kan mijn zeggen dan niet baten?
- Ten dardemaal, al is u onverstant my leet,
 De Staten van het Rijk die zijn al, dat gy't weet,
 De zaken eens, en't werk is vast by hen beslooten,
 Alleenig vond men goet, om u als Staatgenooten,
 De zaak te toonen, om u toestant, en zo niet,
 Uit aller Vorsten last, gy Heeren, ik gebie't,
 Ik wil dat gy u hals voor d'hooge Wet zult buigen,
 Of al de werelt neem ik heden tot getuigen,
 Men zal u van verraad betichten, en de straf,
- [110] 't En zy gy u beraad, en is zoo var niet af.
 Wat zegt gy eind'lijk?

off a bastard-scion, as we all do together, and choose in his place the legitimate heir. Prevent your misfortune, and look ahead with wisdom. What do you say? What? Do you not answer me? Lord Mayor, what is this? What game are you playing on us? You men, I must again commend the affair to you anew. Avoid trouble for the future. I advise you for the last time; consider the welfare of the commonwealth, avert civil strife, act like subjects.

[100] Still no answer. Can my speech then be of no avail? A third time, even though your lack of intelligence pains me, I say for your information that the nobles of the realm are agreed in the affair, and that they have definitely decided the matter. Only it seems wise to reveal the plan to you, as citizens, and to ask your permission; but if I do not obtain it, I shall demand it in the name of all the princes. I wish you to bow down before the high law or, I take the whole world today to witness, you shall be accused of treason, [110] and unless you take better counsel, your punishment is not far off. What do you say then?

DE GEMEENTE: Lang moet Konink Richard leven.

BUK: Lang leve ons wettig Vorst, den Hemel wil hem geven
Zijn vyanden ter neêr te werpen. nu dan, gy
Wie 't is, die ons bemint, die kom en vollië my.

MAJ: Gy ziet mijn Heeren 't werk dat heden is beschooren,
En zien ik recht, zo is ons wederstant verlooren
Voor my, het dunkt my best, 't en zy gyliden zijt,
Van and're meening, zich te voegen na den tijd,
Was't meestedeel met ons der Vorsten en der Standen,
[120] Ik wederstond: maar nu, een ieder wacht zijn handen;
Wat my aangaat, ik ga en doe het hoog bevel,
Die wijs is, dat hy volg en doet zich zelven wel.

1 RAADSH: Zo doen ik ook.

2 RAADSH: En ik.

3 RAADSH: Ik moet mijn raden laten,
Zo 't u alleens is wie gy staat voor onderzaten.

THE COMMONERS: Long live King Richard.

BUCK: Long live our legitimate prince, Heaven grant him
power to overthrow his enemies. Now then, whoever favors us,
let him come and follow me.

MAYOR: You see, men, the task that has been assigned to us today.
And if I see aright, we have no longer power to resist. As for me,
it seems best, unless you, the people, are of a different opinion, to
yield to the time. If the greater part of the Princes and the Nobles
were with us, [120] I should withstand, but now everyone holds
himself aloof. As for me, I go to execute the high commands. He
who is wise, let him follow and serve his own interest.

FIRST COUNCILLOR: That is what I shall do.

SECOND COUNCILLOR: And I.

THIRD COUNCILLOR: I must withhold my advice, if it is a matter
of indifference to you whose subjects you are.

STANLEY. HARTOG. DIENAAR. BODE. BUCKINGHAM.

- STAN: Niet dat alleen, maar na hy voor my heeft bekend,
 Staat nu gantsch Wallis reeds in wapens overend,
 Elk isser op de been. Riceap ontluikt zijn vanen,
 En Richmont heeft hen reeds tot zijne onderdanen;
 Hy zelve is in't Rijk, en nadert hand voor hand
 En niemand weet hoe hy daar binnen is geland;
 Elk heeft den mond vol, en men mompelt met mal-
 kand'ren,
 En d'een en d'ander spreekt, 'k en weet van wat ver-
 and'ren;
 Men hoort, men ziet gerucht, en weet niet tot wat end.
- [10] HART: Alzulke tydingen ben ik niet ongewent.
 't Is nu al lang verleên dat vastlijk was vernomen
 Den Graaf van Richmont was in't Koninkrijk geko-
 men,
 Gestijft met Schotsche en Walsch', ja zelve Fransche
 macht,
 En hou derhalven zulke tydingen verdacht;

ACT III. Scene 2.

STANLEY, DUKE, SERVANT, MESSENGER, BUCKINGHAM.

STAN: Not that alone, but as he has confessed to me, now all Wales is fully armed.¹ Everyone is afoot. Riceap unfurls his banners, and Richmond already rules these men as his subjects. He himself is in the kingdom and approaches rapidly. And no one knows how he has effected a landing in the country. Everyone is full of words and men murmur to each other, and everywhere speak of all sorts of possible changes. Men hear rumours, see them circulate and know not what end they forebode.²

[10] DUKE: I am not unaccustomed to such reports. Some time since we had certain information that the Duke of Richmond had come into the kingdom, reinforced with Scotch and Welsh, yes even with French forces. And therefore I consider such reports to be suspect. I must be convinced by clearer proof before I stand ready

¹ Literally, "stands upright in arms."

² Literally, "Men hear and see rumours and know not to what end."

Men moet met klaarder blijk my weten te verdooven.
 Eer dat ik vaardig sta die máren te gelooven.
 Terwijlén gaan ik voort, waar ook men my voor houd,
 In zorgen van het Rijk, het welk mijn is vertrouwt,
 Om als't my word ge-eischt des rekening te geven

[20] Aan d' Opperkonink, 't volk, en beid' mijn jonge
 Neven;

Maar dat my iemand kost va deze last ontslaan,
 Mijn Heer den Kancelier, hoe wel was ik 'er aan.
 't Is quaat om't ieder een zo wel te pas te maken,
 Dat dees u niet besta te vloeken, die te laken,
 Hoe kleinen misslag hier of ginder word begaan,
 't Komt alles op die geen, die't hoog gezag heeft, aan,
 En niemand tracht 'er te bedekken zijn gebreken.

DIE: Mijn Heer, een Bode wenscht zijn Hoogheid eens te
 spreken?

HART: Van wie?

DIEN: Van Buckingham, hy vergt om groote spoet.

[30] HART: Zegt dat hy binnen komt. gewis hy brengt geen
 goet.

BODE: Mijn Heer, zijn Hoogheit.....

to believe these tales. In the meantime, whatever men may think of me, I shall continue to care for the kingdom which has been entrusted to me, [20] in order that when the reckoning is demanded of me, I may render it to the King above, to the people and to both my young nephews. But if someone could really remove this burden from me, my Lord Chancellor, how happy I should be! It is hard to please everyone so well that someone or other will not feel inclined to curse or to find fault. However small the mistake that is made anywhere, it is all blamed on that one who holds the high authority. And no one in that position attempts to conceal his faults.

SERVANT: My Lord, a messenger wishes to speak with your Highness.

DUKE: From whom?

SERVANT: From Buckingham, he asks for great speed.

[30] DUKE: Tell him to come in. He surely brings no good news.

MESSANGER: My Lord, your Majesty.

HART: Stelt u eerst wat tot bedaren,
Gy zijt vermoeit, en zegt ons dan u wedervaren.

BODE: Den Hartog, mijnen heer, zijn Hoogheid weten laat,
Hoe dat hy met het volk van Londen, en den Raad,
Om zaken van gewicht, daar veel is aan gelegen,
Om u te spreken is in grooten haast op wegen,
En bid, door my, dat zich den Rijkxvoogt doch bereid,
De wille van het volk te jonnen goet bescheid.

HART: Heer Stanley! wat is dit? mijn beenen staan en beven,
[40] Zuk groote onsteltenis en voelde ik nooit mijn leven!
My valt iet zonders in, en God verhoed'het quaat,
Ik vrees voor ongemak en oproer in de Staat.
Hoor! wat gerucht; gewis zy zijn al voor de handen.
Daar is den Hartog. wel, mijn Heer, wat misver-
standen

Bewegen u dat gy (en't geen ik niet en prijs)
My komt bezoeken op zo ongewoon een wijs?

BUK: Is hier misdaan, zo hout ons, bid ik, zulks ten goede;
Maar d'oorzaak van ons komst en zoud gy nooit ver-
moeden:

Mijn Heer, gy ziet alhier verzamelt te gilyk

[50] Uwe onderdanen, met de Machten van het Rijk,

DUKE: First calm yourself. You are fatigued. And tell us then
your great adventure.

MESSANGER: My Lord, the Duke, informs your Highness, that
he with the people of London and the Council, is on the way hither
in great haste to confer with you about affairs of weight in which
much is at stake. And he asks through me that the Regent prepare
himself to give a favorable answer to the will of the people.

DUKE: Lord Stanley! What is this? My legs begin to trem-
ble. [40] So great perplexity, I have never felt in my life. Some-
thing strange comes to my mind, and may God ward off the evil. I
fear disturbance and uproar in the state. Listen! what a noise! Cer-
tainly they are already at hand. There is the Duke. Well, my
Lord, under what misunderstanding are you labouring that you (a
fact that I deplore) come to visit me in so unusual a manner.

BUK: If we are guilty of crime, I pray you to believe that we
have committed it for your good. But the reason of our coming you
could never suspect. My Lord, you see here assembled all to-
gether, [50] your subjects, with the might of the kingdom, unani-
mously determined, if it may please you, to offer the crown....

Eenstemmig en gezint, indien 't u mag behagen,
De Kroon aan u . . .

HART: Aan wie?

BUK: Hoogheit op te dragen.

HART: O gruwel!

BUK: Hoort eerst reën, en geeft dan ongelijk,
Mint gy de welstand en de heil van 't Koninkrijk?
Zoud gy den onderdaan wel garen in haar kermen
Verlichten, en de staat voor ongeval beschermen?
Zaagt gy niet liever door een man den stoel bekleet?
Weet gy wat ongemak, verdrukking, smart en leed
Een kinderlijk gebied het volk mag voeren tegen?
[60] Zo laat u eind'lijk aan ons zaken zijn gelegen;
Verlost ons van 't verdriet, van zo bedroefden stant,
Red ons en 't Koninkrijk, bevrijd ons door u hand;
Laat u zo zeer door min van u geliefde Neven
Als door 't gemeene best vervoert zijn noch gedreven;
't Volk roept om u, en zweert alleenig in u naam,
Zo door u waarde, als iets, 't geen ik my zelven schaam.
Haar bastardy, al zoekt gy zelver die te heelen,
Is al bekend, en laat geen quade vrucht te teelen.
Wat zeg ik meer? de zaak is reeds maar al te bloot,

DUKE: To whom?

BUCK: To your Highness.

DUKE: O horror!

BUCK: Do but hear our reasons first, then say that we are wrong. Do you love the well-being and safety of the kingdom? Should you like to relieve the subjects in their lamentation and protect the state from misfortune? Would you not rather see the throne occupied by a man? Do you know what trouble, oppression, pain and grief the rule of a child may bring to the people? [60] So do show some concern for our affairs. Deliver us from the vexation of so grievous a situation. Rescue us and the kingdom; free us by your hand. Do not be influenced and driven so much by the love of your dear nephew, as by that of the common weal. The people call for you and swear by your name alone, as much because of your worth, as because of something for which I am ashamed. Their bastardy, although you seek yourself to conceal it, is completely known. Do not allow bad fruit to propagate.

[70] Gy weet ons lyden, komt en reddert nu den noot.

HART: Wat hoor ik! Hemel kunt gy zulke reën verdragen?

En stort gy niet op ons u alderzwaarste plagen?

O aard! ontluikt gy niet, en zwelgt ons in u balg?

Neef Buckingham, my steekt van uwe reën de walg,

'k Vertooren my met recht om zulke gruwlijkheden.

Ziet gy my daar voor aan? acht gy het recht en reden?

Mijn jaren die't betaamt te denken om het graf,

Dus zwart te schilderen met zulke grouwels af?

Acht gy my dan van aard zo boos en overgeven?

[80] Zo trouweloozen Oom omtrent mijn jonge Neven?

Komt, want ik zie dat gy my totter dood toe haat,

'k Ontsla van nu voortaan mijn zelf van alle Staat,

'k En wil niet meer het Rijk als Koningsvoogt be-
heeren,

Kiest daar een ander toe, och ja! 't is mijn begeeren,

'k Heb trouwelijk mijn plicht verrecht tot hier en toe;

Laad gy my lasten op? ik ben de lasten moe.

O! dat veel eer de dood mijn endelijk koom nad'ren,

En mijne beenderen verzaam met mijne Vad'ren,

Dat eer mijn lamp verdwijn, en keer in smook zijn
brand,

What more shall I say? The matter is already too clear. [70] You know our suffering, come now and banish our distress.

DUKE: What do I hear? Oh Heaven, couldst Thou permit such a speech to be made and not visit us with Thy most severe punishments? Oh earth, dost thou not gape and swallow us in thy belly? Cousin Buckingham, your speech stings me to loathing. I am justly angry at such horrors. What sort of man do you believe me to be? Have you no respect for right and reason? Do you thus paint black with horrors the years in which it becomes me to think of the grave? Do you consider me, then, by nature so evil and abandoned, [80] such a false uncle towards my young nephews? Come, for I see that you hate me to death, from now on I shall give up all affairs of state, and I will no longer govern the kingdom as regent. Choose another for that duty. Oh yes! it is my wish. I have faithfully performed my duty till now. Will you force the load upon me? I am tired of the burden. Oh, much rather let death finally approach me and my bones be gathered to my fathers. Rather let my lamp be extinguished and turn its

[90] Eer ik met zulken vloek bezoedel mijne hand.
Wel aan, 't is lang genoeg, wilt my niet meer verweken,

Beraad u beter; en gy Heeren moogt vertrekken.
Mijn zorg zal echter zijn voor't Rijk mijn leven lank,
Maar zulke redenen weet ik u weinig dank.

BUK: Zo 't is om my dat gy ons weigert te ontfangen,
Zo doet 'et om't getraan, dat de besturven wangen
Van d' angstige Gemeente in overloet besproeit,
En't ongenoegen't geen in hare harten groeit.
Och! dat bezwooren plicht noch was in u gebleven,
[100] Doorluchtig Vorst, gy zoud' ons heden niet begeven,
Gy zoud' ons uwe arm ontaluiten, om al lang
U volk te stooven in die zoeten ommevang;
Maar ach! de liefde is uit, en des vergeefs, wy moeten
Ons werpen neder voor u Vorstelijke voeten;
Maar zoeder liefde meer op aarden word gezien,
Betoont ons uwe gunst, ô Vader! kan't geschien?
Laat eigen inzicht doch u goedigheid niet hind'ren,
Ons in u waarde schoot t'ontfangen als u kind'ren;

flame to smoke, [90] than that I should soil my hands with such a crime. Well, this is enough. Do not provoke me further; be better advised; and you, Lords, may depart. My, care, nevertheless, shall be for the kingdom all my life, but for such advice, I return but little thanks.

Buck: If it is on my account that you refuse to receive us, then be moved by the tears that abundantly flow down the cheeks of the anxious common people pale through fear,¹ and by the displeasure which grows in their hearts. Oh would that the duty which you have sworn to perform, was still strong in you! [100] Then, O Illustrious Prince, you would not abandon us today. You would open your arms to us, so that you might continually warm your people in your sweet embrace; but alas! the love is gone, and therefore in vain we must cast ourselves down before your princely feet. But as proof that love still exists on the earth, show us your favor. Oh father, may it not come to pass? Do not let your own judgment prevent your goodness from receiving us in your worthy

¹ Literally, "the weeping that abundantly besprinkles the fright-pale cheeks."

- Wy bidden op het zeerst, ei! geeft ons toch gehoor.
- [110] HART: 't Zy var van my, dat ik u weiger als te voor
 Een goede voorzorg al mijn leven lank te strekken,
 Maar met de goude Kroon mijn oude kruin te dekken,
 Met's Koninks Scepter te verlaân mijn dorre hand,
 Te treden op den Troon, komt nooit in mijn verstant.
 Laat 't u genoeg zijn, u mijn beste zorg te geven,
 Maar, mach ik bidden, laat het Rijk aan mijne Neven.
- BUK: Doorluchtig Engelsman, die d'eer in achting hiel,
 Maakt' nooit aan Bastaarzaat ten slaaf zijn vrye ziel,
 Noch liet van wetloos Vorst zijn wettig Rijk beheeren,
- [120] En hoe kunt gy van ons zo vuilen zaak begeeren?
 Vertrouwt my Heer, ik spreek dees reden zonder erg.
 Want nood'loos is het dat ik zulks voor u verberg:
 Wy lieven't Huis van Iork, dat moogt gy vrylijk
 weten,
 En d'Adelijke stam van u Plantageneten,
 En haten Lankaster veel slimmer als de dood;
 Maar zo gy ons aldus voor't hoeft te rugge stoot,
 't En is niet buiten zorg dat't volk, in deze ellenden,
 De oogen weder na hun ouden Heer zou wenden.
 Ja dat men't zeggen dorst.....

bosom as your children. We beseech you most urgently. Oh, do but hear us!

[110] DUKE: Far be it from me to refuse to be all my life long what I have been hitherto,—your faithful guardian. But to cover my old head with a golden crown, to burden my withered hand with the king's sceptre, to ascend the throne,—these things never enter my mind. Let it content you, that I give you my best care, but I beseech you, leave the kingdom to my nephews.

BUK: The illustrious Englishman, he who holds honor dear, never makes his free soul the slave of bastard-seed, nor lets his lawful kingdom be ruled by an illegitimate prince. [120] And how could you desire so base an action from us. Trust me, my Lord, I make this speech without evil intention, for it is needless for me to conceal such things from you. We love the House of York,—that you are free to know—and your noble family of Plantagenets, and hate Lancaster much worse than death; but if you thus directly insult us in our presence, it is not beyond belief that the people, in these miserable straits, should again cast their eyes upon their old lord. Yes, men dare to say that.

Voor algemeene dwang moet uwe liefde zwichten.

BUK EN'T VOLK: Lang leve Richard, lang zo leef ons wettig Heer.

[150] HART: Lang moet de vreë bestaan by u, dat's mijn begeer.

BUK: Dat ieder een terstond zijn naerstigheid betoone,
Om onzen Konink voort te zalven en te kroonen,
Eer datter eenig dink beletzel van mag zijn.

HART: Een wettig Vorst en bind zich aan geen yd'le schijn.

HET VIERDE BEDRYF.

DEN HARTOG VAN GLOUCESTER, NU KONING RICHARD. TYREL.

HART: Op u vertrouw ik my, ô Tyrel! nu geheel,
En tot dien einde geef de sleutels van't Kasteel
In u geweld, volvoert het opzet noch voor morgen,
Brenkt haar om hals, verloost het Rijk en my van
zorgen,
En laat geen Koninks bloed verletten uwe hand,
Gy ziet ik bind my noch aan stam noch bloedverwant,

nephews. Oh! forgive me, beautiful niece. Your lives must give way before the universal compulsion.

BUCK AND THE PEOPLE: Long live Richard! long live our legitimate Lord.

[150] DUKE: Long may peace be yours, that is my desire.

BUCK: Let everyone immediately show his eagerness to annoint and crown our King at once, before there can arise any sort of opposition.

DUKE: A legitimate prince is dependent on no idle ceremony.

THE FOURTH ACT.

THE DUKE OF GLOUCESTER, NOW KING RICHARD, TYREL.

DUKE: To you I entrust myself, O Tyrel, completely now, and to that end I give the keys of the castle into your hands. Carry out your plot yet before morning, put an end to them, free the kingdom and me from anxiety, and let no king's blood stay your hand. You see that neither race nor blood-relationship stays my

Wacht op belooning, gy en hebt geen straf te vreezen,
By voorraad zal den Tour u aanbevolen wezen.

TYR: Den Vorst en twijffel niet aan d'uitkomst van de daad,
[10] Ik volledig u bevel, en maak my vaardig.

RICH: Gaat.

BUCKINGHAM. KONING RICHARD.

BUK: Wat wonders heeft de Vorst met Tyrel doch besteken?

RICH: Niet zonders.

BUK: Of ontziet gy zulks voor my te spreken?

RICH: Zo't u belangde, ik zweeg het voor den Hartog niet.

BUK: 't Is quaat te heelen't geen men voor zijn oogen ziet.

RICH: Was ziet gy dan?

BUK: Het geen my noodig moet mishagen.

RICH: In alles hebt gy u als onderdaan te dragen.

BUK: Zo lang het quaat zo hoog en heftig niet en wast,
Dat ons gemoed daar door geparst word en belast;
Ik hoef de waarheid aan den Koning niet te vergen,

hand. Await your reward, you have no punishment to fear. To
begin with, the tower is put under your control.

TYREL: The prince need have no doubt about the issue of the
deed. [10] I follow his orders and make myself ready.

RICH: Go.

ACT IV. Scene 2.

BUCKINGHAM, RICHARD.

BUCK: What strange thing has the Prince plotted with Tyrel?

RICHARD: Nothing in particular.

BUCK: Or are you afraid to mention it before me?

RICHARD: If it were of consequence to the Duke, I should not
remain silent about it to him.

BUCK: It is bad to conceal what men see before their eyes.

RICHARD: What do you see, then?

BUCK: Something which must needs displease me.

RICHARD: In all things you must behave as a subject should.

BUCK: As long as the evil does not grow so high and violent
that our mind is oppressed and burdened by it. I need not do

[10] Noch hy de gront van't werk voor my te gaan verbergen.

Gy legt op't leven toe van uwe Neven, niet?

RICH: Wat vraagt gy, by zo var gy zulks voor oogen ziet?

BUK: Ik vraag het geen ik weet, na Englands bederven;
Maar gy voor wetens doet u eigen Bloed versterven;
Wat Tyger in het wout was immermeer zo wreed?
Vertrouwt my't is my nu van gantscher harten leet
Dat mijn gediensigheid u niet en heeft ontbroken,
En ik een reden heb tot uwen best gesproken.
Het rouwt my wareljk, indien gy my gelooft,

[20] Dat ik de Kroon ooit heb bevestigd op u hoofd,
En, laas! daar van berooft u wel onnoosle Neven,
Die noch haar zwaar verlies bezueren met haar leven.
O Hemel.....

RICH: Hoog genoeg! ik zeg bedwingt u mond.

BUK: Bedwingt u boze hand.

RICH: Ik zweer.

BUK: Ik spreek goet ront.

RICH: Ik straf u moed wel haast.

BUK: Ik vrees niet voor u plagen,
Gaaf gy in boosheyd voort.

mand the truth from the king, [10] neither need he hide the purpose of the deed from me. You are plotting against the lives of your nephews, are you not?

RICHARD: Why do you ask, since you have visible proof of it?

BUCK: I ask, what I already know, about England's corruption; but you, with malice aforethought, put to death your own blood. What tiger in the forest was ever so cruel? Believe me, I am now sorry with all my heart that I ever served you, and that I have said a single word in your interest. I regret heartily, if you can believe me, [20] that I ever established the crown on your head; and alas! that I ever robbed your very innocent nephews of it, who must besides pay for their grievous loss with their lives. Oh Heaven....

RICH: That's loud enough! I say control your speech.

BUCK: Control your evil hand.

RICH: I swear.

BUCK: I speak very plainly.

RICH: I shall soon punish your presumption.

BUCK: I am not afraid of your injuring me even though you do continue in your evil courses.

RICH: Gy zult het u beklagen.

BUK: En gy de snoode daad, die u bedrog bedacht.

RICH: Denkt wie gy zijt, gy staat in Koninklijke macht.

BUK: Denkt wie gy zijt, gy zult den Hemel reden geven.

[30] RICH: Waar van?

BUK: Maar van de dood van u onnoosle Neven.

Ik ga terstont het werk beletten, hoe't ook gaat.

RICH: Ik zeg u blijft.

BUK: 'k En zal.

RICH: Ik zeg u't is te laat.

BUK: O goddelooze dwang! ô dwing'land! ô verrader!

RICH: 'k Bezweer u dat gy zwijgt, enraakt mijn eer niet nader.

BUK: Gy raakt my al te na aan't hart en aan't gemoed;
Zult gy u varsche Kroon bezoedelen met bloed?
Gy stapt naau op den Troon, door mijne dienst gepannen,

En draagt u daadlijk na de wijze der Tyrannen.

Den Hemel zy mijn tuig, 'ken duld'het nimmermeer,

[40] Verloochent gy u Bloed, 'k verloochen u als Heer.

RICH: Verloochent wat gy wilt; maar boven alle dingen,

RICH: You shall regret it.

BUK: And you the wicked deed which your deceit planned.

RICH: Think who you are; you are in the power of a king.

BUK: Think who you are, you shall render an account to Heaven.

[30] RICH: For what?

BUK: Why, for the death of your innocent nephews. I go straightway to prevent the deed, however it is being accomplished.

RICH: I command you to stay.

BUK: I shall go in any case.

RICH: I tell you it is too late.

BUK: Oh godless oppression. Oh tyrant! Oh traitor!

RICH: I adjure you to keep still, and come no closer to my honor.

BUK: You come all too close to my heart and feelings. Shall you defile your new crown with blood. You had hardly mounted the throne, aided by my service, than you acted immediately as all tyrants do. Heaven be my witness, I will endure no more. [40] If you disown your own blood, I shall forswear you as my lord.

RICH: Forswear what you will; but above all things, I advise

Ik raade u Hartog, wilt u stoute tong bedwingen,
 Houd by u't geene gy of weet of niet en weet,
 Of by mijn Kroon, het zal u eeuwig wezen leet:
 En stemt gy niet met my, en staat my ook niet tegen,
 Houd u daar buiten daar u niet is aan gelegen,
 U overmoed zou haast gestraft zijn en beloont;
 Doch my gedenkt de dienst die gy my hebt betoont.
 Ik zeg noch eens, gy droegt den loon van u vermeeten,
 [50] Was my u deugt zo wel als u dijn plicht vergeten.

BUCKINGHAM. DIGTON.

BUK: Gerechten Hemel, die de eeuw'ge vierschaar spant,
 Die alle dink bestiert, beheerscht door uwe hand,
 Die alles dwingen kunt door eindeloos vermogen,
 Kunt gy zo grooten quaat beschouwen met u oogen?
 Is't mogelijk dat gy zulks geduldiglijk aanziet,
 En straft gy dat door u gestrengen blixem niet?
 O Koning Eduard! ô! mocht het eenmaal wezen,
 Dat voor een korten tijd gy waard uit't graf gerezen,

you, my lord, to control your bold tongue. Keep to yourself the things you either know or do not know, or by my crown, it shall prove an everlasting harm to you. And if you do not agree with me, yet do not oppose me. Hold yourself aloof from that which does not concern you. Your rashness should be straightway punished and rewarded; but I remember the service which you have rendered me. I say yet again, you would receive the penalty for your presumption, [50] if I had forgotten your virtue as completely as you have forgotten your duty.

ACT IV. Scene 3.

BUCKINGHAM, DIGTON.

BUCK: Just Heaven, Thou who dost occupy the everlasting seat of doom, who guidest all things, Thou who rulest by Thy hand, who canst compel everything thro' boundless power, couldst Thou behold so great evil with Thine eyes? Is it possible that Thou beholdest such a thing patiently and dost not punish with Thy tremendous lightning? Oh King Edward! oh that it might once be that for a short time you were risen from the grave; that you might

Dat gy maar voor een wijl betreden mocht de aard,
 [10] En dan verzaad van leet weër keeren beddewaart;
 Hoe bitter zoud 'gy hem in't schaamt'loos aanzicht
 smijten

Zijn euvel daden, en zijn schulden hem verwijten,
 Met strenge woorden, ja met handen grypen an
 Den onverzadigen bloeddorstigen Tyran.

Ach! hier beken ik, en den Heer wil met my dulden,
 Hoewel het is te laat, mijn misdaad e mijn schulden;
 Hier ken ik, ach! voor u alleen die alles weet,
 O hoogen Hemel! mijne zonden dien ik deed',

Wanneer ik poogde, och! dat gy het mocht gehengen,
 [20] De Kroon van't wettig op't onwettig hooft te brengen.
 Waar meed' verschoon ik, laas! die zware slag, en hoe!
 De band van vriendschap, ach! is veel te zwak daar
 toe;

De zorg van't Vaderland? die zou my heeten liegen,
 Mijn plich en eed? eilaas! ik zou mijn zelf bedriegen.
 O wonderlyk bestier! Maar zacht, wie zien ik daar!
 't Is van de moorders een, ik merk't aan zijn gebaar.

DIGT: Ho Tyrel! wel waar of hy nu zich heeft versteken?

BUK: Wel; wat zou Tyrel doen?

for a time tread the earth, [10] and then, overwhelmed with grief return again to your bed. How bitterly would you smite him in his shameless face and reproach him for his evil deeds and his guilt with severe words, yes, seize with your hands, the insatiate, blood-thirsty tyrant. Ah here I confess, and the Lord will bear with me, even though it is too late, my misdeeds and my guilt: here I acknowledge before Thee alone, O lofty Heaven, who knowest everything, my sins which I committed when I endeavored, oh that Thou couldst suffer it! [20] to transfer the crown from the legitimate to the illegitimate head. In what way can I excuse the heavy injury and how? Alas, the bond of friendship is much too weak for that purpose. Anxiety for the Fatherland? Would that make me recreant to my duty and to my oath? Alas! I should deceive myself. Oh, wonderful has been my course of action! But soft, whom do I see there? It is one of the murderers; I see it in his bearing.

DIGT: Ho Tyrel! Where can he have hidden himself now?

BUK: Well, what do you want of Tyrel?

DIGT: Ik moest hem daad'lijk spreken.

BUK: 'k Moet weten hoe't 'er staat. gy schelm, kom, zegt my strak,

[30] Wat hebt gy daar gedaan in't Princelijk gemak?

DIGT: In's Princen kamer? ja... ik weet. ik zal't u zeggen.

BUK: Spreek, of ik zal dit staal u over d'ooren leggen.

DIGT: Ja, ja, ik weet. de Prins, de Prins, had my belast....

BUK: Wat Prins?

DIGT: Prins Robbert.

BUK: He! gy botten hangebast.

DIGT: Neen, Edmund meen ik, 'k meen Prins Eduard, gants lyden!

BUK: Wat had hy u belast?

DIGT: Zijn paerden te beryden.

BUK: Wanneer?

DIGT: Terstont.

BUK: En dat in't diepste van de nacht?

DIGT: Ja dat is waar, ik had daar op niet eens gedacht.

BUK: Waar warenze?

Dier: I must speak to him at once.

BUCK: I must know how affairs stand, you rogue. Come tell me straightway [30] what have you been doing there in the Prince's chamber?

Dier: In the Prince's chamber? Yes, I know. I shall tell you.

BUCK: Speak or I shall lay this steel about your ears.

Dier: Yes, yes, I know. The Prince, the Prince had charged me.....

BUCK: What prince?

Dier: Prince Robert.

BUCK: What, you dull gallows-bird!

Dier: No, I mean Edmund; I mean Prince Edward, (I am getting involved).

BUCK: Had charged you to do what?

Dier: To ride his horses.

BUCK: When?

Dier: Immediately.

BUCK: In the dead of night?

Dier: Yes, that is so, I had not thought of that at all.

BUCK: Where were they?

- DIGT: Op het bed daar's hebben op gelegen.
 BUK: Waar zijnze nu dan?
 DIGT: Dat's een vraag!
 BUK: Geen ommewegen,
 [40] Waar zijnze nu?
 DIGT: Dat's vreemt.
 BUK: Gy onbeschofte beest!
 Zeg op, waar zijnze nu?
 DIGT: Wel daarze zijn geweest.
 BUK: Zijn, daarze zijn geweest! Hoe kan dat t'zamen
 kleven?
 'k Doorstoot u.
 DIGT: Och! genâ. hy heeft my last gegeven.
 BUK: Wie?
 DIGT: Tyrel.
 BUK: Wat te doen?
 DIGT: Om wat te doen....
 BUK: Zeg op,
 En spreekt gy niet, ik breek u dadelijk den kop.
 [50] DIGT: Och! ik en weet het niet.
 DIGT: On the bed where they had gone to sleep.
 [40] BUK: Where are they now?
 DIGT: That's a question.
 BUK: No evasion. Where are they now?
 DIGT: That's a question.
 BUK: No concealment, where are they now?
 DIGT: That's strange.
 BUK: You insolent beast, tell me, where are they now?
 DIGT: Just where they have been.
 BUK: Are, where they have been? What sense is there in
 that? I'll run you through.
 DIGT: Oh, mercy! he gave me a mandate.
 BUK: Who?
 DIGT: Tyrel.
 BUK: To do what?
 DIGT: To do what....
 BUK: Speak out. And if you don't tell me, I'll straightway
 break your head.
 [50] DIGT: Oh, I don't know.

BUK: Hoe kan ik dit verdragen?
DIGT: Ik heb niet zonder last de hand aan haar geslagen.
BUK: Aan wie?
DIGT: Aan Eduard, en Richard, van de nacht.
BUK: Wat hebt gy haar geleert?
DIGT: Wat.....
BUK: Spreek.
DIGT: Om hals gebragt.
BUK: Vervloekt gedrogt, hoe kan ik u gezigt gedogen?
Vertrekt van hier, en pakt u daad'lijk uit mijn oogen.
Ach! laas! 't is al te waar, het schelmstuk is gedaan,
Ik zeg de Koningin dees droeve boodschap aan.

KONING RICHARD. TYREL.

RICH: 't Is dan volvoert, de last voldaan dien ik u gaf?
Haar bed' is eind'lijk haar geworden tot een graf:
Met kussens, zegt gy, deed' gy haar het leven korten?
Dat's pryszelijk, so hoeft gy geenig bloed te storten;

BUCK: How can I bear this?

DIGT: I have not laid hands on them without an order.

BUCK: On whom?

DIGT: On Edward and Richard this night.

BUCK: What did you do to them here?

DIGT: What

BUCK: Speak.

DIGT: Put them to death.

BUCK: Cursed monster, how can I endure the sight of you.
Depart from here, and go forthwith out of my sight. Oh, alas!
It is all too true; the rascally deed has been done. I shall announce this sad news to the queen.

ACT IV. Scene 4.

KING RICHARD, TYREL.

RICH: So then it has been accomplished, the order which I gave you has been carried out? Their bed has finally become their grave. With pillows, you say, you put an end to their lives? That's excellent! Thus you did not have to spill any blood. Friend Tyrel, you have accomplished what duty commanded you.

Vriend Tyrel, gy voldoet het geen u plicht bestaat,
 Voor my, geen tijd doet my vergeten deze daad;
 Mijn zorg is weg, hier meê zijn mijn bekommelingen,
 Ten enden, en't verloop gestut van mijne dingen.
 Nu zal ik eerst mijn Troon met rust en vreê betreên.

[10] Nu, maar waar liet gy haar verstikte doode leên?

TYR: Die zijn hier dichte by in stilte in d'aard gesteken,
 En't graf met steen bedekt, om niet weêr op te breken.

RICH: 't Is wel gedaan, ik zal u loonen, gaat nu heen
 Daar 't u gelieft, en laat my hier noch wat alleen.
 Hoe dier, ô eêrzucht! ô verleidend' hartenroover!
 Laat gy het zoet geluk u troetelkind'ren over,
 Hoe hoog komt menig mensch zijn hartenwil te staan?
 Vervoerde lust tot staat, wat recht gy niet al aan?
 Als zulk een heete brand bestaat in ons te glimmen,
 [20] Wat rotz is ons te hoog met handen te beklommen?
 Is't zo dat menig koopt de mogentheid en staat,
 Ik hadze liever met wat minder euveldaat.

Nu heb ik't weg, 't is waar, daar't hart na scheen te
 branden,

Nu diende my wel staag den deegen in de handen,
 Hier, om te straffen list en lagen tegens my,

As for me, no passage of time will cause me to forget this deed. My anxiety has disappeared; herewith my troubles are at an end and the course of my actions has been strengthened. Now for the first time I shall ascend my throne in serenity and peace. [10] Now,—but where did you leave the smothered corpses?

TYR: They are close by, hidden secretly in the earth, and the grave covered with stones, so that it will not be dug up.

RICH: It has been well done; I shall reward you. Now go hence, wherever it pleases you, and leave me alone here for a little while. How dear art thou, oh ambition! Oh seducer of the heart! Reserve thy sweet happiness for thy favorite children. How much does it cost many a man to gain the desire of his heart? Rapturous desire for power, what dost thou not perform? When we allow such a hot brand to glow in us, [20] what rock is too high for us to climb with our hands? Even though it is thus that many a one buys power and state, I had rather have done it with less crime. Now I have set out on the way, it is true, for which my heart seems to burn. Now it is true that the sword in my hand

Daar, punt te toonen aan verraad en muiltary,
 Gintz, open vyanden in 't veld het hoofd te bieden,
 Dan weg te strommelen gevarelijke lieden,
 Ja vriend, ja Broeder, ja het geen my zelver grout,
 [30] U eigen kinderen die dienen wel mistrouwt,
 U eigen schaduw zou u vreezen doen en schroomen,
 Indienze by geval u wat te na mocht komen.
 O rustelooze rust! ô doodelijk vermaak!
 O honigzoet vergif voor een bedorven smaak!
 U lekkernyen doen ons monden watertanden,
 Maar uwen angel die doorboort ons ingewanden.

KONINGIN. BUCKINGHAM. KAMENIER.

KON: Was't dat niet 't geen mijn hart te vooren scheen te
 spellen?
 Was't niet dat onheil 't geen mijn rampen moest ver-
 zellen?
 Gaat voort, ô ongeval! dewijl gy immer moet,
 Op zulk een wijs brengt my mijn jammer onder voet:
 Ik hat dien uitval u wel zelver willen toonen;

has served me steadily,—here, to punish deceit and snares against me,—there, to show a sharp point to treachery and mutiny,—yon-
 der to offer resistance to open enemies in the field, then to make
 way with dangerous persons. Even a friend, even a brother, yes, a
 fact which makes me shudder, one's own children must be mis-
 trusted. One's own shadow should make one fear and be terrified,
 when it by chance comes somewhat too near. Oh restless rest!
 Oh mortal amusement! Oh honey-sweet poison for a perverted taste.
 Your dainties make our mouths water, but your hook penetrates
 our vitals.

ACT IV. Scene 5.

QUEEN, BUCKINGHAM, CHAMBERLAIN.

QUEEN: Was it not that which my heart long ago seemed to fore-
 bode? Was it not that misfortune which must accompany my
 calamity? Advance, Oh misfortune! because such is your inevitable
 way. In such a manner my grief subdues me; I should have
 liked to have pointed out to you this attack myself. No kings are

Men spaart gegen Koningen na't rooven van haar kroonen.

Nu dank ik uwe hand, die't werk heeft uitgewrogt,
En uwe mond, die my de bitt're tyding brogt.

Maakt gy u handel goet voor die gy reën moet geven.

[10] Ik kan geen droefheid noch geen quelling meer be-
leven;

't Is nu zo var dat ik het grootste onheil tart,
'k Ben niet gewapent, maar ik bender in verhart,
Die vreeze kost my meer als zelf het onluk schenden:
Nu heeft het weg, en dus is alle vrees ten enden;
Al wat nu voordr my voor smart bejeeg'nen zal,
Kan maar verminderen mijn eind'loos ongeval.

Nu wacht ik maar, indien 't een Christen past te spreken,

Wat ramp, op diese doet, mijn droeve ramp zal wreken,

En zo den Hemel my dat welgevallen gaf,

[20] How wel gerust zoude ik dan dalen in het graf.

BUK: Wat my belangt, Mevrouw, 'k en kan u druk verzoeten,

Maar werp om mijnent wil my neder voor u voeten,
Die't hart met treuren en met leedzign draag vervult;

spared after their crown has been stolen. Now I thank your hand which has done this work, and your mouth which has brought me the bitter tidings. Justify your act to those to whom you must give reason. [10] I cannot live through any more vexations or sorrows. It has gone so far that I defy the greatest misfortune. I am not armed against it, but I am hardened to it. Fear could harm me more than misfortune itself. Now it has come upon me and thus is all fear at an end. Every sort of pain that shall further befall me can but lessen my endless misfortune. Now I am just waiting to see, if a Christian may say so, what calamity, my sad calamity will bring down upon the person who has accomplished it; and if Heaven would but grant me that pleasure, [20] with how much composure, should I then descend into the grave.

BUK: As far as I am concerned, my Lady, I can lighten your distress, but for my sake, I cast myself down at your feet,—I whose heart is burdened with sorrow and heaviness. Here now no

Hier helpt nu geen verschoon, 'k beken het is mijn schult,

Niet hy, maar ik, al schoon ik 't ernstig zegt te hind'ren,

Ben beul en moordenaar van u geminde kind'ren.

Ik bid geenzins dat men die vuile daat verschoon,

Zulk een barmhartigheid is misdaat ongewoon;

Maar straft my door u hand, dat's't slot van mijn begeeren,

[30] Zo hoeft gy uwe wraak geen oogenblik t'ontbeeren.

Ontfangt dit staal, en stoot my moedig door het hart,

Ziet my niet aan, kunt gy vermind'ren uwe smart,

Die stoot zal u gewis gerechte tooren boeten,

En my mijn zwaar berouw verlichten en verzoeten.

Ach! neemt het aan.

KON: Staat op, en gaat uit mijn gezicht.

BUK: 'k En zal.

KON: Ik zeg u, gaat.

BUK: Voldoet dan eerst u plicht.

KON: Dan moest ik uwe schult vergeten en vergeven.

BUK: Alzulk een weldaat wil ik koopen met mijn leven.

KON: Is't weldaat meer het geen den mensch zo dier bekoopt?

excuse is of any avail. I admit that the fault is mine. Not he, but I, however earnestly I sought to prevent the deed, am the executioner and murderer of your dear children. I do not ask at all that the vile deed be excused; such compassion toward crime is unusual; but punish me by your hand, that is the end of my desire. [30] So you need not postpone your revenge a single moment. Take this sword and boldly pierce me through the heart. Do not consider me if you can assuage your grief. This thrust shall certainly explete your righteous anger and lighten and sweeten my heavy repentance. Oh, take it!

QUEEN: Rise and go from my sight.

BUK: I shall.

QUEEN: I tell you to go.

BUK: Then first do all your duty.

QUEEN: Then I must forget and forgive your crime.

BUK: I will buy such a favor with my life.

QUEEN: Is that still a favor which man buys so dear?

[40] BUK: Staat my dan noch op u genâ te hoopen!

KON: Hoopt

Op beet'ring van u schult.

BUK: Ach! kost ik met mijn sterven

Vergiffenis van zulk een zware daat verweren.

Princes, indien ik noch genaâ verhoopen mag,

Geeft my't geluk door u te zien mijn sterrefdag.

Meer vreugt zal my mijn eind door uwe handen geven,

Als langer den Tyran zijn boosheid te beleven.

KON: Merkt nu hoe dat men dik zijn eigen val bebout,

Hoe dikmaal dat men werkt met ernst't geen ons be-
rout,

En had dat leetzijn u wat vroeger ingenomen,

[50] 't Was 't Koninkrijk en my al ruim zo wel bekomen.

Maar verre zy van my dat u benaaut gezucht,

U hartzeer en verdriet, voorby ga zonder vrucht,

Dat ik't gemoed, daar reeds de zonde is uitgeweeken,

Zou laten deugdelijk te voeden en te queeken;

'k Vergeef u schult, zo veel my te vergeven staat,

Maar evenwel geniet tot straf van uwe daad,

Doch buiten lust tot wraak, dat moet gy my vertrou-
wen,

[40] BUCK: Can I then still hope for your favour?

QUEEN: Hope for amelioration of your guilt.

BUCK: Oh, that I might obtain forgiveness for such a heavy mis-
deed through my death! Princess, if I may still hope for your
pardon, grant me the good fortune to behold the hour of my death
by your hand, rather than to live to see any longer the tyrant's
iniquity.

QUEEN: Mark now how often men accomplish their own ruin,
how frequently we work with earnestness for something of which
we repent. Mark if that grief had possessed you somewhat sooner,
[50] it would have been fully as well for me and the king-
dom. But far be it from me that your oppressive sighing, your
soreness of heart and your grief, should pass fruitlessly; that I
should fail to feed and to nourish properly that soul from which
sin has already been exiled. I forgive your crime as much as is
in my power to forgive, but, however, suffer as punishment for your
deed—I speak without the desire for revenge—in that you must

Het leet te dragen dat g'u zelven hebt gebrouwen,
Verdraagt het zwaarste 't geen den mensch verdragen
kan,

[60] d'Hovaardigheid van een ondankbaren Tyran.

BUK: 't Zy var van my, dat ik zou dulden, zonder grouwen,
Dat ysjik monsterdier met oogen te beschouwen,
Ik heb alreets, en neem van mijne wil verlof,
Mijn treur'ge eenzaamheid te wis'len voor het Hof:
Veel aangenamer zal't my wezen zo te leven,
Als 't oog aan den Tyran zijn schelmery te geven.

KAM: Mevrouw, den Konink.....

KON: Hoe?

KAM: Den Konink Richart kooft,

BUK: 't Is tijd dan dat ik sehey, niet dat ik ben beschroomt,
Voor zinj geweld, of hoef my voor hem te vertzagen,

[70] Maar 't oog en kan voortaan dat schrikdier niet ver-
dragen.

Mevrouw, vaart wel, ik laat van nu voortaan het Hof,
Ik kus voor eeuwig uwe handen, met vorlof.

trust me—endurance of the grief which you have brewed for your-
self. Endure the heaviest thing that man can endure, [60] the
haughtiness of an ungrateful tyrant.

BUK: It is far from my desire, that I should endure, without
complaining, the sight of that dreadful monster. I have already
leave,—my desire grants me permission—to substitute for life at
the court an existence of pensive loneliness. It will be much pleas-
anter for me to live thus, than to behold the roguery of the tyrant.

CHAMBERLAIN: My Lady, the King....

QUEEN: What?

CHAMBERLAIN: King Richard comes.

BUK: It is time then for me to depart; not that I quail be-
fore his power, or need to be afraid of him, [70] but my eyes
from now on cannot endure the sight of that brute. Lady, farewell,
I leave the Court now, never to return. I bid you farewell forever.
By your leave.

KONINK RICHARD. KONINGINNE. PRINCES ELIZABETH.

Vorstin, dewijl gy vreest om voor my te verschijnen,
 Koom ik u zelve hier vertroosten in u quijnen.
 Mishaaft u noch de last van 't eenzaam leven niet?
 Mijn zuster, hebt gy noch al smaak in u verdriet?
 Kan geen vermaak op aard u treurigheid bekooren?

KONG: Zo lang de ziekte groeit is alle hulp verlooren:
 Ik dacht dat my de tijd een eind van kommer gaf,
 Maar, laas! mijn druk neemt aan, en mijne rust neemt
 af.

RICH: Als 't quaad is hoog genoeg, zo moet het eindlijk dalen.

[10] Wat is het dat u smart? wat drukken u voor qualen?

KONIN: Vergeefs vraagt gy my, daar de oorzaak is omtrent:
 Mijn Heer en is alleen geen vreemd'ling.

RICH: Ik beken 't,
 Ik weet ten deelen door wat leet gy word gedreven,
 U smart u groot verlies, 't onterven van mijn Neven.
 U smart het, maar ik voel daar van de meeste smart,
 En zo gy 't niet gelooft, zo vraagt het aan mijn hart.

ACT IV. Scene 6.

KING RICHARD, QUEEN, PRINCESS ELIZABETH.

RICH: Princess, since you fear to appear before me, I have come here to comfort your very self in your pining. Are you not yet displeased with the burden of your lonely life? My sister, do you still take delight in your grief? Can no power on earth charm your sorrow away?

QUEEN: The sickness is of so long growth that all help is vain. I thought time would put an end to grief but alas! my distress increases and my peace of mind decreases.

RICH: If the evil mounts high enough, it must finally descend.
 [10] What is it that grieves you, what sort of distress afflicts you?

QUEEN: You ask me in vain, where the reason is obvious; my lord himself is no stranger to it.

RICH: I admit it. I know partly by what grief you were driven, the pain for your great loss,—the disinheriting of my nephews. It pains you, but I feel therefrom the greatest pain. If you do not believe it, ask my heart.

KON: Ha, ha!

RICH: Gy lacht, en dus betoont gy misvertrouwen,
My laat daaromme niet u jammer te berouwen,
U schade, die zo wel aan my als u verdriet,

[20] Aan uwe kinderen en is geen leed geschiet.

KON: Hoe qualijk kan de schult zijn misdaat ook ontvienen!

RICH: Wat zeit Mevrouw?

KON: Mijn Heer ik spreek met mijn gepeinzen.

RICH: Wel aan, 't is waar, 'k bezit als nu dit Koninkrijk,
En ik beken hier in gescheit u ongelijk,
Het erfdeel had die staat u huis en stam gegeven:
Maar zegt, wie kan het volk haar wille wederstreven?
Ik stond, uit kracht van dwang, haar welgevallen toe,
En d'Hemel is mijn tuig hoe noode dat ik't doe.
Hier staan ik nu bereid (ja kniel voor uwe voeten)

[30] Door alle middelen u zwaarigheid te boeten;
Mijn ware liefde zal verzoeten alle schult,
U tranen droogen af, Mevrouw, hebt maar gedult.
Voor zuster, welke naam ik heden wil vergeten,
Zult gy van nu voortaan mijn waarde moeder heeten:
En is de Kroon door't volk van u op my gebracht,
Ik zalze wederom vereeren u geslacht,

QUEEN: Ha, ha!

RICH: You laugh and thus show your distrust, yet I do not cease
for that reason to regret your sorrow,—your loss which grieves me
as well as you. [20] No harm has happened to your children.

QUEEN: How hard it is for guilt to conceal its crime!

RICH: What does my Lady say?

QUEEN: My Lord, I but meditated aloud.

RICH: Well, it is true that I possess at this moment your kingdom, and I admit, in this respect wrong has been done you. Hereditary right had given the rule to your house and family: but pray, who can oppose the will of the people? I submitted to their pleasure through the power of compulsion, and Heaven is my judge, how reluctantly I do it. Here I stand now, nay I kneel at your feet,
[30] ready in every way to assuage your grief. My true love shall sweeten all my guilt; dry your tears, Lady, only have more patience, instead of sister—a name which I will this day forget—my mother shall you henceforth be called. What if the people have transferred the crown from you to me? I shall bestow it in honor upon

U Stamme zal met my dit mogent Rijk beheeren,
 In dien gy stemmen wilt hier in met mijn begeeren:
 Geeft my Elizabeth, u Dochter, hier ten Echt,

[40] En schreumt niet of het bloed daar ietwes tegen zegt,
 Te vaster zal de knoop van dubb'le maagschap wezen,
 En liefde, te gelijk uit stam en keur gerezen.

KON: Al zwijg ik't naau verbond van vriendschap en van
 bloed,

Zo is noch evenwel de eer die gy ons doet
 Te groot voor hen, die zulks op't hondertst' en ver-
 dienden,

En u verachtelijk met zulke te bevrienden,
 Die't wederspannig lot aldus de rugge bied,
 En acht u waardigheid, mijn Heer, dus weinig niet,
 Een mogender zal u die eere wel vergonnen,

[50] En die met meerder macht u stoel zal stutten konnen:
 Wat ons belangt, men heeft tot geen verhooging lust,
 En zoeken tot ons rust, alleen vergeeten rust.

RICH: Mevrouw die schempt, en dit, en meer zy u vergeven,
 Noch blijf ik by het geen ik eerst heb aangeheven,
 'k Verzoeke wederom het geen ik heb verzocht,

your heirs. Your race shall rule your powerful kingdom with me. If you will but consent to my desire. Give me your daughter, Elizabeth, to wife, [40] and fear not if nearness of relationship speaks against this marriage. Firmer shall be the bond because of the double relationship and of the love, derived both from kinship and from choice.

QUEEN: Even if I pass over in silence the bond of friendship and of blood, yet is the honor which you do us too great even for those who deserve it a hundred times more; and for you, it is degrading to ally yourself with such as we have become. Upon us Fate obstinately turns his back. Do not respect your worth so little, my Lord. A mightier woman shall grant you this honor, [50] one who will be able to give your throne more powerful support. For our part, we have no desire for this elevation and seek for ourselves only the peace of oblivion.

RICH: You mock me, lady, but this and even more shall be forgiven you. I still hold to that offer which I first made, I ask again what I have already asked,—through bonds of marriage to be more closely joined to you. And do not you, O Princess, since you will

Door band van echt te meer te zijn aan u verknocht,
En wilt u zelf, dewijl gy't zult genieten kunnen,
Zo treftigen geluk, Princesse, niet misgunnen.
Wat is u antwoord?

KONING: 't Geen ik eerstmaal heb gezeid.

[60] RICH: Dat's niet, en met een woord alleenig wederleid,
Laat slechts u wille mijn begeert niet wederstreven.

KONING: Wat vraagt gy my? als die geen toestant heb te
geven.

RICH: U moederlijk gebied, hier in, verzekert mijn.

KONING: Die gene kinders heeft, hoe kan die moeder zijn?
Ei my!

RICH: Wat zegt Mevrouw? en waar toe dit verzuchten?

KONING: Mits mijn gebied is uit, doet my haar onwil duch-
ten.

RICH: Geen vrees, ik wil haar zelf derhalven spreken aan.

KONING: U moeiten is vergeefs, daarom laat't vrylijk staan.

RICH: Geenzins, men doet haar straks verschijnen.

KONING: Macht niet lyen,

[70] Haar hart vol droefheid kan nu luist'ren na geen
vryen.

RICH: Al meê vol droefheid? 't hart al mede vol getreur?

be able to enjoy it, begrudge yourself such striking good fortune.
What is your answer?

QUEEN: The one which I gave at first.

[60] RICH: That's naught and is refuted in a single word. Do
not permit yourself to thwart my desire.

QUEEN: Why do you ask of me what I am in no position to give?

RICH: Your maternal authority in the matter reassures me.

QUEEN: How can she who has no children be a mother? Ah
me!

RICH: What says my lady? And why that sigh?

QUEEN: Since my authority is gone, I am afraid of her unwill-
ingness.

RICH: Do not fear, I will speak to her myself on this subject.

QUEEN: Your effort will be in vain; therefore do not make it.

RICH: By no means, but order her to appear here at once.

QUEEN: I cannot endure it. [70] Her heart full of gloom can-
not listen now to any wooing.

RICH: Also full of gloom? Is your heart also full of grief?

Gewis, dit zuffen sluit voor u geluk de deur.
Princes, zijt wellekome. ha! welbevallijk wezen.

ELIZ: Gebied Mevrouw?

RICH: Neen, ik verzoek mijn uitgelezen
U byzijn, schoonste kind daar 't aardryk roem op
draagt,
U Oom verzoekt aan u, indient het u behaagt,
Dat gy u rechterhand hem gunt ten echt, door ditte
Zult gy beneffens hem u Vaders stoel bezitten;
Verwerpt u luk doch niet. sta stil, en antwoord mijn.

[80] Wat voor gelaat, en wat voor schijn is dit?

ELIZ: Geen schijn.
Maar voor een vuile daad, en waardig om te grouwen,
Een wezentlijke schrik, daar moogt gy 't vry voor
houwen.
Oom wat is dit? indien u slechts die naam betaamt,
(Voor my, 'ken weet niet hoe gy hoort te zijn
genaamt)
Zoekt gy noch meerder blaam onze afkomst aan te
wryven,
En mag het noch niet by u schelmeryen blyven?
Ik geven u de hand? ik geven u mijn trouw?
Ik zijn u Koningin? ik zijn u echte vrouw?

Surely, that brooding shuts the door upon your happiness. Welcome, princess. Ah, lovely creature!

ELIZ: Did my Lady command?

RICH: No, I seek your presence of my own accord. Most beautiful child in which the earth takes pride, your uncle prays you, if it please you, that you grant him your right hand in marriage. In this manner, you shall possess together with him your father's throne. Then cast not aside your good fortune. Stay and answer me. [80] What kind of an expression and what pretence is this?

ELIZ: No pretence at all; but real terror at your vile deed, one worthy to arouse horror. You must regard it as that. What does this mean, uncle, if this name can really be applied to you? For my part, I do not know what to call you. Do you still seek to cast more reflections upon our birth? Can you not yet be satisfied with your villainy? I give you my hand? I plight you my troth? I be your queen? I be your wedded wife? In sooth you are mad, that you must surely know. [90] Your evil deeds we

Voorwaar gy zigt verdooft, dat moogt gy vrylijk weten,

[90] U booze stukken zijn ons zo noch niet vergeten.
Indien mijn woorden u wat raken aan het hart,
Denkt dat gy hoort een kind van Koning Eduard
Vrouw Moeder, wat is dit?

KONING: Mijn Dochter, veinst.

ELIZ: Ik veinzen!
Voor geenen moordenaar, dat hoeft gy niet te peinzen,
Die Vaders bloed en 't ons, ô zond'! gedronken heeft,
Doch, noch niet uitgeput, zo lang 'er iemand leeft.
Ik geven u de hand? ja geeft my staal in d' handen,
Ik zal doorwroeten u vervloekte ingewanden,
Ik zal.

KONING: Bedaart.

ELIZ: 'k En kan.

KONING: Geeft doch de reën gehoor.

ELIZ: [100] O Hemel! staat gy ook zo grooten boosheid voor?
Zijt gy het met hem eens? wat moet ik zien en hooren?
Zo heb ik, leider! u maar al te vroeg verlooren,
Zo mag ik zoeken en bevragen, ja gewis,
Waar dat u Moeders hart dan heen geweken is;

have not yet forgotten in this fashion. If my words can in some degree touch your heart, think that you hear a child of King Edward. Lady mother, what do you say?

QUEEN: Dissemble, my daughter.

ELIZ: I dissemble! For no murderer,—you need not expect that,—who has drunk—Oh sin that it is!—his father's blood and ours too,—yet blood not exhausted as long as any one of the family lives. I give you my hand? Yes, put a sword into my hand. I shall pierce¹ your cursed entrails, I shall.

QUEEN: Be still.

ELIZ: If I can.

QUEEN: Give heed to his speech.

ELIZ: [100] Oh Heaven! Do you defend so great an evil? Are you at one with him in this? What must I see and hear? So have I alas! lost you all too soon. So must I seek and ask, forsooth, whither has fled your mother's heart. Can you forget your children

¹ Literally, "root around in."

Kunt gy u kinderen zoo lichtelijk vergeten?

Vergeef het my Mevrouw, gy kunt geen Moeder heeten.

Wat onbeschaamtheid, wat voor roekeloosheid, gy Die ons bekladden durft met blaam van Bastardy! Die zelf u Broeders zaat zo schandig kunt verzaken,

[110] Koomt hier met u bedrog u handel goed te maken: Mijn oogen dulden niet u aanschijn, kost 't geschiën Ik zagze liever blind, als langer u te zien, Veel minder zoud' ik dat zoo groot verlies beklagen, Als zulk een monsterdier noch langer te verdragen. 'k Vertrek, maar by zo ver het op een wreken gaat, Wacht van een Dochter vry een mannelijke daat.

RICH: Slaap ik! of droom ik! of zijn 't yd'le spokeryen! Verduivelt vrouwenbeelt, wat moet ik van u lyen! Zy gaat, en laat my hier alleenig: schoon bescheit.

[120] Vrouw Zuster!

KONING: 'k Heb het u te vooren wel gezait,
Gy moogt van nu voortaan onnood'ge moeiten sparen,
En zulk een waardigheid voor anderen bewaren.
Met u verlof, mijn Heer, ik moet vertrekken.

RICH: Gaat,
Dat u en u geslacht den boozen hagel slaat.

so easily? Forgive me, lady, but you can be no true mother. What shamelessness, what heartlessness! You, who durst sully us with the stigma of bastardy, who could so shamefully abandon your brother's seed, [110] come here with your deceit to justify your deeds. My eyes cannot endure the sight of you. If it might be, I should prefer to be blind to seeing you any longer. Much less should I lament that great loss than suffer from beholding such a monster longer. I go, but in the matter of vengeance, you may surely expect from a daughter the deed of a man.

RICH: Do I sleep or do I dream; or are these idle apparitions? Accursed woman, what must I endure from you? She goes and leaves me here alone. A fine answer! [120] Lady Sister.....

QUEEN: I clearly told you beforehand that from that moment you might spare yourself fruitless effort and reserve such dignity for someone else. By your leave, my Lord, I must go.

RICH: Go, and may the foul Fiend take you and all your race.

HET VYFDE BEDRYF.

BUCKINGHAM. KONING RICHARD.

- BUK: Gaaft gy, ô Koning! last om my te vatten?
RICH: Ja.
BUK: Wat hebt gy daar meê voor?
RICH: Dat ik het zo versta.
BUK: Verstaan het zo met u de rest der Staatgenooten?
RICH: Ik hoef geen rekening te geven aan de Grooten.
BUK: Een wettig Vorst en doet niet zonder goede raad.
RICH: Die heb ik by mijn zelf; dat gy my wel verstaat.
BUK: Wel dikmaal dwaalt den mensch, en zuft in zijn bedenken.
RICH: Zo deed' gy ook, als gy bestont mijn eer te krenken.
BUK: Die hebt gy zelf besmet door u vervloekte daad.
[10] RICH: Hoe heilig is als nu de vinder van 't verraad!
BUK: Die quam u wel te pas in u eergierigheden.
RICH: Daar voor geniet gy loon, na rechten en na reden.
BUK: Wat loon! dat gy my dus in yz're banden slaat?

THE FIFTH ACT.

BUCKINGHAM, KING RICHARD.

- BUCK: Did you give orders, O King, for my arrest?
RICH: Yes.
BUCK: What do you intend by them?
RICH: I intend to bring it about.
BUCK: Do the rest of the councillors of state share your intention?
RICH: I have no account to render to the lords.
BUCK: A legitimate prince does not act without good advice.
RICH: Which I find in myself; mark me well.
BUCK: How often does a man err and dote in his judgment!
RICH: So did you, too, when you undertook to sully my honor.
BUCK: You have smirched yourself by your accursed deed.
[10] RICH: How godly has now become the inventor of the treason!
BUCK: Which has turned out well for your ambition.
RICH: For that, you enjoy your reward as is right and reasonable.
BUCK: What a reward! thus to be bound by you with iron bands!

RICH: Men straft verraders wel, al mintmen het verraat.
BUK: Dat zal ik nu, zo't schijnt, met schade moeten leeren.
RICH: Leert op een ander trouw te zijn aan uwe Heeren.
BUK: Waaromme braakt gy dan u trouwe desgelijk?
RICH: Voor my was wel, maar niet voor u een Koninkrijk.
BUK: Dat's dat u boosheid voor geen oordeel vry kan spreken.

[20] RICH: De Koninklijke Kroon bedekt zo veel gebreken.

BUK: Ik gaf nooit raad of daad tot zulke moorden.

RICH: Hoe!

Door u verradery gaaft gy de stof daar toe.

BUK: Gy wist het doen wel heel een and're verf te geven.

RICH: Nu isset evenwel verradery gebleven.

BUK: Zo ik verrader ben, wat naam trekt gy u aan?

RICH: Gy zijt verrader; ik, om wie gy hebt verraan.

BUK: Om wie men't schelmstuk doet dien is de schult te wijten.

RICH: Gy waart noch eens zo stout mijn fout my te verwijten.

RICH: Traitors are naturally punished, though the treachery be loved.

BUK: That I must now learn, to my sorrow, so it seems.

RICH: Learn another time to be faithful to your master.

BUK: Why, then, did you break your faith in this fashion?

RICH: Why! a kingdom was to be mine, but not yours.

BUK: That is to say that your wickedness can be subject to no criticism.

[20] RICH: The royal crown covers so many sins.

BUK: I never counselled or abbetted such murders.

RICH: What! Through your treachery you gave cause for them.

BUK: You well know how to give the action an entirely different color.

RICH: It now has remained treachery all the same.

BUK: If I am a traitor, what name do you assume?

RICH: You are the traitor; I, he for whom you have practised treason.

BUK: The man for whom a wicked deed is done, his is the guilt.

RICH: You were once before so bold as to upbraid me for my fault.

BUK: Zo ben ik heden noch, ziet my daar vry voor aan.

[30] RICH: Ik vrees u heete moed zal kort'ling zijn gedaan.

BUK: Zoud' gy zo snood zijn al mijn weldaad zo te loonen?

RICH: Die zelf geen Neef ontzag, hoe zou die u verschoonen?

BUK: Is't dan geen tijd dat gy u heiloos woeden laat?

RICH: Weet gy niet dat de wraak is nimmermeer verzaad?

BUK: Kan deze Tyranny verdragen u geweten?

RICH: Toen was het Tyranny, nu zal het Rechten heten.

BUK: Vaar voort in overdaad, ten nadeel van het land.

RICH: Wat doen ik, dat ik help verraders aan een kant?

BUK: Den Hemel en zal ook u grouwels niet verdragen.

[40] RICH: Den Hemel! die gy zo hebt in de wint geslagen?

BUK: Ja dezen Hemel, die gy tergt met spot en smaat.

RICH: Ik heb noch tijd daar toe, daar tusschen dag en raad.

BUK: De straf is dikmaal na, al schijntze var te wezen.

RICH: Als ikze niet en vrees, wat hebt gy dan te vreezen?

BUK: Ik vree.

BUCK: So am I still today, you are free to regard me as so disposed.

[30] RICH: I fear that your hot courage will be short-lived.

BUCK: Would you be so wicked as thus to reward my good deed?

RICH: How should he who did not spare even a nephew, pardon you?

BUCK: Is it not then time for you to abandon your godless fury?

RICH: Do you not know that revenge is never satiated?

BUCK: Can your conscience endure this tyranny?

RICH: Then, it was tyranny; now, it shall be called justice.

BUCK: Continue your excesses to the destruction of the country.

RICH: What do I do, by ridding it of traitors?

BUCK: Heaven will not endure your abomination.

[40] RICH: Heaven! whom you have thus flouted.

BUCK: Yes, this Heaven whom you provoke with ridicule and insult.

RICH: I have yet time for it, between then and now will come another day and other counsel.

BUCK: Punishment is often near, although it seems to be far away.

RICH: If I do not fear it, what have you then to fear?

BUCK: I fea.....

RICH: 't Is lang genoeg, 'k en dulde u taal niet meer,
 Bereit u tot de dood, want by mijn Kroon, ik zweer,
 'k En wil geen schellemen, als gy, in 't land verdragen;
 Dat hem op staande voet den kop werd afgealagen,
 En zo gy't niet en doet, 't u niet wel vergaan.
 [50] BUK: O goeden Hemel! ziet doch mijn ellenden aan.

KONINK RICHARD. SPOOK.

RICH: Wie zijt gy? Hemel! wat veschrikking roert mijn
 leden?
 Onnutte vrees. Ik wil wat nader tot hem treden.
 Wie zijt gy, zeg ik, spreek! dat u den donder sla.
 Wat is u naam?
 SPOOK: Mijn naam is Richard.
 RICH: Richard?
 SPOOK: Ja.
 RICH: Ik schrik en tril van vrees! wat zoekt gy hier?
 SPOOK: Mijn zelven.
 RICH: Wat angst, ô Hemel! koomt my innig 't hart door-
 delven?
 't Gedagt is gantsch ontroert, en gene rust het vind'.

RICH: That is enough, I cannot tolerate further speech from you
 about it. Prepare yourself for death, for I swear by my crown.
 I will endure no scoundrel like you in the country. Let his head
 be struck off at once. And if you do not do it, it will go hard
 with you.

[50] BUCK: Oh gracious Heaven! behold my wretchedness.

ACT V. Scene 2.

KING RICHARD, GHOST.

RICH: Who are you? God! What terror shakes my limbs!
 Futile fear. I will walk somewhat nearer to him. Who are you.
 I say? Speak. May a thunder-bolt strike it! What is your name?
 GHOST: My name is Richard.
 RICH: Richard?
 GHOST: Yes.
 RICH: I start and quake with fear. What do you seek here?

Daar gaat het heen, en vliet veel lichter als de wint.
Wat spook of razerny koomt my hier aan te randen?

[10] VAN BIN: Hou! Richard.

RICH: Wie is daar?

VAN BIN: U dood is voor de handen.

RICH: Ai my! wat stem is dat? wat hoor ik voor gezocht?

Ach! laas, het zijn mijn Neefs. wat grouwelijk
gerucht!

Wat woest geraas is dat? hoe klappen al de deuren!

Wat dondert my aan't oor? de gront schijnt zich te
beuren

Al drijvende om hoog. wat zweeft daar om my heen?

Wie roept daar wraak? ai my! wat jammerlijk ges-
teen!

Wie komt daar op my aan? wie roert my aan de leden?

Wat zweeven om my heen al nare grouw'lijkheden?

't Is of de Hel zijn mond en kaken open doet,

[20] De aarde beeft en loeit my onder mijne voet.

Waar blijf ik, ach! waar zal ik my van angst ver-
bergen?

De Hel is uit om my tot razens toe te tergen.

Mijn volk, ach! hoort gy niet? mijn volk, mijn die-
naars, hoort!

GHOST: Myself.

RICH: O God, what anxiety comes to pierce my inmost heart.
My mind is utterly distraught, and finds no peace. There, it flees
away, much lighter than the wind. What ghost or frenzy comes
here to assail me?

[10] VOICE FROM WITHIN: Hold, Richard.

RICH: Who is there?

VOICE: Your death is at hand.

RICH: Ah me! What voice is that? What sighs do I hear?
Alas they are my nephews. What horrible noise! What wild up-
roar is that? How all the doors bang! What thunders in my
ears? The earth seems to heave as though floating aloft. What
hovers over me there? Who calls revenge there? Ah me! What
wretched lamentation! Who approaches me there? Who touches
my limbs? What miserable horrors hover about me? It is as if
Hell were opening its mouth and jaws. [20] The earth trembles
and roars beneath my feet. Where am I? Alas! Where shall I

En komt'er niemand, ach! waar blijf ik eind'lijk!
moort!
Verraad!

KAMERLINGS RICHARD.

KAM: Wat isser gaans? wat is u overkomen
Mijn Heer?

RICH: 't En heeft geen noot, het brein was opgenomen.

KAM: Gelieft mijn Heer dat ik hier by hem blijf?

RICH: O neen!

Ik ben alleenig best, daarom gaat vrylijk heen,
Mijn droeve ziel en mag geen menschen byzijn veelen,
Het past een Koning zijn bekommernis te heelen.
O innig hartenpit! ô treurig ingewant!
Geweten vuil vol zond', en root van schaamte en
schant,

Wat bitt're pijnen gaat gy door mijn leden spreken?

[10] Wat droeve knagingen voor mijne ziel bereyden?

Och! dat de grijze tijd, zo ooreloos als vlug,

hide my terror? Hell is loose to drive me to distraction. My men,
alas! do you not hear me? My men, my servants, listen! No one
comes, alas! Where am I? Murder! Treason!

ACT V. Scene 3.

PAGE, RICHARD.

PAGE: What is the matter? What has happened to you, my Lord?

RICH: Have no anxiety. My brain was wandering.

PAGE: Does my lord wish me to stay with him?

RICH: Oh no! I am best alone; therefore depart. My grievous
soul cannot endure another's presence. It befits a king to hide
his grief. Oh sad heart of hearts! O wretched heart! Conscience
smirched with sin and red with shame and guilt! What bitter
torments dost thou spread through my limbs? [10] What melan-
choly gnawing dost thou prepare for my soul? Oh! that grizzled
Time, as unheeding as swift, permitted me to take a good spring
backwards and gave me at the right time an appreciation of my
faults, and taught me to sound my conscience most carefully! I
should be surprised if then I should ever again crave the crown

My gaf verlof te gaan een goede sprong te rug,
 En my ten rechten gaf een kennis van mijn feilen,
 En leerde mijn gemoed ten naauwsten te bepeilen;
 Het zou my wonder doen indien ik immer weêr
 Na Kroon, of Koninkrijk verkreeg gedachten meer.
 Ach Konink Henderik! nu zien, nu zien ik heden
 U bloed vervolgt my, 't geen dees handen storten
 deden;

Onnoosle Neven, ach! ik hulp u aan een kant,

[20] Nu geeft ten knaging gy dit schuldig ingewant.
 Ai my! wat's dat? wat angst komt op nieuw bespringen?

Wat zien mijn oogen weêr voor ysselijke dingen?
 Wat spookten zweeven dus gestadig om my heen?
 Ach! laas, ik kan, ai my! ik durf niet zijn alleen,
 Zoo veel verschrikkingen bespringen mijne zinnen,
 En zweeven my voor't oog. en is daar niemand binnen?

Mijn dienaars.

KAM: Wat is't geen zijn Majesteit gebied?

RICH: Blijft gy hier by my, en verlaat mijn zijde niet.
 Ach! houd my vast, beschermt, ach! lass, bedeckt mijn
 oogen,

[30] Ik zie, ai my! ik zie.

KAM: De Vorst is overtoogen,
 Met zware damp, die hem de harssenen bezwaart.

or kingdom. Alas King Henry! Now I see, today I see your blood pursuing me, which these hands caused to gush forth. Oh guiltless nephews! I helped put you out of the way. [20] Now you cause bitter gnawing to traverse this guilty breast. Ah me! What is that? What terror springs up in me anew? What dreadful things do my eyes now again behold? What ghosts hover thus steadily about me? Oh! Alas, I can.... Ah me! I dare not be alone; so many terrors assail my senses and hover before my eyes. Is there no one within there? Ho! My servants!

PAGE: What is it that your Majesty wishes?

KING: Stay here with me and do not leave my side. Ah! Hold me fast. Protect me. Alas! Cover my eyes. [30] I see! Ah me! I see.

PAGE: The Prince is overwrought with heavy humours which

RICH: Zoo is het, blijft by my, dat gy my wel bewaart
Ach schrik! war vlied ik heen?

KAM: Mijn Heer, komt tot bedaren.

RICH: Wat is dat voor geraas?

KAM: 't Zijn nev'len die u waren
Voor d'oogen van't verstant, en maken't brein beducht.

RICH: 'k Weet van geen nevelen, ik zeg ik hoor gerucht,
Van klokken, en gedruis van wapenen. geen droomen,
En doen't my. 'k hoor haar vast al na en nader komen.
Ziet wat 'er gaanden is, en laat 't my voort verstaan.

[40] Wie daar?

MAJOR, MET EENIGE GEWAPENDE. RICHARD.

MAJOR: Ach! mogent Vorst, den vyand komt vast aan,
Wy zijn verrast, daar valt niet meer om op te passen.

RICH: Wat vyand zegt gy? en wat spreekt gy van verrassen!

MAJOR: De Graf van Richmond.

RICH: Wie?

will weigh down his brain.

RICH: So I am. Stay with me, that you may guard me well.
Ah terror! Whither shall I flee?

PAGE: My Lord, calm yourself.

RICH: What noise is that?

PAGE: It is empty mist which confuses the eye of your understanding and makes the brain afraid.

RICH: I know of no mist, I tell you that I hear the sound of bells and the clank of weapons. No dreams produce this effect on me. I hear them fast approaching nearer and nearer. See what is passing there and let me know immediately. [40] Who is there?

ACT V. Scene 4.

MAJOR WITH SOME ARMED MEN, RICHARD.

MAJOR: Oh mighty Prince, the enemy fast approaches. We have been taken by surprise. There is nothing more for us to do.

RICH: What enemy do you say? And why do you speak of being taken by surprise?

MAJOR: The Duke of Richmond.

RICH: Who?

MAJOR: De Graf van Richmond, Heer.

RICH: Wat duivel brengt hem hier? flux haalt my mijn
geweer,

Ik zal als Oorlogsman in stale wapens sterven,

Of den verrader zelf in duizent stukken kerven.

Men trek op staande voet zo veele macht by een

Als mogelijk is, en brengt den Traynbende¹ op de
been;

[10] Strax ben ik by u om dien hoop te rug te drijven,
En zo ik niet en kan, zo zal ik daar by blijven.

BISSCHOP VAN IORK. STANLEY. BOODEN.

BISS: Myn Heer, waar heen?

STAN: Daar ons de nood nu heenen voert.

BISS: Wat is' er?

STAN: Vyand!

BISS: Spreekt gy waarheid! of is't boert?

STAN: Maar al te waar, mijn Heer.

BISS: Wat Vyand? 't schijnen droomen!

MAJOR: The Duke of Richmond, my Lord.

RICH: What devil brings him here? Quick, give me my harness. I shall die like a warrior clad in steel or myself carve the traitor into a thousand pieces. Bring up immediately as large a force as is possible, and bring up the militia [trainbands]. [10] I shall be with you immediately to drive back this crowd. And if I cannot do it, I shall die there.

ACT V. Scene 5.

BISHOP OF YORK, STANLEY, MESSENGERS.

BISH: My Lord, whither are you going?

STAN: Wherever necessity now drives us.

BISH: What is it?

STAN: The enemy.

BISH: Do you speak the truth or is it a jest?

STAN: It is all too true, my Lord.

BISH: What enemy? You seem to be dreaming.

¹ This is not a Dutch word. It seems to be an adaptation of the English "train bands."

STAN: De Graf van Richmond.

BISS: Waar is die van daan gekomen?

STAN: Die heeft in 't Koninkrijk al over lang vernacht,
En doen ik't zeide wierd mijn goede raat verdacht.
Wy zijn verraân.

BISS: Ey! Heer, en spreekt van geen verraden,
De Goddelijke wraak komt noch, al komt ze spade.
Wat man is dat?

1 BOODE: God lof! dat ik de woeste hand
[10] Van't razende oorlogsvolk, 't geen als een snelle
brand

De Stad verdelgt, zo var noch levend ben ontkomen.

STAN: Mijn vriend, en vlugt niet, gy behoeft geen vriend te
schromen
Van waar komt gy aldus gequetst? en zegt ons waar
Den vyand is, zo veel gy weet, of hier of daar.

1 BOODE: Aan Bisschopspoort daar heb ik haar het laatst
gelaten;
Des vyands Ruitery vervult alreets de straten,
En trekken vast de Stad met sterke troepen door
Na't Hof. zy naad'ren vast. ik weet 't voorseeker.
hoor!

STAN: The Duke of Richmond.

BISH: Whence does he come?

STAN: He has lived in the kingdom far too long. And when I
gave this information, my good advice was suspected. We are be-
trayed.

BISH: Oh, my Lord, speak not of treachery. The vengeance of
God is sure to come, though it be late. What man is that?

FIRST MESS: Thank God that I have escaped with my life from
the wild hands of the raging warriors, which, like a swift fire, de-
stroy the city.

STAN: My friend, do not flee; you need not fear a friend. Whence
do you come, thus wounded? Tell us, as far as you know, where
the enemy is.

FIRST MESS: I left them last there at Bishopsport. The enemy's
cavalry already filled the streets. They are now surely marching
through the city with strong troops toward the court. They ap-

't Gerucht der wapenen kunt gy beschey'lik
hooren.

[20] STAN: En stut haar niemant?

1 BOODE: Al het stutten is verlooren;

Te schielijk is de noot en't algemeen gevaar.

BISS: Op welke plaats wierd gy haar't aldereerst gewaar?
Verhaalt het ons, en vreest voor ongemak noch lyen,
Wy zullen u voor noot en zwaarigheid bevryen.

1 BOODE: Ik, neffens andren meer, was aan die poort te
wacht,

't Was ongevarelijk in't midden van de nacht,
Als ieder in's gemeen met vaak word overtoogen,
En naauw de sluymering kan weeren uit de oogen.
Half slapende als ik was hoorde ik het eerst gerucht,
gerucht,

[30] Ik steek op staande voet de ooren in de lucht,
Wanneer een groote slag, waar door de aard in't
ronde

Scheen als te beven, sloeg de houte poort te gronde.
Wy vliegen op, verschrikt, en tasten na't geweer,
Elk, even zeer verbaast, loopt, dui's'lig op en neêr:
Die zoekt zijn deegen, dees zijn spiets, om sich te
weeren,

proach certainly. I know it surely. Listen! You can hear distinctly the clash of weapons.

[20] STAN: And does no one oppose them?

FIRST MESS: All reinforcement is in vain. Too sudden is the need and the common danger.

BISH: At what place were you first aware of them? Tell us, and do not fear discomfort or suffering. We will protect you in your need and difficulty.

FIRST MESS: I, with others besides, was on guard at the gate. It was about the middle of the night, when everyone is wont to be covered with sleep and can scarcely keep slumber from his eyes. Half asleep as I was, I heard the first noise. [30] I immediately pricked up my ears, when a mighty blow, from which the earth all around seemed to tremble, struck down the wooden gate. Terrified we rushed up and groped for our weapons. Each one, equally amazed, ran dizzily up and down. This one seeks his sword; that one his pike, in order to defend himself. This one pulls on his armor,

- Die schiet het harnas aan, na tienmaal om te keeren,
 En ander rukt de speer zijn makker uit de hand.
 En laat hem zijn geweer uit enkel misverstand.
 Men vliegt, half toegerust, de deur uit, met vertrouwen,
 [40] Den hoop, die ons besprong, met kracht daar uit te houwen;
 Maar te vergeefs, den trop wies daadlijk machtig aan.
 Des kost ons kleen geweld voor't hare niet bestaan;
 Noch deden wy zo veel met't een en't ander teeken,
 Met roepen, tieren, en met keelen op te steeken.
 Dat eindlijk meerder macht van volk quam by der hand,
 Maar veel te laat, vermits de poort was overmant:
 Noch deed men wat men kost. ik, zo gy kunt beöogen,
 Gequetst, heb eindlijk my het heet gevecht ontoogen,
 Met hoop om my t'ontsalaan van't dreigende gevaar:
 [50] Hoe dat het voordr staat en weet ik't een noch't aêr.
 Mijn Heer vergeeft het my, 'k en kan hier niet bedrijven,
 En't dreigende gevaar verbiet my hier te blijven.

after turning around ten times; another snatches the spear out of the hand of his comrade and leaves him his own arms out of pure excitement. Men flee out of doors, half armed, [40] confident that they can with force overwhelm the mob that had set upon us. But in vain. The troop immediately grew mightily, so that our small force could not hold out before them. Yet we did so much in one way or another, by shouting and making an uproar and by recruiting our forces, that finally a greater force of men came to our aid, but much too late, since the gate was overpowered. Yet we did what we could. I, wounded, as you can see, have finally withdrawn from the hot conflict, in the hope of escaping the threatening danger. [50] How affairs have been going since my departure, I do not know at all. Pardon me, my Lord, that I can be of no service here. The threatening danger forbids me to stay here.

BISS: Gaat, dat den Hemel u voor ongeval behoed'.

STAN: Mijn Heer, en zullen wy niet wijken?

BISS: Niet een voet.

Zie daar komt noch een man, die 't werk ons zal ont-
leden.

Wat nieuws mijn vriend?

2 BOODE: Wat nieuws? de Vorst is overleden.

STAN: Wat zegt gy?

BISS: Wat is't geen gy spreekt?

2 BOODE: 't Is meer als waar.

De Konink die is dood.

BISS: O onverwachte maar!

Hoe weet gy't?

2 BOODE: Hoe? hy is aan mijne zy gebleven.

[60] STAN: En hoe geraakten hy, dat bid ik u, om 't leven?

2 BOODE: Terwijl men in't gevecht al vast den tijd versleet,
En tegens zulken macht geen nut met al en deed',
Komt Konink Richard aan, met die van zijn
gezinde,

E die hy van zijn volk't gereetst had kunnen
vinden,

Valt midden in den hoop, en toont zich als ver-
woed,

BISH: Go, and may Heaven guard you from misfortune.

STAN: My Lord, shall we not retreat?

BISH: Not a foot. See, yonder comes another man, who shall
explain the situation to us. What news, my friend?

SECOND MESS: What news? The Prince is dead.

STAN: What do you say?

BISH: What is that you are saying?

SECOND MESS: It is all true; the King is dead.

BISH: Oh unexpected tidings! How do you know that?

SECOND MESS: How? He fell at my side.

[60] STAN: And, how I ask you, did he meet his death?

SECOND MESS: While time passed rapidly in the fight, and
against such might resistance was proving fruitless, King Richard
arrived with those of his body-guard and those of his forces whom
he had been able to find most easily. He rushed into the midst of
the fray and showed himself in fury. Now he hurled this one, now
that one, murderously under foot; and everyone gave way before

Nu werpt hy dees, dan die moordadig onder voet;
 Een ieder maakt hem ruimt', zelf die van zijner
 zijde,
 Als hadden z'hem alleen de eer gegunt van't
 strijden:

Terwijl komt Richmond, die hem onder d'oogen
 ziet,

[70] Verrader, zeid' hy, hoe! schaamt gy u zelven niet,
 Het Rijk, door dubb'le stof van schelmery verk-
 regen,

Na zo veel moorden te beschermen met den deegen!
 Kom, dat van eed'le straf my zy alleen de eer,
 Mit vliegt hy toe, en komt hem onder zijn geweer,
 Heeft hem een zwart stoot in zijne borst gegeven,
 Die te gelijk zijn spraak benomen heeft, en't leven:
 Hy valt, en ieder, voor zijn eigen zelfs beducht,
 Gaat zich op staande voet begeben op de vlucht.

[80] Ik zocht al meé mijn zelf te hoeden met haar allen,
 En liet den vyant zijn de meester van ons wallen.
 Vergeeft my dat ik ga, my dringt de hooge noot.

STAN: Het is dan eindlijk waar, den Konink die is dood!
 Hoe kan het licht geluk haar dart'le hielen
 wenden:

Hier meede is't Huis van Jork haar mogentheid
 ten enden.

him, even those of his own side, as if they had granted to him alone the glory of the battle. Then came Richmond, who looked him full in the face. [70] "What, traitor," said he, "are you not ashamed after so many murders, to protect with the sword the kingdom that has been obtained through a double sort of treason? Come on, that I alone may have the honor of inflicting worthy punishment." At this he flew at him, and came at him under his guard. He gave him a heavy blow in his breast, which bereft him alike of speech and of life. He fell and each one, mindful of his own safety, immediately gave himself up to flight. I sought to save myself with the others [80] and let the enemy be master of our walls. Excuse my departure, the highest need compels me.

STAN: It is then really true that the King is dead? How fickle fortune can turn her fleet heel! Herewith is the power of the House of York at an end.

BISS: De Goddelijke straf en stelt geen uur noch tijd,
Al rustze wat, ze schelt geen groote zonden quijt.

STAN: Maar wat staat ons te doen, te vlieden?

BISS: Niet te vlieden,
Zulks past geenzins de plicht van onbesmette lieden:
Wy treden vrylijk den verwinnaar in't gemoet,
[90] 't Is my al eens, hoe't ook den Hemel met ons doet.
Maar wat gerucht is dat? zy naad'ren. 't zijn Sol-
daten,
Die vroom is mag hem op zijn goet gemoet verlaten.
Daar is den Grave zelf. hebt moed, mijn Heer, hebt
moed.

GRAAF VAN RICHMOND. BISSCHOP. STANLEY. EDELMAN.
MAJOR. KONINGIN, MET HAAR DOCHTERS. EN ANDEREN.

GRAFF: Een ieder hou zijn rust, en wijk niet een voet,
'k En kom om Borgery in goed noch bloed te
schenden,
Maar mijn verlooren recht te winnen op het ende.
Wie zijt gy?

BISS: Heer, ik ben't.

BISH: The punishment of God knows no time nor tide. Though
it be postponed for a season, it pardons no great sin.

STAN: But what must we do? Flee?

BISH: Not flee, that is never the part of innocent persons. With
free consciences we shall meet the conqueror. [90] It is all one
to me how Heaven deals with us. But what noise is that? They
approach. It is the soldiers. Whoever is blameless may trust his
clear conscience. There is the Duke himself. Have courage, my
Lord, have courage.

ACT V. Scene 6.

DUKE OF RICHMOND, BISHOP, STANLEY, NOBLEMAN, MAJOR, QUEEN
WITH HER DAUGHTERS AND OTHERS.

DUKE: Let each one be reassured and not retreat a foot. I
come to spend neither the goods nor the blood of the citizens, but
finally to win justly my lost kingdom. Who are you?

BISH: Lord, it is I.

GRAFF: Hoe Kancelier! zijt gy't?
 En gy Heer Stanley? ik ben warelijk verblijt
 U hier te zien!

STAN: Den Heer die wil u wapens zeeg'nen.

GRAAF: Dat zy zo, zijt gerust, u zal geen quaat bejeeg'nen,
 Noch ieder die begunst' het geen ik billijk doe.

BISS: Voor lange waren wy zijn snooden handel moe,
 [10] En wenschte eendrachtig, uit de mond van alle men-
 schen,

 U zulk een zegen als gy zelfs zoud' kunnen wenschen;
 Gy hebt niet eer het Rijk verwonnen door het punt,
 Als u de Kroon door ons van harten is gegunt.

STAN: Alleen vergeeft ons, Heer, dat wy ten einde bleven.
 Getrouw het monsterdier, de moorder van zijn Neven.

GRAAF: Uit deze trouw, betoont aan een onwaardig hoofd,
 Is't billijk dat men zich een ware trouw belooft;
 Hebt gy hem trouw geweest, die trouwe dorst ver-
 zaken?

 Zo zult gy't hem zijn, die't zich zelf hoopt waard'
 te maken.

 [20] Ik neem u beiden aan als vriend en bloedverwant.
 Staat op Heer Stanley: gy Aerdsbisschop, geeft my
 d'hand;

DUKE: What! Chancellor? Is it you? And you, Lord Stan-
 ley? I am truly delighted to see you here.

STAN: May God bless your arms.

DUKE: Amen. Be reassured, you shall suffer no evil, nor anyone
 who favors my just deeds.

BISH: For long we have been tired of his wicked conduct, and
 [10] one wish has been in the hearts of all men. We have unan-
 imously desired for you such a blessing as you might have wished
 for yourself. You have not conquered the kingdom by the sword
 sooner than we wished from our hearts that the crown might be
 yours.

STAN: Only forgive us, my Lord, that we remained faithful to the
 end to that monster, the murderer of his nephews.

DUKE: Because of this faith, shown to an unworthy leader, it is
 right for me to expect a true allegiance. If you have been loyal to
 him, who dared betray that loyalty, you will be loyal to him who
 hopes to make himself worthy. [20] I receive you both as friends

Verzekert uit mijn naam de Raden en de Heeren,
Dat, die my trouw is, gantsch geen ongemak zal
deeren,

'k Laat ieder in de staat, 't zy vriend of onbevriend,
Die hy voor my met zijn getrouwigheid verdient;
Maar, mits ik weet dat deugt beloonen, schult be-
talen,

Zijn van 't gemeene best de aldervaste palen,
Zo moet ik vorder gaan, en loonen uwe deugt,
Op dat gy eeuwig aan mijn weldaad denken meugt.

[30] Heer Stanley, 'k maak u Graaf van Derby, van
mijn handen

Zult gy gewaardigt zijn de Graaffelijke banden,
En't Vorstelijk gieraat genieten op 'n hooft.
Meer and'ren zijnder die vereering is beloofd.
Ook zijnder die ik niet alleen ben af te schaffen,
Maar ook haar misdaad, na haar waardigheid, te
straffen.

Alleenig Buckingham is't hooft en't leven quijt,
Aan my heeft dien Tyran gewrogt die laatste spijt.
Dus ben ik onderrecht, hoewel ik moet bekennen,
Schoon ik daar mede schijn mijn bloed en stam te
schennen,

and blood-relatives. Arise, Lord Stanley! You, Archbishop, give me your hand. In my name assure the Council and the Lords that whoever is faithful to me, shall suffer no inconvenience at all. I shall leave each one in the situation, be he friend or foe, which his faithfulness shows him to deserve from me. But since I know that the rewarding of virtue and the punishment of guilt are the fastest buttresses of the common weal, I must go further, and reward your virtue, so that you may forever remember my benevolence. [30] Lord Stanley, I make you Earl of Derby. By my hands you shall be ennobled. Receive the ducal insignia and the princely ornament on your head. Still others are there to whom honor has been promised. There are also those whom I intend not only to dismiss, but also to punish for their misdeeds according to their deserts. Buckingham alone has been deprived of his head and his life. On me has that tyrant wrought this last bitterness, so I am informed, although I must confess, even though I seem thereby to profane my

[40] Dat hy, vermits hy zijn gezworenen Heer verzaakt,
Zich een zo bitt'ren straf met recht heeft waard'
gemaakt.

EDELM: Mijn Heer, de Stadvoogt, met den Raad der Burgeryen,
Die komen om den Vorst te spreken.

GRAFF: 'k Macht wel lyen;
Zy zijn my welkom. Heer Major, u begeer!

MAJOR: Wy werpen dienstelijk ons voor u voeten neêr,
En geven williglijk ons zelf in uwe handen,
Beneffens dit gieraad en kostelijke panden,
't Geen ons onwaardig heeft met waardigheid bekleet;

Is't qualijk aangeleid, 't is meerder als ik weet.

[50] GRAAF: Genoeg. ik neemze aan, als ook de Burgerye
Voor alle overlast, en schennis te bevryen,
Genade zal'er zijn voor die 'k genade geef.

ALT'ZAM: Lang Konink Hendrik leef, lang Koning Hendrik
leef.

GRAAF: Ik dank u duizentfout, mijn waardige onderzaten,
Den Hemel wil u lang de vreê genieten laten,
En hoede u voor geweld en onderlinge twist,

blood and race, [40] that he, since he forsook his sworn Lord,
deserved rightly so bitter a punishment.

NOBLEMAN: My Lord, the Mayor, with his Council of Citizens,
come to speak to the Prince.

DUKE: I grant him audience. You are welcome to me. Lord
Mayor, your desire?

MAYOR: We throw ourselves humbly at your feet, and entrust
ourselves willingly to your hands, besides these insignia and
precious pledges, which have invested us, unworthy though we be,
with dignity. If this is wrongly done, the mistake is made unintentionally.

[50] DUKE: Enough. I accept them and also free the people
from all annoyance and tyranny. Those to whom I grant favors
shall retain them.

ALL: Long live King Henry! Long live King Henry!

DUKE: I thank you a thousand times, my loving subjects; may
Heaven grant you long enjoyment of peace and protect you from

Een brand die slechts met bloet der borgers word
geslist.

EDELM: De oude Koningin, mijn Heer, komt u begroeten,
En met haar Dochteren te kussen uwe voeten.

[60] GRAAF: Zy zijn my welkom, zo waarlijk als ik leef.
Mevrouw, staat op, en kust de mond van uwe Neef,
'k Omarm u als u kind, en kus u duizentwerven.

KONING: Den Hemel laat het Rijk by u geslacht versterven,
Doorluchtig Vorst, en stijl van't Koninglijke huis,
Getrouwe wreker van mijn ongevallig kruis:

Nu is't my niet meer leet mijn Stam te zien ver-
stooten,

Nu dat de gulde Kroon by u zal zijn genooten.

Ach! dat den Hemel mijn vergunde stond en tijd,
U zulken dienst te doen als gy my waardig zijt;

[70] Nooit eeuw zou mogen zulks te laten ongesproken,
Noch is het my genoeg mijn leet te zien gewroken.

Ontfangt ons in u schut, doorluchtig Koning, en
Vertrouwt dat ik voor al u trouwste dienstmaagt
ben.

GRAAF: 'k Verheug my neffens u in't wreken van u smaden,
En des Tyrans vervloekte en goddelooze daden;
En hebt gy manlijk oir, geen erfgenamen meer,

quarrels and strife,—a fire that is quenched only with the blood of
the citizens.

NOBLEMAN: My Lord, the old queen comes to greet you, and
with her daughters to kiss your feet.

[60] DUKE: As truly as I live, they are welcome. Stand up
and kiss your nephew on the mouth. I embrace you as well as your
child and kiss you a thousand times.

QUEEN: Heaven grant that the kingdom remain forever in your
family, noble Prince, and pillar of the Royal House, faithful
avenger of my burdensome cross. Now it no longer grieves me to see
my children repudiated, now that you are to enjoy the golden crown.
Oh that Heaven might grant me time and the occasion to do you
such service as you deserve from me; [70] in all ages should it
be told, nor is it enough for me to see my wrongs avenged. Receive
us under your protection, gracious King, and believe that I am
forever your most faithful servant.

DUKE: I rejoice with you in the avenging of your insults and
of the tyrant's accursed and godless deeds. And since you have no

Ik ben, weest vry gerust, u zoon en niet u Heer,
 Zo gy my waardig moogt zo grooten eere houwen,
 U kind Elizabeth verzoek ik om te trouwen,
 [80] Op dat zware breuk gehecht blijf voor altoos,
 En dus vereenigt word de Roode en Witte Roos;
 Dat eenmaal deze twist, met duizenden ellenden,
 Door een gelukkige echt gebragt mach zijn ten
 enden.

KONING: Ach Hemel, wat een luk zend gy hier op ons neêr!
 Hoe weet gy die gy slaat op 't zagst te zalven weêr!
 Waat toont gy mogent Vorst u dienares genade!
 Hoe overlast gy ons door alle dees weldaden!
 Ach Heere! gy begeert 't geen ik op 't hoogst begeer,
 Ontfangt haar niet als man, ontfangt haar als haar
 Heer,

[90] Ik zal nooit laten haar als moeder te vermanen,
 Dat zy zich kent voor een van al uwe onderdanen.
 En mits het wezen mag dat ik die vreugt beleef,
 Zo bid ik dat den Heer u eeuw'ge vreugde geef.

GRAAF: Ik dank u Moeder dat men voort zijn vlijt ga toonen,
 Zo tot ons trouwdag, als mijn Koningin te kroonen,

male heir, no scion any longer, I am, be fully assured, your son,
 and not your Lord. If you might deem me worthy of so great an
 honor, I seek your child, Elizabeth, in marriage, [80] in order
 that the great breach may be healed forever and thus joined the red
 and white rose; that once this quarrel, with its thousands of miser-
 ies, may be brought to an end through a happy marriage.

QUEEN: Oh Heaven, what good fortune do you now bestow upon
 us! How you, who strike a blow,—how you do know how to heal it
 again in the gentlest fashion! What favor do you, mighty Prince,
 show your servant! How you do overwhelm us with all these
 benefits! Oh, my Lord! you desire the thing which I desire with
 all my heart. Receive her not as her husband; receive her as her
 Lord. As her mother [90] I shall never cease to admonish her
 to consider herself as one among all your subjects. And provided
 that it may be that I live to see this joy, I pray that the Lord may
 grant you eternal joy.

DUKE: I thank you, mother. Let preparations be straightway
 made, as much for our marriage day, as for the coronation of my
 queen. And let all care also be taken that the murdered sons be

En dat ook alle zorg te wege word gebrogt,
Dat de vermoorde Zoons weêr worden opgezogt,
Op dat zy beide, na haar mogentheid en waarde,
[100] In't Koninklijke graf, haar's Vaders, gaan ter
aarde.

Biss: Den Hemel zegen u, en stort den Opperheer
Op Roode en Witte Roos zijn Heil'ge stralen neêr.

U I T.

again sought for, so that they both may be buried [100] in the
royal grave of their fathers as becomes their station and worth.

BISH: Heaven bless you, and may the Lord of Hosts send down
His holy beams on the Red and White Rose.

END

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GOETHE'S LYRIC POEMS IN ENGLISH
TRANSLATION PRIOR TO 1860

BY
LUCRETIA VAN TUYL SIMMONS

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FOREWORD

The present volume is the result of investigations prosecuted during my tenure of one of the Graduate Fellowships in German at the University of Wisconsin. My first intention was to supplement and elaborate the investigations already made concerning Goethe's works in English translation, and to give some aesthetic and critical treatment of the individual translations, showing defects and virtues, making comparisons, and noting frequent or infrequent misunderstandings of the text. However, the extent of the bibliography soon made it clear that it would take many months merely to copy and compare the various versions which were only to be found in many widely scattered libraries, and that in the time at my disposal I could do little but collate the material. As a result, the critical estimates have not had the attention which they deserve, but that must be left to a further publication, now that the ground has been, in a measure, broken, and the material accumulated.

This study is restricted to Goethe's shorter poems and can lay no claims to originality, except that it is the first systematic attempt to collect, under such a title, all of the evidence concerning his shorter poems in English translation. Several investigations of a more general nature have been very thoroughly carried out by other students, and I have not hesitated to make the fullest use of their data. A complete list of the books, pamphlets, articles, and manuscripts which afforded me assistance, however slight, will be found in Bibliographies A, B, C, D.

The field of investigation, covering as it did the years from 1790 to 1860, and including anthologies, books, journals, and magazines, soon proved to be enormous. The records were scattered and very inadequate. The fact was repeatedly emphasized that all of our early bibliographical data are exceed-

ingly incomplete and inexact, both in this country and in England. No effort has been spared to make my lists accurate and exhaustive, but the contents of many books and anthologies, and particularly of many magazines and journals, could not be completely ascertained, since the early ones often had no indices. In spite of searching, page by page, single poems may have been passed over; and again, the data are sometimes uncertain concerning the books themselves, since the early booklists and catalogues vary among themselves as to authors, contents, dates of publication, pagination, and volume size. I believe, however, that all the books, anthologies, magazines, or single translations which had a broad circulation or any wide-spread influence in America or in England have been included here.

I wish to thank, as so many students have done before me, my teacher, Professor A. R. Hohlfeld, for advice and assistance in many ways. His thoughtful suggestions and helpful criticisms have been a constant stimulus and inspiration.

The greater part of this work was done at the Library of the University of Wisconsin, which has an unusually large collection of the early magazines of England and America. I wish to take this opportunity to express my warmest appreciation to the librarian, Mr. W. M. Smith, who granted me exceptional privileges, and to the library staff for their great courtesy and valuable assistance. For the same reasons I wish to thank the librarians of the Boston Public Library, Brown University, the Chicago Public Library, Columbia University, the Congressional Library at Washington, Cornell University, Harvard University, the Newberry Library in Chicago, the New York Public Library, the Osterhout Free Library in Wilkes-Barre, Pa., the Pennsylvania State College, Yale University, and the University of Pennsylvania, all of whom readily gave me information, placed books at my disposal and helped me to verify notices which I had obtained. Letters were sent to the librarian of the British Museum and to various English and American publishers, all of whom I would thank for their prompt assistance. To Professor E. C. Parry of Philadelphia, Prof. F. W. C. Lieder, and Mr. Archer Taylor of Harvard University, who gave me important information as to the lo-

cation of various editions of books, I acknowledge sincerest thanks, and also to Professors F. W. Oswald, F. G. Ruff, and W. E. Roloff, for the use of the material of their dissertations, which are at this time unpublished. These deal with the translations of German literature in English magazines from 1790 to 1880, and it is largely due to them if that part of this investigation is in any way complete. Finally, thanks are due to Professor B. Q. Morgan for a painstaking revision of the manuscript.

Goedekes Grundriss zur Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung (2. Auflage, 1891; 3. Auflage, 1910,) and Eugene Oswald's Bibliography, *Goethe in England and America*, were the starting points of my investigation. However, Goedeke's statements concerning Goethe's poems in English translation depend quite largely upon Oswald's investigations, and Oswald has but twenty entries prior to 1860, so that these two sources proved themselves quite inadequate. Goedeke's work is in general so invaluable that I have tried throughout these pages to make special mention of statements which need rectification. Both of these works would be far more helpful if they gave the year as well as the volume and page of magazines. Then the student would know at a glance whether the reference were an early or a late one.

In some cases almost no data could be obtained. A line of advertisement or a notice of publication in some early magazine or catalog would indicate a book which might possibly be a valuable addition to these lists, but continued search would fail to find any further trace of the volume. Such cases have been marked with a star in the bibliography. I have tried to reproduce carefully the exact title, and to give the pagination and format wherever obtainable. When possible, the first edition of each book is given, and also the number of editions or reprints, in order to show its circulation and popularity. Often it has required days and weeks of searching in various libraries to establish even such small items. It has not been easy to avoid the occasional repetition of information which seemed to need examination from more points of view and under more headings than one. In a number of cases it has seemed advisable to add brief biographical facts

concerning various writers mentioned, since even scant information was not to be found in the various national biographies; the facts here given were taken from the early magazines or prefaces of old publications.

After all the material was at hand, the investigation finally took a two-fold form: first, a full bibliography or list of all literary material which offers translations of Goethe's poems into English prior to 1860; second, a chronological treatment of this material, in order to throw light on the introduction of Goethe as a lyric poet to the English-reading world, and then, incidental to that, to indicate the course of interest and sentiment towards Goethe in England and America. If this study has brought to light any new facts, prepared the way for a more thorough and critical investigation in this field, or shown the need of a truer translation of Goethe's lyrics into English, it will have realized the hopes of its author.

GOETHE'S LYRIC POEMS IN ENGLISH TRANSLATION PRIOR TO 1860

IMPORTANCE OF TRANSLATIONS

For a long time the question of translations from the German language into English was left quite uninvestigated. The mediocrity and haste of most of the versions made the whole subject appear to be of secondary importance. Of late years, however, as the importance of comparative literature has been recognized, the value of such knowledge has become more and more apparent. We now realize that whether an author is to be well or ill received, whether his influence is to be broad or narrow, in fact, whether or not he is to be in any degree truthfully understood and appreciated outside of his own country, depends almost entirely upon the spirit and fidelity with which his works are translated. Students interested in Goethe have found here a broad field, the study of which will offer some explanations for the earlier English attitude towards Goethe, and the indifference of the leading literary men of England toward his work. During the latter part of the eighteenth and the early part of the nineteenth century practically all of the knowledge which English readers had of German literature came through translations, since very few of the reading public (not excepting the university men) could read German in the original. Necessarily, then, the tone of English feeling towards German writers was largely dependent upon the quality of the early translations. No small part of the distaste and indifference felt for German literature can be traced to the carelessness, or lack of thorough comprehension, or ignorance of idiom, on the part of the early translators. Very often the meaning was misunderstood or distorted, little was left of the original style, and nothing remained of the original harmony and perfection of phrase.

Perhaps no German writer suffered more at the hands of the translators than did Goethe, although it is true that scarcely any author has given the translator a harder task; in the lyric poems especially the difficulties are most evident and the inadequacy of the translations most lamentable.

Goethe himself was among the first to advocate the value of good translations as a step towards better international appreciation, towards a more complete world culture, and towards universal toleration. With this in mind he wrote, in 1828:¹

Offenbar ist das Bestreben der besten Dichter und ästhetischen Schriftsteller aller Nationen schon seit geraumer Zeit auf das allgemein Menschliche gerichtet. In jedem Besondern, es sei nun historisch, mythologisch, fabelhaft, mehr oder weniger willkürlich ersonnen, wird man durch Nationalität und Persönlichkeit hin jenes Allgemeine immer mehr durchleuchten und durchscheinen sehen. . . . Was nun in Dichtungen aller Nationen hierauf hindeutet und hinwirkt, dies ist es, was die übrigen sich anzueignen haben. Die Besonderheiten einer jeden muss man kennen lernen, um sie ihr zu lassen, um gerade dadurch mit ihr zu verkehren; denn die Eigenheiten einer Nation sind wie ihre Sprache und ihre Münzsorten: sie erleichtern den Verkehr, ja sie machen ihn erst vollkommen möglich.

Eine wahrhaft allgemeine Duldung wird am sichersten erreicht, wenn man das Besondere der einzelnen Menschen und Völkerschaften auf sich beruhen lässt, bei der Ueberzeugung jedoch fest hält, dass das wahrhaft Verdienstliche sich dadurch auszeichnet, dass es der ganzen Menschheit angehört. Zu einer solchen Vermittelung und wechselseitigen Anerkennung tragen die Deutschen seit langer Zeit schon bei. Wer die deutsche Sprache versteht und studiert, befindet sich auf dem Markte, wo alle Nationen ihre Waren anbieten, er spielt den Dolmetscher, indem er sich bereichert.

Und so ist jeder Uebersetzer anzusehen, dass er sich als Vermittler dieses allgemein geistigen Handels bemüht und den Wechseltausch zu befördern sich zum Geschäft macht. Denn was man auch von den Unzulänglichkeiten des Uebersetzens sagen mag, so ist es und bleibt es doch eines der wichtigsten und würdigsten Geschäfte in dem allgemeinen Weltverkehr. Der Koran sagt: Gott hat jedem Volke einen Propheten gegeben in seiner eignen Sprache. So ist jeder Uebersetzer ein Prophet in seinem Volke.

¹ *Kunst und Altertum*, VI, 1828, or *Goethes Werke*, Jubiläums-Ausgabe, XXXVIII:141.

If we accept this point of view, we can then see the value of a study of the means by which the lyrics and shorter poems of Goethe became known to English readers, of the spirit in which they were translated, of their accessibility in translation, and of the frequency with which these translations appeared. Such a study ought to give a clearer understanding of the poet's position and scope of influence, or lack of it, in the English literary world during the first half of the nineteenth century.

These questions began to receive wider attention with the establishment of the *Goethe-Jahrbuch* in 1880. In 1882 appeared an article by Prof. Alois Brandl,² *Die Aufnahme von Goethes Jugendwerken in England*, and in 1884, a bibliography of translations by Prof. Horatio S. White,³ *Goethe in Amerika*. Then followed several bibliographical lists⁴ on the subject and finally investigations⁵ were made concerning the translations to be found in English and American magazines. These later studies have made possible a specific study of Goethe's shorter poems in English translation and have brought out considerable material not previously obtainable. A glance at the chronological lists of translations (Bibliographies C, D, E) given in connection with these investigations will convey a much clearer idea of the time and attention which was devoted to German translation, and to Goethe in particular, than could be obtained in any other way.

² *Goethe-Jahrbuch*, III: 27, 1882.

³ *Ibid.*, V: 219, 1884.

⁴ See Bibliography A: E. Oswald, Tombo, White.

⁵ See Bibliography A: Davis, E. Z.; Cairns, W. B.; Goodnight, S. H.; Haertel, M. H.; Haney, J. L.; Lieder, F. W. C.; Oswald, F. W.; Roloff, W. E.; Ruff, F. G.; Wilkins, F. H.

FIRST PERIOD OF THE STUDY OF GOETHE,
1795-1800

It is not necessary to enter into a detailed discussion of the conditions of education and literature in England and America during the period in question. These have been fully treated in the studies previously mentioned. It will perhaps be helpful, however, to mention the various obstacles in the path of the translator in these early years. These were, first of all, the slight social and intellectual contact between the countries, next the difficulty of securing teachers and textbooks, then the almost insuperable difficulty of translating lyric poems faithfully and acceptably, even after the language is mastered, and last and perhaps hardest of all to overcome, the feeling against German taste and literature which dominated England at this time. This has been well stated in a recent study of English poetry:⁶

The influence of the German spirit on the English was far less extensive than that of the French. Few Englishmen in the eighteenth century were masters of the German language, nor was there anything in the social constitution of Germany which could furnish to the English aristocracy models of taste and manners at all approaching the standard of refinement presented by the French court. In the more popular paths of English literature, German examples operated mainly by intensifying the character of the Romantic revival. German literature was swarming with spirits and spectres, castles and convents, tales of marvel, magic, and mystery. From Germany the taste for the supernatural, returning with added force to England, found expression in the fictions of Mrs. Radcliffe and "Monk" Lewis, and in the numerous imitations of Bürger's famous ballad, "Lenore".

Following this trend of literary taste towards the supernatural and the mysterious, it was this same "Monk" Lewis⁷ who

⁶ Courthope, W. J., *History of English Poetry*, VI:20, Macmillan, 1910.

⁷ Matthew Gregory Lewis, called "Monk" Lewis, was born in London in 1775, and died at sea while returning from the West Indies, in 1818. He was educated at Oxford and studied German at Weimar in 1792 and

first introduced some of Goethe's ballads into England. Hereafter for a few years German literature began to assume a new, interesting, and impressive character in English eyes. One critic spoke of the many German dramas on the English stage and said,⁸ "It is a time when our novels are German, our poetry German, and nothing but German is admired." Lewis's romantic novel, *The Monk*, which was published in London in 1795, and which gave him his name henceforth, inaugurated an epoch in English literature. It was interspersed with German ballads, all exemplifying some demoniacal, elemental power; among these was Goethe's *Erlking*, which immediately became popular. This version of the *Erlking* was further circulated by publication in the *London Monthly Mirror* for 1796 and the *Philadelphia Weekly Magazine* for 1798. It appeared again in Lewis's *Tales of Wonder* (1801), with his version of *The Fisher* and Walter Scott's paraphrase of *Der untreue Knabe*, called by him *Frederick and Alice*.⁹

At about the same time that Lewis was studying German in Weimar, Walter Scott¹⁰ was taking up the study in Edinburgh. He had been led to it by his admiration for translations of some of Bürger's ballads, and continued his reading for some years. In 1797 he saw Lewis's translation of *The*

1793, where he met Goethe personally. Upon his return to England, he tried to make known to his countrymen that sort of German literature which had appealed to him. His much censured novel, *The Monk*, appeared in 1795 and contained numerous translations from the German. In 1798 he met Walter Scott and influenced him to continue his study of German and to attempt translation into English. He procured the publication of Scott's translation of Goethe's *Götz* and later asked him to assist in the production of his *Tales of Wonder*, 1801, and *Tales of Terror*, 1807. During the rest of his life, Lewis translated many dramas and romantic tales from German into English.

⁸ *London Monthly Mirror*, V: 355, 1798.

⁹ This is rather a paraphrase than a translation, for the original poem of Goethe, which appeared in 1776 in *Claudine von Villa Bella*, has six stanzas of seven lines each, while this version has twenty-two stanzas of four lines each.

¹⁰ For further discussions of Scott's work as a German translator see Brandl, *Die Aufnahme von Goethes Jugendwerken in England*, in *Goethe-Jahrbuch*, III: 27, 1882; Blumenhagen, K., *Sir Walter Scott als Uebersetzer*, Rostock, 1900; Elze, K., *Sir Walter Scott*, Dresden, 1864; Hohl-feld, A. R., *Scott als Uebersetzer* (Studien z. vgl. Lit. Gesch., III: 498); Lockhart, *Life of Walter Scott*.

Erlking and was tempted to try a translation¹¹ for himself. This he sent to Lewis for criticism, and their friendship dated from that time. Scott's version was not made public at the time of translation but appeared among his collected works in 1806. In 1798 he made the version of *Der untreue Knabe* which Lewis used in *The Tales of Wonder*. Götz was translated in 1799 and also *Der Klaggesang der edlen Frauen des Asan Aga*. This last poem has never been included among his collected works, but was printed, together with the *Erlking* and *Frederick and Alice*, under the title, *Apology for Tales of Wonder*, and privately circulated. Scott had the poet's appreciation for a great poet and felt deeply the beauties of the great German artist (whom he always called Goethè). However, he was not willing to study thoroughly, and had no opportunity to learn, by hearing, the finer shades of meaning and the adaptation of words to moods, as used in Goethe's poems; thus his translations are not exact either as to content or as to the mental picture which they produce. No doubt the work which he did helped to stimulate interest in other Englishmen, but it cannot be said that he gave any great impetus to the growth of public liking for Goethe. His translations, like all of these early ones, served only to introduce Goethe as the author of weird and uncanny ballads, without in any way revealing him as a talented lyric poet.

In Germany many of Goethe's shorter poems had become popular as songs¹² and had been variously set to music. In the same way, some of the shorter poems became known in England about 1798.

This was largely due to a certain Mr. Beresford,¹³ whose

¹¹ Scott's *Erlking* has the following interesting heading, "To be read by a candle particularly long in the snuff. The Erlking is a goblin that haunts the Black Forest of Thuringia." This version was also found in the *Philadelphia Portfolio*, 1808, IV:32.

¹² *Neue Lieder* in Melodien gesetzt von Bernhard Theodor Breitkopf, Leipzig, 1770. *Volks- und andere Lieder mit Begleitung des Fortepiano* in Musik gesetzt von S. Freiherrn von Seckendorff, Weimar, 1779, Dessau, 1782.

¹³ It has been difficult to get definite knowledge concerning this man and his name. The reviews in the magazines of that time refer to him simply as Mr. Beresford. The *Encyclopædia Britannica* does not mention him. Prof. Brandl, in the *Goethe-Jahrbuch*, 1882, III: 71, speaks of

work in translating seems to have been considerable but has been hard to trace definitely. He is first mentioned on the title page of a book which appeared in London and Berlin in 1798: "*German Erato*.¹⁴ A collection of favorite songs translated into English with original music. The translator is the author of *Specimens of German Lyrics*, Mr. Beresford." This allows us to assume the existence of a collection of German lyrics translated by him into English prior to 1798. Thus far, however, no record of this first volume has been found, either in the book lists of the time or in the magazine reviews. The *German Erato* contained the following of Goethe's poems: *Mignon*, *The Violet*, *The Harper's Song*, *The Fisher*, and *To the Moon*, all with musical accompaniment by Reichardt. In 1798 appeared, likewise in Berlin and London, *The German Songster*¹⁵ with Reichardt's duet music, containing these same poems, "by the author of *German Erato*". In 1800 and 1801 there was issued in London, in royal octavo, a sort of magazine entitled,¹⁶ "The German Museum or Monthly Repository of the Literature of Germany, the North, and the Continent in General, with numerous sheets of music by Mozart, Reichardt, and Weisse". It contained some of the above poems in Beresford's translation, and added to these a trans-

him as, "Rev. J. Beresford, Englischlehrer der jungen Königin von Preussen." The *London Dictionary of National Biography* names a certain Rev. J. Beresford, who took his degree at Oxford in 1798, who was a rector and wrote some religious books, but no mention is made of any German translations or collections of lyrics nor of any residence abroad as tutor to the Queen of Prussia, a fact which would scarcely have been omitted. A long obituary notice of this same man, Rev. J. Beresford, in the *London Gentlemen's Mag.*, 1841, XV:548, is likewise silent as to these facts. I believe rather that the translator is Rev. Benj. Beresford. Allibones' *Dict. of Authors* mentions Benjamin Beresford as the translator of poetical pieces from the German, with the original music, in 1797. (This may be the original edition of his lyrics). Furthermore, the *London Poetical Register* for 1804 and 1805 has several songs translated from the German by B. Beresford, also the *London Monthly Review*, 1805, XLVIII:75, contains an article on the life of Kotzebue, "translated from the German by Rev. Benj. Beresford, English lecturer to the Queen of Prussia." It may be possible that the two are identical, but I am led to believe not, and that the correct name is Benj. Beresford rather than James, as several authorities give it.

¹⁴ See Bibliography D, no. 2.

¹⁵ See Bibliography D, no. 3.

¹⁶ See Bibliography D, no. 5.

lation of Goethe's *Mahomet*. Further search shows that these versions were almost the only ones circulated in the British and American magazines and journals for nearly twenty years, that they were welcomed with praise, and that frequent reference was made to them. Very few further attempts were made to translate any of Goethe's lyrics for two decades. Here and there a stray poem or two is to be found in the magazines or in some ponderous collection, but there was no decided increase. In 1821, Beresford's translations appeared again, this time with the following title page:¹⁷ *Specimens of the German Lyric Poets Translated into Verse, from Bürger, Goethe, Klopstock, and Schiller*. No name was given as author, but the preface stated:

The chief portion of the following translations was published at Berlin about twenty years ago in a musical work comprising some of the best German melodies. The words to those melodies were from the pen of an English gentleman of the name of Beresford, who was long a resident in Germany. They met with so favorable a reception that the same publisher was afterwards induced to print them without music in two volumes. The great popularity which they obtained, their scarcity and unquestionable merit, are the motives which gave rise to the present reprint.

A few more poems translated by Mr. Mellish,¹⁸ British consul at Hamburg, have been added. The one copy of this

¹⁷ See Bibliography D, no. 9.

¹⁸ Joseph Charles Mellish (1768-1823) is not mentioned in the *Encyclopedia Britannica* or in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. A few interesting facts concerning him were found in the *Proceedings of the Manchester Goethe Society for 1888*, and also in the *American Monthly Magazine and Critical Review*, 1819, 4:293. About 1795 he married and settled in Weimar; later Schiller bought his house and made it his home. Mellish enjoyed the friendship of Schiller and Goethe, his son was Goethe's god-child and there is a poem of Goethe's, written in 1818. *An Freund Mellish*. He tried to overcome the influence of Kotzebue in England by translating *Wallenstein* and *Maria Stuart*. He translated each act of this latter drama as soon as it was finished by Schiller, so that the English version appeared before the German. In 1798 he translated Goethe's *Hermann and Dorothea*, in 1801, *Paleophron and Neoterpe*, and contributed to Wieland's *Merkur*; in 1802 he became British consul to the Hanseatic Cities and went to reside at Hamburg. While here, in 1819, he published a volume of original poems in the German language and added a few German translations, but none from Goethe. He died in Hamburg in 1823.

book obtainable in this country was found at Harvard University. It was dated "1822, second edition", but press notices were found which stated that it was in circulation in 1821. It went through another edition in 1823 and still another in 1828.

Since this, so far as concerns Goethe's poems, is evidently the same collection of translations as appeared in 1798 and 1800, since it is the first collection of Goethe's verse to be received in England, and above all, since it was the first effort to introduce Goethe as a poet of something more than bizarre ballads, it deserves more than passing mention. The translations from Goethe are largely if not entirely the work of Beresford; they fill pages 31 to 40 of the 152 pages in the volume. They include: *Moonlight (An den Mond)*, *The King of Thule*, *The Fisher*, *The Harper*, *The Violet*, *Mignon*, and *The Hunter's Evening Lay*. The translations show a thorough knowledge of the language, but they do not reproduce the simplicity and directness of the original poems. The style seems stilted. The attempt to translate, to shape into rhyme, and moreover to make the English meter fit the German melodies, which were composed for the original poems—all this was more than the skill of the translators could do, and more than the evanescent charm of the poems could endure. They are all rather sweetly pretty and artificial, they never ring true with genuine emotion, and they all suffer from the stilted verbosity of that age.

The tranquil words of Goethe, in *To the Moon*

Füllest wieder Busch und Thal
Still mit Nebelglanz,
Lösest endlich auch einmal
Meine Seele ganz;

become transformed into:

Scattered o'er the starry pole
Glimmers Cynthia's beam,
Whispers to the softened soul
Fancy's varied dream.

Nearly all of the other stanzas are similarly elaborated. *The Violet*, which is so simple and pathetic in Goethe's words, becomes here nothing but commonplace:

Unnoticed in the lonely mead
A violet reared its modest head,
A sweet and lovely flower!
A blooming maid came gadding by
With vacant heart and gladsome eye,
And tripped with sportive careless tread.

The Fisher has lost all of its original character and gives us now more of a humorous impression than anything else:

In gurgling eddies rolled the tide;
The wily angler sat
Its verdant willowed bank beside
And spread the treacherous bate.
Reclined he sat in careless mood
The floating quill he eyed,
When rising from the opening flood
A humid maid he spied.

And the end of the fourth stanza expatiates thus:

Tempts thee not yon aetherial space
Betinged with liquid blue?
Nor tempts thee there thy pictured face
To bathe in worlds of dew?

The translation of Mignon is the most successful of all the collection; in it the translator has kept the original tone, rhyme, and rhythm rather closely:

Know'st thou the land where citrons scent the gale,
Where glows the orange in the golden vale;
Where softer breezes fan the azure skies,
Where myrtles spring and prouder laurels rise?
Know'st thou the land?

'Tis there our footsteps tend;
And there, my faithful love, our course shall end.

Know'st thou the pile, the colonnade sustains,
Its splendid chambers and its rich domains,
Where breathing statues stand in bright array

And seem, "What ails thee, hapless maid?" to say?
Know'st thou the land?

'Tis there our footsteps tend;
And there, my gentle guide, our course shall end.
Know'st thou the mount, where clouds obscure the day,
Where scarce the mule can trace his misty way,
Where lurks the dragon and her scaly brood,
And broken rocks oppose the headlong flood?
Know'st thou the land?

'Tis there our course shall end;
There lies our way, ah, thither let us tend.

Over thirty different versions of this poem were found, printed in the years from 1798 to 1860 and of all of them this one of Beresford stands among the best. To one who reads the original it shows faults, but on the whole it succeeds well in giving the original spirit. In this regard it is much better than Carlyle's translation (1824 in *Wilhelm Meister*) which has been most widely reprinted and is the version most generally known to English readers. His is a translation of words but not of moods, and runs thus:

Know'st thou the land, where lemon trees do bloom,
And oranges like gold in leafy gloom;
A gentle wind from deep-blue heaven blows,
The myrtle thick and high the laurel grows?
Know'st thou it then?

'Tis there, 'tis there,
O, my beloved one, I with thee would go!

Know'st thou the house, its porch with pillars tall?
The rooms do glitter, glitters bright the hall,
And marble statutes stand and look me on;
"What's this, poor child, to thee they've done?"
Know'st thou it then?

'Tis there, 'tis there,
O, my protector, I with thee would go.

Know'st thou the mountain bridge that hangs on cloud?
The mules in mist grope o'er the torrent loud,
In caves lie coiled the dragon's ancient brood,
The crag leaps down and over it the flood:
Know'st thou it then?

'Tis there, 'tis there,
Our way runs, Oh, my father, wilt thou go?

Another early version appeared in 1817, in the *North American Review*, IV: 201, and purported "to be done by a celebrated English bard" (unidentified). I give this because it is a fair example of the distortion of many of the other efforts, and shows so clearly how little mere words can translate a poem of Goethe:

Know'st thou the land where stately laurels bloom,
 Where orange groves exhale their rich perfume,
 Soft breezes float along the lucid sky,
 And all is peace and joy and harmony?
 Know'st thou the land?
 O, thither flee,
 And dwell forever there, my friend, with me.

The three stanzas of the original are not enough, and this writer adds a fourth, wherein he urges us to

Spurn the vile herd, indignant fly
 To some more courteous land and milder sky.

With these early attempts of Lewis, Scott, and Beresford, the first period of German study in England closed, partly due to the fact that public taste for ballads of terror and tales of wildness had waned, but more largely due to the political reaction against foreign influences. The excesses of the French Revolution and the ambitions of Napoleon had produced a revulsion of feeling against all things revolutionary. Since Goethe, as the author of *Werther* and of *Götz*, was known as the head of the "Storm and Stress" movement for individual freedom, all attempts to make him better known were for a time fruitless. Up to the year 1800, we may say, the English world had very little reason to think of Goethe as a distinguished lyric poet. Very little of that side of his genius had reached England and what had come was decidedly inadequate. Judging from these translations alone, and not knowing the original poems, the English reader could scarcely feel that in their author there was any surge of great genius.

LACK OF INTEREST FOR ABOUT TWENTY YEARS 1800-1820

The political reaction against continental ideas lasted until about 1820 or 1822, and was reflected in English views of literature. During these years, whatever attention the critics and essayists gave to Goethe was directed to *Faust*, *Wilhelm Meister*, *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, and *Die Wahlverwandtschaften*, rather than to the shorter poems. The longer works received during this interval at least twenty-five reviews, varying from one to fifty-four pages in length, whereas in the same period scarcely twenty-five single translations of Goethe's lyric poems are to be found. Even Beresford's collection was not reprinted until 1821. In America much the same condition prevailed, since magazines and books were largely reprints from England. If anything, the interest here was still slighter. Only twelve reviews of Goethe appeared in American magazines during these two decades, and about the same number of single poems in translation.

One review of fifty-four pages, which appeared in 1814 in the *London Quarterly Review* (X : 388), and also in the *New York Quarterly Review* (X : 355), shows clearly the general tone of literary criticism just at this time and something of the attitude towards Goethe's lyrics:

Goethe's smaller poems, numerous as the sands of the sea, we have neither time nor inclination to criticise in detail. Most of them have some sort of whimsical originality, many have considerable pathos, and all are more or less immoral. The marvelous is, with him, a very favorite source of effect, and his extensive reading has enabled him to draw largely not only on the superstition of the middle ages, but on those of the classical and oriental paganism. The fancies of the German peasants furnished him with the Erlking, the tale of The Student in Magic and his wooden water-bearer is circumstantially taken from the Philopseudes of Lucian, as is the Spectre Bride of Corinth from the story of Philinnium and Machates, quoted in many old demonologies from Phlegon Trallianus de Mirabilibus et Longevis. Few of these deserve translation and even if they deserved it better, translations would be impossible.

where the greater part of the charm consists in a boundless command of the German language and an authority still more extraordinary over every species of rhythm of which that language is susceptible. Werter, his earliest romance in prose, the delightful pastoral of Hermann and Dorothea, the marvelous dramatic poem of Faustus, are sufficient indeed of themselves to serve as a foundation of no common fame, and it is by these and these alone, in our opinion, that his renown is to be extended in foreign countries or prolonged to any remote continuance in his own.

This review shows us that even during this period interest, study, and appreciation were not entirely stagnant. I quote rather extensively from these early reviews, because I believe that they give us, at first hand, the thought of the leading literary men of the day, and that they show us the ideas which were being disseminated among the reading public.

It was during this period of lack of interest that Mme. de Staël's book, *De L'Allemagne*,¹⁹ appeared. It had a large influence both in England and America in maintaining and stimulating an interest in Goethe and in helping to draw attention to his lyrics. Her book did not attempt to translate many of the shorter poems, but it did emphasize their perfection and help to bring the lyric genius of Goethe into proper perspective. The book appeared in English translation first in London, 1813, and the next year in America; it went through several editions, was widely circulated, greatly discussed, and extensively reviewed. Twenty-one long reviews were found in English magazines and five in the American magazines. These reviews indicate that a change was occurring in the attitude of literary England toward Goethe; when a freer intercourse again opens up between the two countries, it will no longer be the young poet of youthful passion and exaggeration who will be studied, but the calmer, philosophic man of letters. Such a one as has been revealed to them through the autobiography, *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, through Schlegel's lectures, which were being regularly translated

¹⁹ *Germany*, by the Baroness Staël-Holstein, translated from the French. London. Murray. 3 vols. 1813; New York, Eastburn, Kirk Co. 2 vols. 1814; Boston, Houghton, Mifflin Co. 1 vol. 1859. (Part I, chap. 15, deals with Goethe and Weimar; part II, chap. 7, deals with Goethe, also chapters 21, 22, 23.)

into English, and through Mme. de Staël's book. Very often these reviews resolved themselves into criticisms of Goethe and his works in particular, as was the case of an article published just at the end of this period in the *Scot's Magazine* for 1820 (VI : 331), entitled *Remarks on the Miscellaneous Poetry of Goethe, after reading Mme. de Staël*. This shows quite a different point of view from the preceding criticism, and manifests an interest in a number of lyrics which heretofore had been entirely ignored by English students and readers. The critic sings the poet's praise thus:

Goethe's lesser pieces, which make up what is called his miscellaneous poetry, are in almost every instance so finely and even philosophically conceived, that they may be regarded as poetical exhibitions of the most valuable remarks which a scientific student of human nature could choose to see made. The genius of this author is of such a nature that a trivial subject seems sometimes to have had charms for him, from the consciousness which he felt of his power of investing it with unusual attractions. It is the talent of Goethe to view with interest every variety of human creatures. Among his miscellaneous poems are several exquisite pieces of a lyrical character and in a strain almost peculiar to Germany. Among these may be classed *Song of Mahomet*, *To my Goddess*, *A Journey to the Hartz during Winter*, and *The Wanderer*. In these the author has carried forward a fine but distinct allegory in such a way that the most common understanding can follow his meaning, while at the same time the thought is possessed of an elevation and richness that fit it for conveying delight to the most accomplished mind.

From this it appears that slowly but surely a juster estimate was forming, and there were other indications, in the magazines of both countries, that a desire was growing for a fuller understanding of Goethe. More people were trying to study and read German in the original, more textbooks, readers, and dictionaries in German were published and advertised, and more and more young men were going to Germany to study.

Just one man in the literary world during these earlier decades seems to have gone systematically to work to have German literature truly recognized and comprehended in England. He must be acknowledged to be the first one who

really effectually introduced the modern poetry and drama of Germany to English readers. This was William Taylor²² of Norwich, who began his work in 1790, and in various ways kept it before the public for forty years, until it was summarized in 1830, in his *Survey of German Poetry*, in three good sized volumes. This book was the first general view of German literature to be printed in England, as it was the first to give any attention to the body of Goethe's shorter poems as a valuable contribution to the world's literature. As such it deserves a notable place in the history of German literature as related to German thought. Taylor's personal point of view in criticising German life and thought was often narrow and provincial, his knowledge of German idiom was sometimes at fault, he did not by any means recognize the true greatness of Goethe, nor did he grant him his proper position in the literary world. His attitude was one of intolerance toward Goethe's whole career as a man, but he did much to draw attention to the lyric poems as a noteworthy part of Goethe's accomplishment. When the book appeared, Carlyle subjected it to very harsh criticism, saying that it was not literary, not historical, and not in any way a portraiture of the national mind of Germany. As we now view it from a greater distance, we are inclined to think that it did not merit the condemnation which it received at that time. Carlyle did however recognize the intrinsic merit of the work as an index to the general change in mental at-

²² See Bibliography D, no. 16. William Taylor of Norwich (1765-1836) was well educated, travelled considerably, and visited Weimar in 1782. He devoted himself to literary and journalistic work, and was well known in his day as the contributor of many articles to the leading magazines, such as the *Monthly Review*, *Monthly Magazine*, *Annual Rev.*, *Critical Rev.*, and *London Athenaeum*. It is said that he contributed, in all, one thousand seven hundred and fifty articles to the various magazines, mostly criticisms of foreign literature and largely attempts to bring about a better appreciation of the German poets. For a fuller discussion of William Taylor and his work, see Robberds, J. W., *Memoirs of William Taylor of Norwich*, 2 vols. Murray, L. 1843; also an article in *Manchester Goethe Society Proceedings* for 1890; and *William Taylor of Norwich*, by Georg Hersfeld, in *Studien zur engl. Philologie*, vol. II, 1897.

titude towards German literature which was gradually coming about in England, as the following quotation²¹ shows:

Within the last ten years independent readers of German have multiplied perhaps a hundred fold, so that now this acquirement is almost expected as a national item in liberal education. Hence in a great number of minds, some immediate personal insight into the deeper significance of German Intellect and Art;—everywhere at least a feeling that it has some significance. We regard this renewal of our intercourse with poetic Germany, after twenty years of languor or suspension, as among the most remarkable and even promising features of our recent intellectual history. Does not the existence of such a book betoken that a new era in the spiritual intercourse of Europe is approaching, that instead of isolated, mutually repulsive National Literatures, a World Literature may one day be looked for? The better minds of all countries, by whom ultimately all countries in all their proceedings are governed, begin to understand each other, to love each other, and to help each other.

A large part of this important book of Taylor's is made up of lengthy translations from the German. In discussing Goethe's poems, he gives Beresford's version (without acknowledgment) of *The King of Thule*, *Mignon's Song*, and *The Harper*, and his own translation of *The Fisher*, *The Spirit's Greeting*, *The Erlking*, *The Song of Mahomet*, *The Wanderer*, *The Bride of Corinth* and *The Apprentice to Magic*. Taylor's translations are done with care and are generally faithful to the main ideas of the originals, they are at least readable without being ludicrous and they give a reflection of the original dignity and worth of Goethe's lyrics. In general they lack lightness, and they do not show a broad command of rhyme and rhythm, but taken with those of Beresford they give the fairest, truest view of Goethe's work that had yet reached England.

In *The Apprentice to Magic* he has been most successful, and has kept most truly the rhythm and structure of the original. His version reads smoothly, but the English construction is often far from natural, as the first stanza shows clearly:

²¹ *Edinburgh Review*, XXXV:153, 1831, also to be found in vol. III of Carlyle's *Essays*.

Now that my old master wizard
 Is for once at least away,
 All the spirits in his keeping
 Must my sovereign will obey.
 Watched have I his word and deed
 Many an hour and many a day,
 And with strength of mind and head
 Work a wonder, I too may—
 Wander, wander,
 Yonder, yonder,
 To the brook along the path.
 Bring me water,
 As you taught are,
 Pour it, shower it,
 In the bath!

The Song of Mahomet is least successful in reproducing for the foreign reader any of the real tone of Goethe's poem, in which the short and flowing lines have every syllable packed with significance. The English language seems almost inadequate to render the German and becomes heavy and awkward in the reproduction of these lines. One stanza will show the difficulties which Taylor encountered and also his lack of clear comprehension of the meaning of the original:

Seht den Felsenquell,
 Freudehell,
 Wie Sternblick;
 Ueber Wolken
 Nährten seine Jugend
 Gute Geister
 Zwischen Klippen im Gebüsch.
 Jüngling frisch
 Tanzt er aus der Wolke
 Auf die Marmorfelsen nieder,
 Jauchzet wieder
 Nach dem Himmel.

See where the rocky spring, clear, bright, as joy,
 Bursts from amid the bush-encircled cliffs;
 Like to a glittering star
 Between the streaks of cloud,
 Fresh as a youth he hastens from his bed

And dances gladly on the marble floor,
And backward springs with glee
To the eye of Heaven.

This book was one of the last efforts of the old literary spirit. A new school with new views and conceptions now took up the work in a larger, broader manner. It was no longer the youthful Goethe of the Storm and Stress period, the writer of weird ballads, the poet prodigy, who shocked authority by his *Götz*, and society by his *Werther*, that the English students were now eager for, but it was the man Goethe, viewed from all sides of his genius.

SECOND PERIOD OF THE STUDY OF GOETHE, 1820-1860

This period of fuller and truer comprehension was greatly forwarded by the warm enthusiasm of Thomas Carlyle²², whose championship, beginning about 1822 in the various British magazines, lasted many years. He gave his point of view in one sentence in his introduction to the translation of *Wilhelm Meister*, in 1824. "Minds like Goethe's are the common property of all nations, and for many reasons all should have a correct impression of them." This was his belief and this was the line along which he worked in all his criticisms and essays. He felt that there was a strong intellectual current in Germany which imperatively demanded attention, and he determined that the English public should learn its value. He therefore set himself busily to work to give his fellow countrymen information, to remove as far as lay in his power their prejudices, and by means of translations to supply them with the means of understanding his praise. Not only did he offer them knowledge, as Taylor had done, but he hammered it in by a long series of essays and articles in the various magazines, such as *The Edinburgh Review*, *The Foreign Review*, *The Foreign Quarterly Review*, *Fraser's Mag.*, *New Monthly Mag.*, and *Westminster Review*. He made many references to Goethe's shorter poems, but the most direct statement of his estimate is found in a paragraph of his introduction to the translation of Goethe's *Tales*, in the volume called *German Romance* (1827):

Of his numerous short poems it is difficult to say a well-weighted word; for they are of all sorts, grave and gay, descriptive, lyrical.

²² For a discussion of Carlyle's studies in German and of their influence on him, see Roe, F. W., *Carlyle as a Critic of Literature*, Columbia Univ. Press, 1910; Boyesen, H. H., *Goethe and Carlyle in Essays on German Literature*, Scribner, 1898; *Critical and Miscellaneous Essays of Thomas Carlyle*, edited by Ralph W. Emerson. Munroe Co. Boston, 1838; *Carlyle's Essays*, vols. I, II, III, as published in his collected works.

didactic, idyllic, epigrammatic, and of all these species, the common name, without long expositions, would, when applied to him, excite a false idea. Goethe is nowhere more original, more fascinating, more indescribable, than in his smaller poems. One quality which very generally marks them, particularly those of a later date, is their peculiar expressiveness, their fulness of meaning. A single thing is said and a thousand things are indicated. They are spells which cling to our memory, and by which we summon beautiful spirits from the vasty deeps of thought. In his songs, he recalls to us those of Shakespeare: they are not speeches but musical tones; the sentiment is not stated in logical sequence, but poured forth in fitful and fantastic suggestions; they are wild wood-notes of the nightingale, they are to be sung not said.

Carlyle did not attempt to translate any of these shorter poems, except the songs of Mignon, Philine, and the Harper as they occur in *Wilhelm Meister*.²³ These, it is evident, he worked over with loving care and understanding, but he was no poet, and he could not sink his own personality, so there is more of Carlyle than of Goethe in the results. The gentle, mournful words of Mignon, whom he calls "the daughter of enthusiasm, rapture, passion, and despair, whose history runs like a thread of gold through the tissue of the narrative", have been too ephemeral to be caught by him, as has been shown in a previous quotation. On the other hand, the ballad of the Harper, as translated by Carlyle, is strong and ringing, and may be accounted one of the best of all the translations which have been made:

"What notes are those, without the wall,
Across the portal sounding?
Let's have the music in our hall
Back from its roof resounding."
So spoke the king, the henchman flies,
His answer heard, the monarch cries,
"Bring in that ancient minstrel."

Yet even here there is a ruggedness that does not exist in the original. Another version, which appeared in the *Edin-*

²³ These same poems were translated by Boylan, R. D., in a second translated version of *Wilhelm Meister*, in 1855, for the Bohn Library, where they have found broad circulation. But they are by no means so poetical or true as Carlyle's.

burgh Literary Journal (vol. I, 1829) and was circulated at the same time as Carlyle's, will show the superiority of Carlyle's rendering, and at the same time emphasize the difference in effect produced by a poor choice of synonyms:

"What minstrel voice is that that rings
So blithely by my castle wall?
Command the joyous wight that sings
To appear within and bless my hall."
The king commands, the page forth flies,
The page returns, the monarch cries—
"Admit, admit the old man to me,
That makes my court resound with glee."

Carlyle's insistent arguments and efforts were slowly bringing results and a truer estimate seemed apparent in the tone of all literary reviews of the period. In 1828, the following criticism²⁴ appeared anonymously in the *London Weekly Review* and was reprinted in the *Museum of Foreign Literature and Science*, in Philadelphia and New York, thus reaching many readers:

The lyric is the most original and fertile of all the poetic sources. In order to form a just estimate of the poetry of a nation, we must be well acquainted with its lyric writers. To us it appears surprising that our translators from the German should not have employed their exertions on this point instead of pandering to a vitiated taste by presenting only tales of ghosts, goblins, robbers, and boisterous knights, or the still more contemptible scenes of maudlin sentimentalism with which they have been pleased to afflict the public. Few attempts have been made to introduce the German lyrics among us and those few have not afforded any real information on this very interesting portion of German literature. Goethe's smaller pieces contain some of the most original conceptions of modern poetry, uniting as they do the simplicity of the Greek with the depth of the German, and perfectly free from that besetting

²⁴ A criticism and review in connection with the edition of *Goethes Werke* in 40 volumes by Cotta, Tübingen, 1827-1830. It contained anonymous translations of *Abschied*, *Nähe des Geliebten*, *An die Entfernte*, *Schöfers Klagelied*, *An den Mond*, and *Wandrer's Nachtlied*.

So far as I have been able to ascertain, Goethe's collected works, printed in German, were first published in London, in 1833, in 10 vols. by Schloss. See *London Athenaeum*, p. 585, 1833. In English, they were begun in 1847 by the Bohn Library. See Bibliography B, footnote 68.

sin of our times, a straining after effect by florid diction and forced display. The author's principal power in these smaller poems arises from his fine perception of nature, not like Wordsworth attaching himself to vulgarities, but perceiving and calling forth beauties in objects unnoticed by the ordinary observer. He is the Raphael of poetry, whose chaste delineations are for all people and for all times. Goethe's smaller poems, flowing, ingenuous, and elegant in thought and expression have become, as it were, the national property of Germany, resounding alike in the palace and the peasant's humble dwelling. It is the child of nature, breathing the universal language of the human heart.

No greater praise nor fuller appreciation than this has been forthcoming even in the poet's native land, or in these later decades when the opportunities for fuller knowledge and freer judgment are at hand.

The next earnest attempt to translate Goethe's lyrics for English readers, an attempt in line with the endeavors of Carlyle, was made by Charles Des Voeux, a young man who had lived and studied in Weimar. His book was published in London in 1827, and revised and reprinted in Weimar in 1833. It was called *Torquato Tasso, a Dramatic Poem from the German and other German Poetry*,²⁵ and included eighteen shorter poems of Goethe, quite the largest collection which had yet reached England. The title page says that the book was given out, "with the approving kindness and encouragement of Goethe",²⁶ and the author's desire was, as stated in his preface, "To give a specimen of that simplicity and feeling which may be considered peculiarly characteristic of German poetry". That was exactly the attitude to be desired, but the book does not seem to have achieved its purpose. The author has remained comparatively true to the thought and the form, but in trying to retain the rhyme and the meter he has lost the very simplic-

²⁵ For contents see Bibliography D. no. 13. Further details concerning Des Voeux may be found in the *Proceedings* of the English Goethe Society, London, 1891, 6:134.

²⁶ See Goethe's letters to Zelter of March 28, 1827 and to Carlyle of January 1, 1828; both of which go to show that Goethe appreciated the attempt but was not quite certain of the literary value of Des Voeux's work.

ity which he aimed to reproduce. This volume was reviewed in several of the leading magazines of the day, but I could not find that it had an enthusiastic reception by its readers, or that the versions were reprinted in any of the magazines or anthologies of that period. Goethe may have given his approval to these translations because he thought of Des Voeux as one more "Vermittler des geistigen Handels" between England and Germany, and not because he found any marked superiority in the translations themselves. Des Voeux was the first to translate for English readers *The Shepherd's Lament*, *Consolation in Tears*, *Wanderer's Night Lay*, *To the Chosen One*, *Night Thoughts*, and *Welcome and Farewell*. One stanza from *Mignon's Song* and his version of the *Wanderer's Night Lay* will serve to show clearly the lack of simplicity and directness which kept this collection from being a good reflection of the original:

Know'st thou the land, where fair the citron blows?
 And with dark leaf the golden orange glows?
 From the blue heaven soft breathing gales descend.
 The myrtle still, the laurel scorns to bend.
 Know'st thou it well?
 Oh there, oh there,
 Might I with thee, my truly loved, repair!

Wanderer's Night Lay finds expression in these lines:

Thou who from Heaven above art sent,
 Thou who every sorrow stillest,
 Him who with twofold pangs is rent
 With a twofold life thou fillest.
 By passion's strife I'm tossed and torn
 As joy and woe exchange their part,
 Oh leave me not, Sweet Peace, forlorn.
 But come, oh, come into my heart.

The finest of all his efforts is his translation of *To the Moon*, which is far truer than Beresford's and yet leaves much to be desired:

Again thou fillest brake and dell
 With dim and misty glance,
 Again my soul avows thy spell
 And melts in liquid trance.

Thou sheddest thy all soothing beam
 O'er this thy chosen spot,
 As Friendship's eye with mellowed gleam
 Illumes my destined lot.

These early translators failed to see that there was in Goethe a natural clearness of mind which made him scorn anything like a trick or conventionalism in style, and which led him to avoid all obscurity and commonness of expression. Yet these are just the points where they failed, Des Voeux among the rest. Thus we cannot say that his efforts had much effect in bringing about any better appreciation of Goethe's lyrics.

The broader attitude towards Goethe, which Carlyle was furthering and Des Voeux wished to foster, was much assisted by the writings and translations of Mrs. Sarah Austin, who had been one of the circle of young literary workers about William Taylor of Norwich. She wrote with a devotion to the subject, an understanding, and a tolerance which could not do otherwise than carry conviction. She lauded Goethe as a lyric poet and illustrated her praise by a number of the shorter poems in her own translations: *Prometheus*, *Vanitas*, one *Elegy* (*Manche Töne sind mir Verdruss*), *Wanderer's Night Song*, *Mieding's Death*, *Euphrosyne*, *Lili's Park*, and *Metamorphosis of Plants*. Her book came out in 1833, in three volumes, called *The Characteristics of Goethe, from the German of Falk, von Müller and Others*; ²⁷ it was widely circulated and very thoroughly reviewed. Her presentation of Goethe and his work and life, as well as her translations, gave glimpses of Goethe from a new, uncommon, and more personal point of view. After reading the reviews in the magazines, it is plainly evident that she did much to broaden the estimate of English and American readers. Since none of the poems which she included in her book had previously been printed in English, they formed quite an addition to English knowledge and helped to lessen English prejudice.

²⁷ See Bibliography D, no. 19, for contents and full list of literary reviews. The *Dublin Univ. Mag.* (VII:1, 1836) says of this work, "It is the most valuable work on German literature ever put in English."

Considered as translations, they are careful, accurate, and fluent, but like so many of the translated versions they lack lyrical fire. There is a lifelessness about the poems which makes us feel that they are words and not the burning expression of a great soul.

It can be said for the early pioneers in this field that they did change the point of view of the English world towards the poet Goethe, but not that they were able to present his lyric poems adequately.

THE WORK DONE BY THE BRITISH AND AMERICAN MAGAZINES

From this time on, much of the knowledge of Goethe's lyrics came through the magazines, and comparatively little was given out in separate book form except for the occasional anthology. Recent investigations²⁸ in the earlier magazine literature have revealed much interesting material, and have shown that the magazines acted as the advance guard in this gradual invasion of England by the knowledge of German literature. They did not merely reflect public taste, they rather shaped and directed it. Considering the large number of native interests, political, religious, social, literary, with which British magazines could have busied themselves at this time, it is astonishing to see how much time, space, and acute criticism they devoted to things German and to Goethe in particular. First came the reviews of *Werther* in 1779, then followed reviews of the early dramas, then of *Faust*, and later of the prose works. *The Edinburgh Magazine*, founded in 1790, the *London Monthly Mirror* (1798), the *London Monthly Magazine* (1798), the *Edinburgh Review* (1802), the *Quarterly Review* (1809), all printed frequent comments, reviews, and single poems. They represent the early efforts of the circles of Lewis, Scott, Taylor, and their friends. Goethe's name and fame could have remained unknown in very few corners of the reading world. It was a magazine article on *Faust*, in the *New Edinburgh Review* of 1822, which introduced Carlyle as a champion of Goethe. More and more space was given to criticisms of Goethe and to translations of his poetry. However, prior to 1830, *Blackwood's Magazine* was the only journal which had con-

²⁸ See Bibliography A: Davis, E. Z., *Translations of German Poetry in American Magazines 1741-1810*; Goodnight, S. H., *German Lit. in Amer. Mag. prior to 1846*; Haertel, M. H., *German Lit. in Amer. Mag. 1846-1880*; Oswald, F. W., *German Lit. in Eng. Mag. 1810-1835*; Roloff, W. E., *German Lit. in Eng. Mag. 1835-1860*; Wilkins, F. H., *Early Influence of German Lit. in America*.

sistently continued its articles on German literature. Through the work of its editor, Lockhart, and the broad and intelligent discussions of R. P. Gillies in the series of articles called *Horae Germanicae*²⁹ in its pages, from 1818 to 1824, it had a broad influence in dispelling English ignorance and prejudice. In 1844 and 1845, it printed a long series of translated poems of Goethe. This was the work of W. E. Aytoun and Sir Theodore Martin, and was the largest and most representative collection of the poems which had yet appeared in England as well as by far the best translations theretofore made. These appeared in book form in 1859 and will be discussed later among the individual volumes of poems. In 1846 *Blackwood's Magazine* printed translations of some of Goethe's poems "After the antique manner", and in 1856 in an anonymous article, *Wayside Songs*, several other poems, heretofore untranslated, were added to the list. Thus their readers had a fuller idea of the breadth and range of Goethe's short poems than any other readers could have had at that time in England.

A series of very excellent translations from the German poets began to appear in 1835 in the *Dublin University Magazine* and continued until 1846, under various titles, *Anthologia Germanica*, *Stray Leaflets from the German Oak*, and *Lays of Many Lands*. Nearly all were unsigned but were the work of a gifted young Irish poet, James Clarence Mangan.³⁰ These translations were collected in two volumes, called *A German Anthology*, in 1845, and printed in Dublin, then reprinted in New York in 1859. They will be more fully discussed under the head of anthologies. When Mangan ceased to contribute to the *Dublin University Magazine* in 1849, Sir Theodore Martin took up the work and published a number of translations under the pen-name of "Bon Gaultier"³¹.

²⁹ See Bibliography D, no. 40; *Blackwood's Magazine* 1819, IV; 1820, VII; 1823, XIII; 1824, XV, XVI. Also Bibliography C, no. 3.

³⁰ See Bibliography D, no. 23 and 47, *Dublin Univ. Mag.* 1835, V; 1836, VII; 1837, IX.

³¹ *Dublin Univ. Mag.* 1849, XXXIII:609. *A Bouquet of Ballads* contains *To his Mistress, With a Ribbon, May Song, Love's Dream, Love in Absence*.

The *London Athenaeum*, from the time of its first issue in 1828, gave much attention to German translations and particularly to Goethe and his work, but it never emphasized his worth as a lyric poet. The same was true of *Fraser's Magazine*, founded in 1830; numerous single poems translated by various writers and many reviews and criticisms are to be found in the following years, but generally they are desultory and unemphatic in character. However, in 1859, one very thoughtful and critical article, written by Arthur Hugh Clough, appeared in this magazine. It dealt with Goethe as a lyric poet and insisted on a close and more careful translation of his poems; it was reprinted in the *Eclectic Magazine* in Boston, and thus had a wide influence. One extract from this will serve to show the broadened view and truer attitude which the literary men were taking towards Goethe's lyrics and towards the translation of them:²²

In translating a great poem like the *Iliad* or any great work of any great writer like Goethe, the really important thing is to give the peculiar, individual, and distinctive character, and perhaps yet more than elsewhere is this the case where the poems are brief and lyrical, where the story is little and the style much. Goethe's lyrics will not be worth a great deal, if they are not presented in a style and manner nearly approaching that style and manner in which Goethe wrote them and expressed himself. We have the portraiture of a particular human mind to re-portray, and the fine personal details of a human experience to re-express. Some delicate autobiographical confidence is perverted by every seemingly slight alteration; some spiritual communication is re-communicated amiss; the scientific values of some subtle and exact psychology are, in the new notation, falsely conveyed. And there are bits of his verse where the outlines are as hard to copy as those of antique sculpture. Were we asked to name the compositions which above all others bring before us the man Goethe, and place us in communication with his mind and spirit, we should turn to such poems as *Prometheus*, *Mahomet's Song*, *The Limits of Humanity*, *The Song of the Spirits over the Waters*, and *Ganymede*. These may well serve for the English reader to show the point of view from which the great German writer regarded the world and the things of the world, visible and invisible, sensual and supersensual.

²² See Bibliography D, no. 77. *Goethe's Poems and Ballads*, in *Fraser's Mag.* LIX: 710; *Eclectic Mag.* XLV: 560.

In America during the first decades of the nineteenth century, as has been said, knowledge, opinions, and taste were formed according to the English standards, and all reviews and criticisms were largely reprints from the English magazines, but gradually, as American national life became separated from the English, American thought and opinion began also to take a different trend. About 1820 the spirit of literary independence began to pervade the American magazines. Carlyle's essays and translations, Madame de Staël's and Mrs. Austin's books were widely circulated and independently reviewed. What Carlyle was trying to do in England, Emerson and his friends, Channing and Margaret Fuller, assisted by Bancroft, Motley, and Ticknor, were trying to do in America, but they were carrying their studies of Goethe even further. It was the spiritual and philosophical side of Goethe's work in which these thinkers were interested, and even among his shorter poems it was that quality which they sought. There was a large circle of New England Unitarians who took active part in making the literature of Germany, particularly Goethe, known to the American public. The list of these men, who were at one time or another Unitarian ministers, shows the close contact of American Unitarianism and German letters at this time: C. T. Brooks, S. G. Bulfinch, J. F. Clarke, J. S. Dwight, N. L. Frothingham, W. H. Furness, E. E. Hale, F. H. Hedge, Theodore Parker, George Ripley, John Weiss, all of whom gave considerable attention to the works of Goethe and nearly all of whom translated some of his poems. As a result we find the Americans introducing the more abstract poems in preference to the simpler songs and ballads. In this work, the *North American Review* of Boston and New York, *The Christian Examiner* of Boston, *The Western Messenger* of Cincinnati and Louisville, *The Dial* of Boston (edited by Margaret Fuller²²), *The Southern Literary Messenger* of Richmond, *The Democratic Review* of Washington and New York, and *The American Monthly Magazine* of New York and Boston, took the lead. This list shows that the interest

²² Braune, F. A., *Margaret Fuller and Goethe*, Holt & Co., 1910.

was by no means confined to New England, although it probably centered there. In 1824, in *The North American Review*, George Bancroft printed a long criticism of Goethe's worth as a poet, *The Life and Genius of Goethe*³⁴, and gave his own very creditable translation of nine of the short poems, in this way antedating any lengthy article in the English journals. In 1836, in the *Western Messenger*, James F. Clarke explained the situation clearly:

A few years ago the name of Goethe was hardly known in England and America, except as the author of a silly book, Werther, an incomprehensible drama, Faust, and a tedious novel, Meister. So at least our critics called them. But now a revolution has taken place. Hardly a review or magazine appears that has not something in it about Goethe, and people begin to find with amazement that a genius as original as Shakespeare and as widely influential as Voltaire has been among us.

Owing to the puritanic traditions of American students, we find many long tirades against Goethe and his views of art and life as subversive of good morals, but nevertheless they studied him, they learned from him, and they were broadened by him. It was Goethe's balanced genius and philosophy of life which they wished to understand, and they found it expressed even in the shorter poems and epigrams. Consequently we find the following translations from American pens, which were not found at all in England until Bowring's complete collection appeared in 1853: *Stability in Change*, *Song of the Spirits over the Waters*, *My Goddess*, *The Divine*, *The Harz Trip in Winter*, *Eagle and Dove*, *Ganymede*, *The Limits of Humanity*, *Proemium*, *Epirrhema*, *Orphic Sayings*, *Proverbs*, and *Epigrams in Rhyme*. Thus the American magazines may be considered as a leading agency in making known the shorter poems of Goethe to the American reading world, and in broadening the conception of his genius as a lyric writer. The greatest obstacle which they had to struggle against, and which they never succeeded in overcoming, was the objection to his so-called "immoral principles". Professor Goodnight, in summing up

³⁴ See Bibliography D, no. 10. *North Amer. Rev.*, 1824, XIX:303.

the general work of the American magazines from 1800 to 1846, says:³⁵

It is clear that no great change in attitude took place in regard to Goethe. At the same time, the lists show him to have been by far the best known of the German writers. Perhaps a gradual change did take place in the country at large, a change wrought more by the poems and dramas as they became known, than by the criticisms. Notwithstanding the acrimony of some critics, and although the objectionable phases of Goethe's life and works were never wholly lost sight of, it seems not unreasonable to suppose that, from 1833 to 1846, at least, the public had for him "an always ascending regard."

And Professor Haertel, speaking for the period from 1846 to 1853, says:³⁶

Goethe is made more prominent than any other author. He is highly esteemed as an artist, and the question as to his life and morals is falling into the background, although by no means forgotten. His genius is almost universally recognized and lauded, but his philosophy is still looked on askance.

³⁵ Goodnight, S. H., *German Literature in American Magazines prior to 1846*, p. 91, Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin, 1907.

³⁶ Haertel, M. H., *German Literature in American Magazines, 1846-1880*, p. 19, Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin, 1908.

WORK DONE BY THE POETICAL ANTHOLOGIES

Another agency which was strong at this time in spreading the knowledge of Goethe's poems was the poetical anthology. Many reasons combined to make anthologies popular. Few people owned or cared to buy entire sets of any one author's works, but seemingly every one wanted a few selections from each author. As soon as literary intercourse between Germany and England revived and the German poets began to be recognized, translations from German writers were included in these anthologies. During the years from 1800 to 1860 scores of anthologies were published; over sixty were found which presented translations from the poems of Goethe, and many more were examined which did not include him. After 1828, scarcely a year passed without adding several anthologies which included Goethe's poems to the list, and the years from 1840 to 1860 were especially fruitful. Some of these were of little literary value and were short lived; they are mentioned in the printers' lists of the time, but further than that no trace is to be found of them. A very few were important and lived through several editions, and these will be mentioned in detail. Most of them contained only a small number of poems by any one author, and were evidently compiled from the translations most easily accessible, with no thought of their quality and with no idea of demonstrating the range or variety of the individual authors represented in their pages. The selections of the poems of Goethe in nearly all of the anthologies is strikingly similar: *The Harper*, *Mignon*, *The Violet*, *The Heather Rose*, *The Fisher*, *The Erlking*, *The King of Thule*, *New Love—New Life*, *Bliss of Tears*, *Nearness of the Beloved*, *To the Moon*, were seldom omitted. Only in a few cases do the translated versions of the German poems rise above mediocrity, since they are neither careful in workmanship nor especially successful in reproducing the lyric mood. Even with three or four of the best of these

collections at hand, and the assistance of the frequent versions in the magazines, it would have been difficult for the inquiring student of Goethe to gain any adequate idea of his shorter poems. The anthologies helped to extend the general knowledge, but they did little to increase a truer appreciation of Goethe as a poet.

Among the early books of this sort we have already mentioned Des Voeux's *Tasso and Other German Poetry* (1827), which offered eighteen selections from Goethe's poems. Another of a similar nature was *The Song of the Bell and Other German Poetry*,²⁷ by J. J. Campbell, in 1836. This contained fifteen poems from Goethe, among which there were new: *Wont and Done*, *Drink Song*, *Ergo Bibamus*, *Artist's Song*, and the *Prolog to Faust*. The thought and the spirit of the original poems seems to have been a secondary consideration; so hard did the translator strive for clever rhymes that even his English sentences were distorted, and very little of the original impulse of the German poem was left. This lack of ease and of vitality may be shown in the following lines from *Wont and Done*:

I have been in love, but first aright,
Once was I the servant, but now the slave quite,
Once was I the servant of all!
This essence of charms has made captive of me,
She does what I want or for love or for fee,
All others but she on me pall.

None of the anthologies of the following years have any particular merit or novelty, nor do they emphasize Goethe's work as a lyricist. No convincing note was struck until 1845, when the versions of J. C. Mangan, which had previously been made for the magazines, were collected and published under the name *German Anthology*,²⁸ in two volumes. It

²⁷ See Bibliography D, no. 25, for full contents.

²⁸ See Bibliography D, no. 47 and 80. James Clarence Mangan was born in Dublin in 1803 and died there of the plague in 1849. His education was broad and included Latin, Spanish, French, and Italian. He studied German thoroughly in order to read German philosophy. Very early in life he began to write original verse and was soon recognized as a genius, but he never achieved success because of his intemperate

was first published in Dublin and later, in 1859, through the efforts of a few warm friends it was reprinted in New York, and again in 1884 in Dublin. However, the collection seems never to have found the broad circulation which its merits warranted. That Mangan had a true appreciation of the great task which lay before him, when he tried to present Goethe to his English readers, is shown by his own words in an article appended to some of his translations in the magazine:³⁹

Goethe probably wrote more for an undeveloped future than for his own era. Throughout his works we frequently stumble upon skeletons of thoughts whose gigantic and foreign aspect startles us, but which, we have no doubt, hands competent to the task will hereafter fill up with the flesh and blood essentials of vitality. It forms indeed the great glory of this wonderful man that his obscurity rarely strikes us as being other than veiled luminousness.

To this true sense of value he added splendid poetic talent, a fine command of language, a facility in rhyming and a keen sense for melody. The reviews and criticisms which his anthology received show that he stood high in the esteem of his contemporaries. One of them states very clearly a quality which is at once noticeable in his translations and which has been largely lacking in his predecessors:⁴⁰

Mr. Mangan's mind is precisely of that plastic character which is indispensable for spirited and truthful translating. He possesses in a high degree the art of thoroughly divesting himself, in his capacity of translator, of every individuality of thought and manner, and of becoming, so to speak, the mere instrument of the author whom he translates, so that the thought, the words, the form, the style, the manner, are faithfully rendered back.

habits. He was generally in distress and led a secluded life. Most of his work was published either anonymously or under the pseudonym of "Clarence". Beside original verse, his entire literary work was given to translations. From the German he included translations from Goethe, Schiller, Herder, Klopstock, Richter, Gellert, Salis, Mathisson, Heine, Höltz, Nicolai, Kerner, Uhland, Tieck, Fouqué, Freiligrath, Simrock, Bürger, Rückert, Chamisso, Arndt, and many minor writers.

³⁹ *Dublin Univ. Mag.*, VII:301, 1836.

⁴⁰ *Dublin Review*, XIX: 312, 1845.

After a thorough study of his translations, we can scarcely give them such unqualified praise, although they do take very high rank. His virtues are his weakness, for his unbounded command of his own language, his freedom in verse, and his fondness for quaint expressions sometimes led him to deviate and to adorn the lines which he was translating. Nevertheless, we find here for the first time a ringing, swinging quality in the lines, they sound genuine, they echo in one's memory, and they have lost to a large extent that stilted and superficial tone which has been so evident in most of the previous versions, as a few extracts will show:

From *Hassan Aga*:

What white form is shimmering on yon lea?
Is it snow or is it swans we see?
Snow? It would have melted in the ray.
Swans? Long since they must have flown away.
Snow it is not, swans it cannot be;
'Tis the tent of Hassan Aga shining.
There the wounded warrior lieth pining,
Mother, sisters, all to tend him come,
But his wife, too shame-faced, weeps at home.

or from *The Minstrel*:

"What voice, what harp, are those we hear
Beyond the gate in chorus?
Go, page, the lay delights our ear,
We'll have it sung before us."
So spake the king: the stripling flies—
He soon returns: his master cries,
"Bring in the hoary minstrel!"

or from the *Song from the Coptic*:

Quarrels have long been in vogue among sages,
Still though in many things wranglers and rancorous,
All the philosopher-scribes of all ages
Join in a voice, on one point to anchor us.
Here is the gist of their mystified pages,
Here is the wisdom we purchase with gold;
Children of light, leave the world to its mulishness,
Things to their natures and fools to their foolishness.
Berries were bitter in forests of old!

Mangan's susceptibility to mood, facility in rhyme and originality of expression are strikingly shown in *The Treasure Seeker*:

Sick at heart and lank in purse,
I dragged my snake-like days along,
Want is man's reproach and curse
And Gold is bliss—thus ran my song.
So, to end my woes and pains,
A treasure crock I went to roll up:
Stuck the sharp steel in my veins
And signed the bond that gave my soul up!

Other translations of his that are excellent are *The Fisher*, *The Violet*, *The King of Thule*, and *The Lay of the Captive Count*. Very few of Mangan's translations have been included in any of the general anthologies or later eclectic volumes of Goethe's poems which have come within the bounds of this investigation, and yet he did more than any translator, up to his day, to show to the foreign reader the ease, versatility, and melody of Goethe's verse.

The next book of translated verse which offered any considerable number of Goethe's poems was *Metrical Translations from the German*,⁴¹ by "A German Lady" (Mrs. Adela Haller). This collection included twenty-five poems from Goethe, nearly all taken from his early lyrics, (as given under the title "Lieder" in Goethe's collected works). The author made these translations with great care, evidently, and from pure love of the task, hoping thereby to show to her English friends something of the beauty of her own German poets. However, she had not the necessary command of English rhyme and meter, and her grammatical constructions are so distorted in her effort to fill out the verse forms, that there is little ease and grace in the lines. The result is highly unnatural composition, as shown for instance in the lines *To a Golden Heart*:

Thou remembrance of enjoyments flown,
Still worn near my heart,
Still uniting those whose souls would part,

⁴¹ See Bibliography D, no. 59.

Would'st thou lengthen Love's short days, now gone?
Lilly, can I fly thee? To thy chain
Bound, through foreign land
Through far vales and woods my way I wend.
Lilly's heart not soon from mine again
Could be disengaged;
Like the bird once caged.

Of all these anthologies, the one which gained the largest circulation was *The Poetry of Germany*⁴² by Alfred Baskerville. It was published in London, Leipzig, New York, and Philadelphia, and had gone through fourteen editions up to 1886. It is to be found in nearly every reference library in the country, and as a reference book it has the advantage that the German text is printed on one page and the English translation on the opposite page. Twenty-three of the best known of Goethe's poems are given, in versions tolerably faithful to the text, but devoid of poetic spirit. The selection shows that Goethe's poems included a very broad range of subjects, and the book might be valuable as assistance to those who are trying to work out a translation from the German, but the renderings themselves are the merest doggerel.

One other anthology⁴³ was rather widely circulated at this time: *Specimens of the Choicest Lyrical Productions of the Most Celebrated German Poets from Klopstock to the Present Time*, by Mary Anne Burt. It was first published in Leipzig in 1854, and then re-edited in London in 1856. This book gave biographies and literary notices on each author, and worked out the translations with care and exactitude, as far as verbal content was concerned. The selection from Goethe's poems was slightly different from the preceding anthologies, in that to the first seventeen songs (as given in Goethe's collected poems) and to a few of the well-known ballads a translation of the *First Walpurgis Night* was added. Here the same judgment must be given as in the preceding case: the versions are prosy and mechanical, and there is nothing in them which would mark their author as a poet of eminence. I have not been able to find that any of

⁴² See Bibliography D, no. 60.

⁴³ See Bibliography D, no. 84.

the translations of Baskerville or Burt have ever been reprinted or quoted in any other collections of verse.

A few other anthologies followed those already mentioned in England, but none had any great variation in the selection of poems, none had any distinction for excellence of translation, none were widely reviewed, nor had any of them an extensive circulation.

In America, as well as in England, the anthology of poetry seems to have been very popular. Previous to 1842, English anthologies alone were current in America and were often reprinted there, but after that time anthologies compiled by American authors, and containing translations made by them, began to appear thick and fast. Like the English ones, very few of these have been able to hold a lasting place as literature.

So far as can be ascertained, the first anthology⁴⁴ which was not a reprint of an English publication was *The German Wreath* by Hermann Bokum, in 1836. Most of the translations from Goethe in this book were not original, but were taken from the Beresford-Mellish collection of 1821 and from Taylor's *Historic Survey* of 1830. The book, which offered nine of Goethe's poems, had not a large circulation, but was used rather as a reader for students of German at Harvard College. After this beginning, various collections of verse were published in different parts of the country, but none of them laid stress upon Goethe's work and none of them contained more than three or four of his poems.

In the same year (1845) that England received from Mangan its best anthology, America also received its best and most representative anthology; this was Longfellow's *Poets and Poetry of Europe*,⁴⁵ published in Philadelphia and London. It was very well received and favorably reviewed in both countries, and has maintained its place down to the present as one of the best books of its kind. In presenting

⁴⁴ See Bibliography D, no. 24. Hermann Bokum was a German by birth and was one of the first instructors of German at Harvard College.

⁴⁵ See Bibliography D, no. 46. Higginson, T. W., in his *Life of Longfellow*, (p. 189), says of this book, "It is intrinsically one of the most attractive of a very unattractive class".

the poems of Goethe, the editor did not give his own work, but exercised much care and thought in order to select what he considered the best translations which had yet been made. Since Longfellow was not only well versed in German literature, but also possessed much poetic talent and appreciation, his choice is interesting. His list included the *Dedication of Faust* by Fitz-Greene Halleck, the Cathedral scene in *Faust* by A. Hayward, *May Day Night* by Shelley, *Salutation of a Spirit* by Bancroft, and the following poems by J. S. Dwight: *Solace in Tears*, *Loved One Ever Near*, *To the Moon*, *Vanitas*, *Mahomet's Song*, *Prometheus*, and *Song of the Spirits over the Water*. The only work of his own which Longfellow included was the translation of the two *Wanderer's Night Songs*. Here we find, for the first time in an anthology, some of the "Oden in freien Rhythmen", and we are struck by the broad variety of types of poems selected, although in this variety not one ballad is present. Here we begin to notice that same difference in the selection of poems which was evident in the magazine literature of America, and in a number of the American compilations⁴⁶ of verse, edited from 1845 to 1860, by Bancroft, Everett, Furness, Hedge, Frothingham, Margaret Fuller, and J. S. Dwight. It is interesting to note that all of these writers, like most of the New England circle, had been influenced in their general attitude towards Goethe by their reading of Madame de Staël's *Germany*. None of their compilations, however, gave any considerable space to Goethe's shorter poems. In none of the books, except those by Margaret Fuller and by Dwight, was Goethe's lyric talent emphasized. It was Goethe the disciple of individuality, culture and freedom of spirit, whom they studied, and it was that side of his writings which they stressed. With Goethe as a poet pure and simple they were not concerned, and their translations generally show that it was the thought rather than the beauty of form and style which they tried to reproduce.

Summing up the work done by magazines and anthologies during the period under discussion, it may be said that from

⁴⁶ See Bibliography D, No. 37, 43, 44, 57, 61, 65, 66, 79.

1820 to 1840 these agencies brought a widening knowledge of Goethe's lyrics, but showed no remarkable fineness in the quality of translation. Theirs was a work of dissemination. From 1840 to 1860, there was manifested a truer appreciation of Goethe and a juster estimate of his poems, also the quality of translation was higher. However, it could not be said that through these agencies alone any broad conception of Goethe as a lyric poet was made possible. It was the appearance of single volumes of Goethe's collected verse which began to accomplish what the magazines and anthologies had undertaken.

INDIVIDUAL VOLUMES OF GOETHE'S COLLECTED POEMS

It is rather remarkable that whereas the other works of Goethe were translated frequently and very quickly after their publication in Germany, the collected poems were not attempted for many years. As has been shown in the preceding pages, almost every side of Goethe's genius was recognized and could be studied and fairly well estimated from the English translations, but no thorough knowledge of him as a lyric poet could be obtained by any who did not read German in the original. There seems to have been no attempt, and no suggestion even, to make a translation of the collected poems of Goethe. The relatively few poems which appeared in the magazines and anthologies represented but a small part of Goethe's varied range in poetry. In the main, only the very early songs, the ballads, and a few of the later lyrics had been translated and circulated broadly, as a glance at the bibliography, list E, will show. The ballads were the greatest favorites: *Mignon*, 47 translations; *The Erlking*, 47; *The Fisher*, 44; *The Minstrel*, 29; *The King of Thule*, 25 (exclusive of the versions in the 18 translations of *Faust* prior to 1860); *The Violet*, 20; *The Captive Count*, 19; *The Apprentice in Magic*, 17. Among the other poems we find the numbers somewhat smaller: *Nearness of the Beloved*, 26; *Prolog in Heaven*, 25; *Heather Rose*, 16; *To the Moon*, 16; *Spirit's Greeting*, 15; *Vanitas*, 14; *Wanderer's Night Song*, 12; *Prometheus*, 12.

The first volume which brought a large number of Goethe's poems together, and which really tried to show the variety of his lyric genius, was the one arranged by John S. Dwight, published in Boston in 1839 and called *Select Minor Poems Translated from the German of Goethe and Schiller*.⁴⁷

⁴⁷ See Bibliography C, no. 1. *Select Minor Poems of Goethe and Schiller*, John S. Dwight, 1839. Hilliard, Gray, & Co. Boston, vol. III of *Specimens of Foreign Standard Literature*, edited by George Ripley.

An examination of this volume shows that it was the compiler's wish to present Goethe as a poet striving for the highest culture, not as an eccentric sentimentalist or as a writer of startling ballads. The broad view which Dwight took is well stated in his introduction:

[The lighter lyric pieces] are the most genuine things the poet does; into them goes most of the character and nature of the man; in them you have him under all his moods and aspects; and if they win you to their mood and haunt you long, you feel that you know him. Could Goethe and Schiller be brought near us in some such living way, it would give a new impulse to our literature, and inspire worthier aims and methods of culture than now prevail. The living movement, which commenced with them, tells us how life and thought and poetry and beauty are the inheritance of Man and not of any class or nation; and how each, however humble, by fidelity to himself shall find the natural current of his own being leading back into the very bosom of that ocean.

As to method, he says:

The versions have been made upon the principle that the spirit and the form are inseparable in all true poetry. In every piece, with only two or three exceptions, the measure and the rhyme have been exactly preserved and the thoughts rendered very nearly line for line. Of course they fall far short of what could be desired. The peculiar genius and capabilities of every language are, and always will be, an obstacle to any perfect translation.

This collection is by no means complete, as it contains only eighty-five of Goethe's shorter poems, but it serves to show better than any previous collection the many-sidedness of Goethe's lyric genius. Dwight's selection makes the volume unique for its period: of the early songs and lyrics there are included thirty-six; ballads, eleven; miscellaneous poems, sixteen; Art, four; God, Soul, and World, ten; and a few selections from the parables, epigrams, proverbs, and Orphic sayings. Most of the translations are the work of Dwight himself, to which he added seventeen translations made by other Goethe students of that time: George Bancroft, James F. Clarke, William H. Channing, Margaret Fuller, F. H. Hedge, N. L. Frothingham, and G. W. Haven; thus this book really represents the scholarship and appreciation of the new liter-

ary generation, which had been inspired by German university training, and which was trying now to share the enjoyment of lofty verse with those who could not study it as they had done. Many of the poems that had previously seemed indispensable in any collection are missing in this one, but on the other hand many are here rendered for the first time into English: *Stability in Change*, *Proemium*, *World Soul*, *Harz Journey in Winter*, *Ganymede*, *Limits of Humanity*, *The Divine*, *The Youth and the Millstream*, *Trusty Eckart*, *Artist's Evening Song*, *Cupid as Landscape Painter*, *For Life* (*Die glücklichen Gatten*), *On the Lake*, *Prophecies of Bakis*, *Tame Xenia*, *Proverbs*, *Epigrams*. This book was very widely and favorably reviewed in this country, and found a ready reception. In England, in spite of its broader scope and novelty in selection, it seems to have been little known. Its author never sought to spread it by securing an English publisher, as many American writers then did. I have found only one review of it in any of the British periodicals, and that was in 1844, in the *Dublin University Magazine*, which had been printing Mangan's translations and was just about to publish his *Anthology of German Verse*. It granted that the authors understood their originals, but it feared that a line for line rendition would tend to feebleness in some lines and too much forced compression in others, and it concluded by saying, "Mr. Dwight is superior to his associates, and it would have been better to omit the poems of his friends than to destroy the unity of the work by the introduction of different styles". This criticism, however, is not convincing, since practically four-fifths of the work is Dwight's, and in reading the versions of the other translators, one is not conscious of any greater change of style than the variety of the poems themselves demands. Dwight's work is careful, easy, and rhythmic; in the *Parables* and *Epigrams* he has reproduced the vigorous expression and condensation of thought extremely well. Frothingham, in *The Song of the Fates* from *Iphigenia*, has preserved wonderfully the solemn tones and elevation of style of the original. The four selections by Clarke are finely translated, especially the Orphic Sayings, which retain well the sententious style of Goethe's lines as shown in *Destiny*:

According as the sun and planets saw,
From their bright thrones, the moment of thy birth,
Such is thy Destiny: and by that Law
Thou must go on—and on—upon the earth.
Such *must* thou be; Thyself thou canst not fly;
So still do Sibyls speak, have Prophets spoken.
The living stamp, received from Nature's die,
No time can change, no art has ever broken.

or *Hope*:

Yet shall these gates unfold, these walls give way.
These barriers, rooted in the ancient hill,
Are firm as primal rock; but rocks decay;
One essence moves in life and freedom still;
Through cloud, and mist, and storm, to upper day
Lifts the sad heart, weak thoughts, and fainting will;
Through every zone she ranges unconfined;
She waves her wing—we leave time, space behind!

These versions do not disturb the reader by their forced rhymes or their awkward inversions nor make it constantly evident that they have been transplanted from another language. In places they lack the loftiness or sincerity of the original, and often the sound and sense could not be so perfectly adapted to each other as in the German. A few selections will serve to show their value.

To the Moon, by Dwight:

Fillest hill and vale again,
Still with softening light!
Loosest from the world's cold chain
All my soul tonight!

Spreadest round me far and nigh,
Soothingly thy smile;
From thee as from friendship's eye,
Sorrow shrinks the while.

Less successful was his rendering of *The King of Thule*:

There was a king in Thule
Till death a constant soul;
His queen, she loved him truly,
And left him a golden bowl.

Nought prized he half so dearly;
 He drained it at every bout;
 His eyes ran o'er sincerely,
 As oft as he drank thereout.

There stood th' old toper,—slowly
 Draining life's last, he stood,—
 And the cup he kept so holy
 He hurled into the flood.

Further on we have Hedge's version of *The Erlking*, which follows the German closely and is one of the best of the many translations of that poem:

Who rideth so late through the night wind wild?
 It is the father with his child;
 He has the little one well in his arm;
 He holds him safe, and he folds him warm.

"Come, lovely boy, come go with me;
 Such merry plays I will play with thee;
 Many a bright flower grows on the strand,
 And my mother has many a gay garment at hand."

"I love thee; thy beauty has ravished my sense;
 And willing or not, I will carry thee hence!"
 "O father, the Erlking now puts forth his arm!
 O father, the Erlking has done me harm!"

Since the translators were more interested in Goethe the man than in Goethe the poet, they have done better justice to his unrhymed, dithyrambic measures than to the rhymed lyrics and ballads. Here they have reproduced far more of the original beauty, richness, and melody of the lines than in the other poems, as can be seen in Dwight's translation of *The Song of the Spirits over the Waters*:

The soul of man is
 Like the water:
 From heaven it cometh,
 To heaven it mounteth,
 And thence at once
 'T must back to earth,
 Forever changing. . . .

Wind is water's
 Amorous wooer;
 Wind from its depths
 Upheaves the wild waves.
 Soul of a mortal,
 How like thou to water!
 Fate of a mortal,
 How like to the wind!

or his version of the *Limits of Humanity*:

When the All-Holy
 Father Eternal,
 With indifferent hand,
 From clouds rolling o'er us,
 Sows his benignant
 Lightnings around us,
 Humbly I kiss the hem of his garment,
 Filled with the awe of
 A true-hearted child.

Some of the best and truest translating was done in these poems under the caption, *God, Soul, and World*, as may be seen in this final example, *One and All* by Dwight:

How yearns the solitary soul
 To melt into the boundless whole,
 And find itself again at peace.
 The blind desire, the impatient will,
 The restless thoughts and plans are still;
 We yield ourselves—and wake in bliss.

World-Spirit, come, our spirits firing!
 Forevermore to thee aspiring,
 We but obey our nature's call.
 Good angels feelingly persuade us,
 And heaven-taught masters gently lead us
 To Him who made and maketh all.

To re-create the old creation,
 All things work on in fast rotation,
 Lest aught grow fixed, and change resist;
 And what was not shall spring to birth,
 As purest sun or painted earth.
 God's universe may know no rest.

It must go on, creating, changing,
Through endless shapes forever ranging;
And rest we only *seem* to see.
Th' Eternal lives through all revolving;
For all must ever keep dissolving,
Would it continue still to be!

Taken as a whole, this volume shows appreciation, enthusiasm, and conscientious desire to interpret carefully. It sometimes lacks spontaneity and true Goethean grace of style, and it has striking inequalities, but the thought of the poet has not been sacrificed to mere gratification of the ear. From the point of view of workmanship and choice of poems, it is far better than anything that had preceded it and most of the attempts which followed it. It may rightfully be considered a very strong agency in helping to establish a truer knowledge of Goethe's shorter poems in America.

No other attempt was made to bring out a volume of Goethe's poems until 1853,⁴⁸ when one was published in London by Edgar A. Bowring.⁴⁹ Since it has been the basis of

⁴⁸ An edition of the translated poems of Goethe by E. A. Bowring, in 1846, is mentioned in Goedeke's *Grundriss*, in E. Oswald's *Bibliography*, and in the *British Museum Catalog*, but I have not been able to substantiate the fact that any of Bowring's translations were published at that time. Bowring himself, in his preface to the edition of 1853, speaks of it as the original edition. The edition of 1846 is sometimes mentioned as a part of the *Bohn Library*, but the *Bohn Library* was not established until 1847. A letter from the firm of G. Bell & Co., London (publishers of the *Bohn Standard Library* since 1864), states that in their opinion no edition of Bowring's translations of Goethe's poems appeared before 1853, when an edition was issued by Parker & Sons, London; this edition, with the addition of *Hermann and Dorothea* and a larger number of the poems of the *Divan*, appeared as Vol. VII of *Sohn's Library* in 1874. See *Bibliography C*, no. 2.

⁴⁹ Any facts concerning the life of Edgar A. Bowring have been so difficult to ascertain and so widely scattered that I append here the few that were obtained. His father, Sir John Bowring, is often mentioned in the journals of his day. He was a fine linguist, a great traveller, a prominent man in public life, and translated many of the classics into English. The son Edgar was born in Exeter, England, and spent much of his life abroad with his father; he was educated entirely on the continent and had a thorough knowledge of German. Before translating Goethe's poems in 1853, he had translated two volumes of Alfieri's tragedies, Heine's poems, Schiller's poems and Goethe's minor plays, all of which were incorporated and are still published in *Sohn's Standard Library*, London. Bowring continued to do this sort of work until his death in 1880.

all the volumes of Goethe's poems in English translation edited since 1853, it deserves full discussion. It is far from being absolutely complete,⁵⁰ but it contains the translation of nearly four hundred of the shorter poems. The date of composition is stated with each poem, and some brief explanatory notes are added. This volume found a very ready reception, was broadly circulated and widely reviewed, and remains today practically the only volume of Goethe's poems in circulation in English. Every volume of Goethe's shorter poems published in the various editions of Goethe's complete works, as well as the eclectic compilation⁵¹ issued separately, both in England and America, has without exception taken at least two hundred and fifty versions from Bowring and added less than a hundred from other translators. Some of the poems have never been rendered into English by anyone but Bowring, so that the English reading world is to a large extent dependent upon his work. It is then the more to be regretted that as an interpretation of Goethe's thought, style, and delicacy of expression, these versions are so unsatisfactory. The author has tried to render the poems very literally and yet without change of metre; the results are the same for him as for so many of his predecessors; the lines are heavy and mechanical and lacking in grace and melody. Very little of the delicacy and nothing of the brilliance of the originals is left, and there is scarcely a line which seems to be the spontaneous expression of a poetic genius. There lies the great fault in Bowring's work: as a word-for-word translation of the poems, little fault is to be found with them; as a representation of Goethe's lyric

⁵⁰ How far from complete even Bowring's collection is can best be shown by a few comparative statements. Over against roughly 2500 of Goethe's "poems" (inclusive of the *Divan*) Bowring has less than 400. To be sure, the great majority of those omitted are the short epigrammatic pieces. As compared with the five volumes of the *Jubiläums-Ausgabe*, Bowring, especially in the edition of 1853, goes hardly at all beyond the content of the first two volumes, which alone however contain about 750 numbers. The important groups best represented in Bowring are the *Lieder*, *Gesellige Lieder*, *Balladen*, *Antiker Form sich nähernd* (including *Elegieen* and *Venetianische Epigramme*), *Vermischte Gedichte*, *Sonette*, *Parabolisch*, and, less extensively, *Epigrammatisch* and *Lyrisches*. Here few of the most valuable poems are lacking. *Kunst* and *Gott und Welt*, however, are quite inadequately represented.

⁵¹ See Bibliography C, footnote 72.

power and talent, little good can be said for them. This was so well stated by one of Bowring's contemporaries in a criticism in the *London Athenaeum*,⁵² that I quote from it at length:

In September 1851, Mr. Bowring published a translation of Schiller's poems, which, as the preface stated, was the labour of a few months only, in such leisure moments as could be spared from other occupations of a busy period. He then proceeded to translate Goethe, of whose poems a selection, amounting to some four hundred pieces, has been offered to the public at an interval of less than two years from the appearance of his Schiller. Considering the extreme difficulty—if not the impossibility—of rendering these poems "in the original metres", so as to preserve even a partial likeness of the German author, the time allotted to the task would have seemed unaccountably short, even had the translator devoted it wholly to that one undertaking. This however can not have been the case with Mr. Bowring. Besides his employment under the Royal Commissioners, he is understood to hold a place in a government office. The period therefore allowed for his translation of Goethe must be reduced considerably within the narrow limit above mentioned; and the result is, that an attempt, the subject of which is the chief poet of his country, and its matter of a kind beyond all others requiring a deliberate exercise of skill, taste and judgment, has been run through in a little more time than it would have taken merely to transcribe the original text.

Of all forms of poetry the lyric yields most reluctantly to the process of translation; of all modern compositions in that form. Goethe's are perhaps the least suited for a hasty trial of this process. This condition arises from two qualities which constitute a part of their rare excellence:—from a pregnancy, namely of substance in which every thought is significant and every word essential; and from a perfection of form in which every line flows with exquisite harmony and the art of composition is only felt in the consummate graces of apparent simplicity and ease. To repeat such masterpieces at the expense of such essential qualities is simply to deface them altogether.

Such being the description, it will surprise no one, least of all will it surprise those who have read these poems in Goethe's own pages, to learn that the result of Mr. Bowring's ready reckoning with the poet is far from satisfactory. He has obviously a facile pen, with much address in rhyming, and is not without a feeling of certain beauties of his original; and it may be believed that

⁵² *London Athenaeum*, 1853, no. 1358, p. 1319.

with due exertion of his best powers and a thorough study of his author, he might have approached more nearly than he has done to a becoming treatment of Goethe's poems. As it is, the version he produces is entirely insufficient, and particularly because his English falls the most in respect of those very features which have been described above as essential merits of the German. He is lax where Goethe is succinct; vague where he is precise; and substitutes for his exquisite melody, clear sense, and graceful ease of numbers, strains which are unmusical, obscure diction, and lines disfigured with inversions. Of these faults, a part may be owing to the design of retaining the original meters, but as these devices also occur in pieces to which this disadvantage does not apply, the defect in such cases must arise from the want either of a taste alive to the felicitous propriety of Goethe's diction or of that just respect for the author which would have enforced the duty of taking pains to follow him. In many instances, too, from Goethe's verbal meaning, another entirely different, and of course less suitable, has been introduced; and this license occurs oftenest in pieces where the lyrical structure is the most delicate and difficult—with a most unfortunate effect.

It has already been said that the task of translating Goethe is arduous in the extreme. Had it been imposed on the translator by some necessity, there would have been reason to make large allowance for the failure. But in this instance there can have been no constraint to account for so ambitious an attempt, still less any necessity for hastening to publish its results without allowing time for revision and retouching, to say nothing of the particular respect due to the consummate works of a genius of the highest order. It would have given Mr. Bowring an idea of the nature of his enterprise and a view of the relative proportion between himself and the European poets of the highest rank which would have dissuaded him from hurried translations and from giving them in a crude state to the public, in this instance, and in the previous case of Schiller.

The quality of Bowring's translations seems to justify in large part the sharpness of this criticism. So far as could be ascertained, none of these translations had ever appeared in any magazines previous to their publication in book form, and so were not subjected to criticism or revision. In the preface to the second edition, in 1874, Bowring stated that he had made "whatever improvements suggested themselves in the original version", but a comparison of the two editions reveals no marked improvements, while in some cases the earlier versions were the better.

Bowring's translations are not like a veil which lets us see faintly the finer lines of the figure underneath, but they are rather like a mask which hides or distorts the original lines. The life, the feeling, the inspiration are not even dimly reproduced. In Shelley's version of *The Mayday Night* there are lines which, though not exactly like the original, so thoroughly ring with its spirit that they are almost a re-creation of Goethe's thought:

Und die langen Felsennasen,
Wie sie schnarchen, wie sie blasen

And the rugged crags, ho, ho,
How they snort, and how they blow

But flights of this kind are not to be found in Bowring's collection. His best work is done in the parables, epigrams, elegies, and sententious stanzas, yet even here we feel a lack of earnestness. The following may serve as examples of the best of these:

Poetry:

God to his untaught children sent
Law, order, knowledge, art from high,
And every heavenly favour lent,
The world's hard lot to qualify.
They knew not how they should behave,
For all from Heav'n stark-naked came;
But Poetry their garments gave,
And then not one had cause for shame.

Human Feelings:

Ah, ye gods! ye great immortals,
In the spacious heavens above us!
Would ye on this earth but give us
Steadfast minds and dauntless courage
We, oh kindly ones, would leave you
All your spacious heavens above us!

For Ever:

The happiness that man, whilst prison'd here,
Is wont with heavenly rapture to compare,—
The harmony of Truth, from wavering clear,—

Of Friendship that is free from doubting care,—
The light which in stray thoughts alone can cheer
The wise,—the bard alone in visions fair,—
In my best hours I found in *her* all this,
And made mine own, to my exceeding bliss.

or the eighth of the *Venetian Epigrams*:

I would liken this Gondola unto a soft-rocking cradle,
And the chest on its deck seems a vast coffin to be.
Yes, 'tween the cradle and coffin, we totter and waver forever
On the mighty canal, careless our lifetime is spent.

Most truly of all are the *Roman Elegies* rendered:

Speak, ye stones, I entreat! Oh speak, ye palaces lofty!
Utter a word, oh ye streets! Wilt thou not Genius awake?
All that thy sacred walls, eternal Rome, hold within them
Teemeth with life; but to *me*, all is still, silent, and dead.

When we consider the lyrics proper, we find only a few that are poetical, as for instance *The Bliss of Sorrow*:

Never dry, never dry,
Tears that eternal love sheddeth!
How dreary, how dead, doth the world still appear,
When only half-dried on the eye is the tear.
Never dry, never dry,
Tears that unhappy love sheddeth!

Here the lines are smooth and flowing but the idea of the original is not quite correctly conveyed, and some of the expressions are hum-drum rather than pathetic. The best translation of the collection is the *Night Song*:

When on thy pillow lying,
Half listen, I implore,
And at my lute's soft sighing,
Sleep on! what wouldst thou more?

For at my lute's soft sighing
The stars their blessings pour
On feelings never-dying;
Sleep on! what wouldst thou more?

Aside from these that have just been mentioned, there are few which show that Bowring appreciated the subtler difficulties to be overcome. Let us take the *Heathrose*, and we find that it has been quite crushed in its transit from one language to the other:

Once a boy a Rosebud spied,
Heathrose fair and tender,
All array'd in youthful pride,—
Quickly to the spot he hied,
Ravished by her splendor.
Rosebud, roesbud, rosebud red,
Heathrose fair and tender!

Said the boy, "I'll now pick thee,
Heathrose, fair and tender!"
Said the rosebud, "I'll prick thee,
So that thou'lt remember me,
Ne'er will I surrender!"
Rosebud—etc.

Now the cruel boy must pick
Heathrose fair and tender;
Rosebud did her best to prick,—
Vain 'twas 'gainst her fate to kick—
She must needs surrender.
Rosebud—etc.

Scarcely a suspicion of the beautiful ballad strain of the original can be detected in this dry and spiritless rendering of the *Erlking*:

Who rides there so late through the night dark and drear?
The father it is, with his infant so dear;
He holdeth the boy tightly clasped in his arm,
He holdeth him safely, he keepeth him warm.

"I love thee, I'm charmed by thy beauty, dear boy!
And if thou'rt unwilling, then force I'll employ."
"My father, my father, he seizes me fast,
Full sorely the Erlking has hurt me at last."

The father now gallops with terror half wild,
He grasps in his arms the poor shuddering child;
He reaches his courtyard with toil and with dread,—
The child in his arms finds he motionless, dead.

Let us compare with Mangan's singing measures (which were quoted earlier) Bowring's prosy version of the *Death-Lament of the Noble Wife of Asan Aga*, and it will be quite to the detriment of the later translator:

What is yonder white thing in the forest?
Is it snow, or can it swans perchance be?
Were it snow, e'er this it had been melted,
Were it swans, they all away had hasten'd.
Snow, in truth, it is not, swans it is not,
'Tis the shining tents of Asan Aga.
He within is lying sorely wounded;
To him come his mother and his sister;
Bashfully his wife delays to come there.

As for the "Oden in freien Rhythmen", nothing of the noble freedom and spontaneity is left, they seem to be merely chopped-up prose, as may be seen from the following specimens:

The Boundaries of Humanity:

When the primeval
All-holy Father
Sows with tranquil hand
From clouds as they roll,
Bliss-spreading lightnings
Over the earth,
Then do I kiss the last
Hem of his garment
While by a childlike awe
Filled is my breast.

or *My Goddess:*

Say, which Immortal
Merits the highest reward?
With none contend I,
But I will give it
To the aye-changing,
Ever-moving
Wondrous daughter of Jove,
His best-beloved offspring,
Sweet Phantasy.

After having read and studied Bowring's volume carefully, our feeling on leaving it is one of distress at its inadequacy. It offers little tangible ground for criticism, and yet it is not in any way a representation of Goethe's work. It not only does not suggest or reflect Goethe's lyrical genius, but it turns away, repelled, those who are eager to know that side of Goethe's greatness. The Goethean influence is strong in the life of German students, and they can and do turn to Goethe for counsel and guidance on the great intellectual problems of his day. German writings are constantly enriched by quotations from Goethe's poems, but among all of Bowring's versions there is scarcely one of sufficient loftiness to serve as a quotation in a serious theme. His verse is rarely stirring, and although generally speaking it is singularly close to the original, it is too frequently formal and artificial, preserving but little of the gracefulness by which the German is distinguished.

Much more successful, although much more incomplete, was the volume of translations by W. E. Aytoun⁵³ and Sir Theodore Martin,⁵⁴ *Poems and Ballads of Goethe*,⁵⁵ which appeared in 1859 in London, Edinburgh, and New York. Bowring's

⁵³ William Edmonstoune Aytoun, (1813-1865), was born in Edinburgh. His parents were people of literary tastes, and he began to write verses at an early age. While studying in Germany he began to make translations from the German for the English magazines. From 1840 to 1844 he worked in collaboration with Theodore Martin and produced *Bon Gaultier's Ballads* (13th edition issued in 1887). In 1844-45 they translated anonymously *The Ballads and Minor Poems of Goethe* for *Blackwood's Magazine* (V: 56-57), on whose staff Aytoun was then serving. In 1845 he was made Professor of Rhetoric and Belles-lettres in the University of Edinburgh. He continued his translations, and in 1859 this volume was finally published.

⁵⁴ Sir Theodore Martin, (1816-1909), was born and lived all his life in Edinburgh. He contributed poetry to *Fraser's* and *Tait's Magazines* at an early age under the name of "Bon Gaultier". From 1840 to 1859, he collaborated with Aytoun in various literary ventures. Most of his life was spent in making translations, publishing and revising them: 1838, Rabelais' *Gargantua and Pantagruel*; 1844, Goethe's *Ballads and Poems*; 1854, Oehlenschläger's *Corregio*; 1859, Goethe's *Ballads and Poems*; 1863, Dante's *Vita Nuova*; 1865, *Faust*, part I; 1866, *Faust*, part II; 1878, Heine's *Poems*; 1889, *The Song of the Bell* and other translations from Schiller, Goethe, Wieland, Uhland, and others; 1891, Goethe's *Roman Elegies* complete (published by the English Goethe Society, VII:71-84.)

⁵⁵ See Bibliography C, no. 3.

collection gave nearly four hundred poems; this volume offers but one hundred and eight, selected as follows: songs and lyrics, forty; ballads, twenty; "In the manner of the Antique", twenty-three; miscellaneous poems, twenty-five. Both Aytoun and Martin had genuine poetic talent and had written original lyrics and ballads, both attempted these translations from love of the task, and both worked slowly and sympathetically. A large number of their versions had previously appeared in various magazines and had been criticised and thoroughly revised before they were printed in book form. When the book appeared, it was at once favorably reviewed and widely circulated, a second edition was published in 1860, and a third and revised edition in 1907 and 1908. These later editions were likewise favorably reviewed by the various critics.

In and of themselves these versions are readable and pleasing, showing taste and poetic feeling. The original feeling has been excellently reproduced in the ballads, which retain to a large extent the original metre, the feminine rhymes, and the poetic flow of phrase, as can be seen in the following examples:

The Dance of the Dead:

The warder looked down at dead of night,
On the graves where the dead were sleeping,
And, clearly as day, was the pale moonlight
O'er the quiet churchyard creeping.
One after another the gravestones began
To heave and to open, and woman and man
Rose up in their ghastly apparel!

as *The God and the Bayadere:*

Mahadeh, earth's lord, descending,
To its mansions comes again,
That like man with mortal blending,
He may feel their joy and pain.
Stoops to try life's varied changes
And with human eyes to see,
Ere he praises or avenges,
What their fitful lot may be.
He has passed through the city, has looked on them all;
He has watched o'er the great, nor forgotten the small,
And at evening went forth on his journey so free.

The Doleful Lay of the Wife of Asan Aga is better than Bowring's but not as true as Mangan's (see pp. 44 and 63).

What is yon so white beside the greenwood?
Is it snow or flight of cygnets resting?
Were it snow, ere now it had been melted:
Were it swans, ere now the flock had left us.
Neither snow nor swans are resting yonder,
'Tis the glittering tent of Asan Aga,
Faint he lies from wounds in stormy battle.
There his mother and his sisters seek him
But his wife hangs back for shame and comes not.

In some cases the directness and simplicity of the original have been too much elaborated, but even here there is a pleasing rhythm, and the reader does not have that sense of artificiality which has been found in so many of the previous translations. Let us select a few of the most striking examples of this elaboration; we shall find that the general effect of the poem is not spoiled by it because the rhythm of the lines and the sense of the words are natural.

The third stanza of *The Fisher*:

The sun and ladye-moon they lave
Their tresses in the main,
And breathing freshness from the wave
Come doubly bright again.
The deep blue sky so moist and clear
Hath it for thee no lure,
Does thine own face not woo thee down
Unto our waters pure.

or *The Limits of Humanity*:

When the Creator,
The Great, the Eternal,
Sows with indifferent
Hand from the rolling
Clouds, o'er the earth
His lightnings in blessing,
I kiss the nethermost
Hem of his garment
Lowly inclining
In infantine awe.

or the first *Wanderer's Night Song*:⁵⁶

Child of Heaven, who soothing calm
On every pain and sorrow pourest,
And a doubly healing balm
Find'st for him whose need is sorest,
Oh, I am of life aweary!
What availeth its unrest—
Pain that findeth no release,
Joy that at the best is dreary?
Gentle Peace,
Come, o come into my breast!

Although this version is faulty, yet it is truer than Bowring's translation:

Thou who comest from on high,
Who all woes and sorrows stillest,
Who for two-fold misery,
Hearts with two-fold balsam fillest,
Would this constant strife would cease!
What are pain and rapture now?
Blissful Peace,
To my bosom hasten thou.

Not so many versions of the second *Wanderer's Night Song* (*Ueber allen Gipfeln*) were found as of the first, but of them all Martin succeeds in bringing out most clearly the full idea of the original lines, which are so simple and so elusive that they almost defy transposition into another tongue:

Peace breathes along the shade
Of every hill.
The tree tops of the glade
Are hushed and still.

⁵⁶Of all the versions of this poem (see Bibliography E, no. 72) Longfellow's has been generally accepted as the best and is usually given in the eclectic volumes:

"Thou that from the heavens art,
Every pain and sorrow stillest,
And the doubly wretched heart
Doubly with refreshment fillest,
I am weary with contending.
Why this rapture and unrest?
Peace, descending,
Come, ah, come into my breast!"

All woodland murmurs cease.
 The birds to rest within the brake are gone,
 Be patient, weary heart, anon
 Thou, too, shalt be at peace.

Longfellow made a very close translation, but it seems to lack something of the dignity of Goethe's lines:

Over all the hilltops
 Is quiet now,
 In all the treetops
 Hearest thou
 Hardly a breath.
 The birds are asleep in the trees,
 Wait, soon like these,
 Thou, too, shalt rest.

Later Bowring translated it, but in his version the whole idea of the poem seems contracted and lacks lightness:

Hushed on the hill
 Is the breeze,
 Scarcely by the zephyr
 The trees
 Softly are pressed:
 The woodbird's asleep on the bough.
 Wait, then, and thou
 Soon wilt find rest.

In all the translations which they made, Aytoun and Martin succeeded least in those "After the manner of the Antique". *Die Geschwister* is the best and truest; in the others they reproduced neither the spirit nor the rhythm. One reviewer²⁷ exclaimed, "The series entitled 'Antiker Form sich nähernd' should be designated 'Antiker Form sich entfernend'".

As seems inevitable in translation, the feeling is not so spontaneous and the emotions are less stirring, but taken as a whole these versions have life and the ring of inspiration. Sometimes the reader forgets that they are translations, and rarely does he have the impression that words and phrases have been used merely for the sake of rhyme. Some of these

²⁷ *London Athenaeum*, 1859, p. 216.

versions seem to have found the original spirit quite completely, as for instance *The Song of the Spirits over the Waters*:

The soul of man
It is like water,
From heaven it cometh,
To heaven it mounteth,
And again
Still interchanging
Evermore returns to earth.

Aloft it shoots,
A star in brightness,
From the beetling
Wall of rock,
Then in waves
Of graceful vapour
On the glistening
Basalt, dustlike,
Falls, and touched and
Touching lightly,
Like a veil
It showers down softly,
Whispering to its craggy base.

or the *May Song*:

How gloriously gleameth
All nature to me!
How bright the sun beameth!
How laughs out the lea!

Rich blossoms are bursting
The branches among,
And all the gay greenwood
Is ringing with song!

There is radiance and rapture
That naught can destroy,
Oh earth, in thy sunshine,
Oh heart, in thy joy!

Taken as a whole these translations are the best that we have in English; their easy flow bears scarcely a trace of the labor or constraint of translation, while the true spirit of the orig-

inal is well maintained, whether in pathos or humor. They form really a valuable contribution towards a truer understanding of Goethe's lyrics.

The last collection of Goethe's poems in translation which appeared before 1860 was that by William Grassatt Thomas, entitled "*The Minor Poetry of Goethe*, selections from his songs, ballads, and other lesser poems."⁵⁸ The introduction to the volume and the explanatory notes show much study of the subject and great appreciation of Goethe's work. The choice of poems is peculiar, and one finds included here a number not attempted by any one else and not usually found in the general collections of Goethe's verse, as for instance the early poems written in Leipzig, those relating to Frederica, to Lotte, to Lili, and to Frau von Stein; some of these last were taken from Goethe's letters, not having been included by Goethe himself in his collected poems. Thomas also translated nearly all of the lyrics from *Wilhelm Meister*, four from *Faust*, eight sonnets, three elegies, eleven ballads, seven parables, twenty-five epigrams, and quite a number of miscellaneous poems, making about one hundred and thirty poems in the collection. He does not indicate anywhere that he desired to complement any of the existing collections, but seems merely to have followed the line of his fancy, in making his selection. In the introduction he says: "The poems in this collection belong for the most part to Goethe's earlier years, his later lyrical writings being deficient in the warmth and simplicity which distinguish the productions of his youth". If these versions reproduced anything of the warmth and simplicity of the originals, they would form a very decided addition to the completer comprehension of the minor poems. A few quotations from the volume will show, however, the lack of poetry and the general weakness of these versions:

From *The Wild Rose*:

Once a youth a rosebud found,
Rosebud on the lea!
So with morning beauty crowned,
Nearer he did quickly bound,

⁵⁸ See Bibliography C, no. 4.

Saw't delighted he.
 Rosebud, rosebud, rosebud red,
 Rosebud on the lea!

from *The Minstrel*:

"Without the gate what hear I there,
 What on the drawbridge sound?
 The music let before us here
 Within our hall resound."
 Thus spoke the king, the page he sped,
 The youth returned, the monarch said,
 "Bring here the old man in!"

from *The Two Threats*:

My maiden I did after go,
 Once deep within the wood,
 And fell upon her neck, when Oh!
 She threatened scream she would.

and lastly from *The King of Thule*:

In Thule there lived of old
 A king true to the grave,
 To whom a cup of gold
 His mistress dying gave.

He cherished nothing more,
 He drained it every draught,
 With tears his eyes ran o'er
 Whenever he from it quaffed.

I have not been able to find any reviews or criticisms of this book in the magazines at the time it appeared, which would not argue well for its quality. A rather close and thorough study of it has shown that while most of the translations are close to the meaning of the original, there is scarcely one that could be selected for the excellence of its poetic form or tone. The general style is restrained and uninspired, numerous inversions cause unnatural English constructions, and as a consequence there are few flowing lines. It bears no closer resemblance to the original lyrics than a dried botanical specimen does to the flower growing in the field. No translations

from Thomas's book have been found in any of the eclectic volumes or later anthologies.

There is one other volume of Goethe's poems which has had a widespread circulation, at least in America. Throughout these pages it has been referred to as "the eclectic volume",⁵⁵ and since most of the versions included in this volume, in fact all but nine of the poems, were translated before 1860, it may properly be considered here. If a Goethe student finds the Bowring volume as published in the *Bohn Standard Library* insufficient for his needs, the only alternative, if he wishes to quote in English from Goethe's lyrics, is this eclectic volume, because Mangan's, Dwight's, and Aytoun-Martin's are, I believe, out of print. It does not really offer us a great amount of new material, since of the entire number, 274 poems are from Bowring, 68 from Aytoun-Martin, 5 by Professor Leopold Noa, 3 by Edward Chawner, 2 by Dwight, 2 by George H. Lewes, and 1 each by Longfellow, Carlyle, Morrison, Dale, Sprague, and Bayard Taylor. Exactly who made this selection is not quite certain, but it is probable that it was made by F. H. Hedge and Professor Noa, since it first appeared in their set⁶⁰ of ten volumes of Goethe's works in English, in 1882. The selection was probably made from all of the various translations then at hand, and while it is not the best selection that could be made, it is an improvement over Bowring's volume.

With the many translations of individual poems which this investigation and other recent studies have brought to light, a far better eclectic volume could now be compiled. Of course it is a much mooted question whether or not an eclectic edition is better than one which is all the work of one translator. What has been done thus far seems to show that no one translator can adequately master all the forms and styles which Goethe penned. It would seem that since Goethe was so many-sided in his genius and wrote throughout so many years, in so many different moods, that many translators would be more apt to catch the varied spirit and chang-

⁵⁵ See Bibliography C, footnote 72 for contents and authors.

⁶⁰ See Bibliography B, no. 2.

ing atmosphere of these different lyrics than any single person could. However that may be, it is to be hoped that some improved edition may soon be forthcoming for English readers.⁶¹

⁶¹ It is interesting to note here the translations used in the first volume of the *German Classics*, published in 1913 in twenty volumes. Volume I is devoted to Goethe's poems. Of the twenty-six shorter poems given, seventeen are by Bowring—and by no means his best ones,—three by Aytoun-Martin, six by recent translators, A. I. Coleman and C. W. Stork. Thus even this last and finest effort "to correct the narrow and inadequate view which the English speaking world has of German literature", as the editors say, is based mainly on the work done prior to 1860. The editors go on to say that "the crux of the whole undertaking lies in the correctness and adequacy of the translations". Certainly Bowring's translations cannot be considered the best that we have from either of these points of view.

The German Classics of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Masterpieces of German Literature translated into English. Editor-in-chief, Kuno Francke; Ass't Editor, W. G. Howard. XX vols. German Pub. Society, New York City, 1913. Vols. I, II, *Goethe*.

COMPLETE SETS OF GOETHE'S WORKS

A few words might fittingly be said here about the translations used in the complete sets of Goethe's works, as circulated in this country and in England. The investigation concerning the volume of poems in each of these sets led to an examination of the other volumes and brought out some interesting facts. A detailed statement has been made in connection with Bibliography B, p. 84. It was found that here, as with the volume of poems, most of the work of translating was done before 1860. Very little new material has been added since then, and very little revision has been made since the first editions published by the *Bohn Standard Library*. The Bohn edition is the only one current in England; it began with one volume of Goethe's *Dramatic Works* in 1847, and has continued to publish and add to Goethe's work. In 1908 a Bohn edition⁶² of 14 volumes was published; in this the recent additions are mostly of the prose works and letters, while the poems and dramas remain as in the early editions. In America various editions *de luxe*, elaborate, simple, and cheap, have been offered, beginning with the reprints of the early Bohn edition and continuing to a 14 volume edition⁶³ in 1912. Many of these would lead the reader, librarian, or purchaser to believe that he was obtaining something new in scholarship and research, or at least in translation, but a comparison of the various editions shows that very few of them offer anything new or revised. In most cases the American editions are entirely identical with the early, unrevised Bohn translations, to which no acknowledgment has been made. In a number of instances there is no way of knowing who the translators are, since no names are mentioned on title-page or in the body of volumes, so that only a word-for-word comparison with other versions will establish the translator. In several editions the title-

⁶² See Bibliography B, no. 1, for contents of 14 vols.

⁶³ See Bibliography B, no. 7, b.

page would lead the reader to understand that the whole set was the work of such famous writers as Longfellow, Carlyle, Scott, and Bayard Taylor.⁶⁴ As a matter of fact, in all of the nine or ten volumes of these sets, Scott translated the *Götz*, Carlyle the *Wilhelm Meister*, Longfellow the two *Wanderer's Night Songs*, and Bayard Taylor *The King of Thule*, otherwise the sets are quite identical with the Bohn translations. Another edition of 14 volumes,⁶⁵ which has had a considerable circulation, advertises to be the work of Samuel Taylor Coleridge, John Storer Cobb, Anna Swanwick, and others. An examination of the contents fails to show any translation by Coleridge; *Reineke Fox* is by Cobb, and *Egmont* by Swanwick (1850), leaving virtually thirteen volumes to the "others", all anonymous translators, who turn out to be our old friends the early Bohn translators.

Surely since 1860, with the material made accessible in recent years and with the more thorough study which has been given Goethe's writings, here is a branch of work worthy the attention of Goethe students: To see that a new edition, entirely revised, made up from the best translations and based on the soundest scholarship of recent years, with the translators frankly mentioned and all authorities stated, be put into circulation. The translator's art and the editor's responsibility have been regarded too lightly. Since the study of international literary influences has made such a growth, the value of translations is more truly recognized as being of immense use to students of comparative literature. These translations must be an exact, faithful, and spirited representative of the original writer. There is now more than ever a demand for a truthful, accurate, and scholarly edition of Goethe's complete works, including his shorter poems.

⁶⁴ See Bibliography B, no. 2 and 3.

⁶⁵ See Bibliography B, no. 7, a, b, c.

SUMMARY OF THE PERIOD PRIOR TO 1860

Looking over the whole field with regard to Goethe's shorter poems in England and America, the results seem decidedly negative. In spite of the large amount of material that has come to hand, we might say that prior to 1860—and even up to the present—Goethe as a supreme lyric poet is not known and cannot be so known, if it depends upon the translation of his poems.

In the early years of the nineteenth century, when the interest of English readers lay in the direction of ballad poetry, a number of his ballads were variously translated and widely read: *The Erlking*, *The Fisher*, *The King of Thule*, *Mignon*, *The Heather Rose*, *The Violet*, *The Harper*, *The Apprentice in Magic*, and the *Song of the Imprisoned Count*. These were perhaps the best translations made at any time. Then came a very few of the early lyrics, but further than these the interest did not go. Somewhat later, when Goethe was recognized as the leader of a new literary movement, a few of his poems, such as *Prometheus*, *Mahomet's Song*, *The Song of the Spirits over the Waters*, *My Goddess*, *The Divine*, and *The Limits of Humanity*, received attention in certain literary circles of both countries, but never became popularly known. And for that matter, what lyrics of Goethe ever have become popularly known in English translation, except possibly the first five ballads named? Aside from the poems mentioned above, only ten poems⁶⁶ appeared ten times or more in the combined English and American literature for the sixty years under consideration. This certainly cannot be called general popularity or even general recognition.

Fortunately, the lyrics included in *Faust* have had a much

⁶⁶ *Nearness of the Beloved*, 26; *New Love*, *New Life*, 11; *To Behinds*, 11; *Comfort in Tears*, 10; *Spirit's Greeting*, 15; *To a Golden Heart*, 11; *Wanderer's Night Song*, 12; *To the Moon*, 16; *Vanitas*, 14; *The Wanderer*, 11.

broader and more constant circulation, and have been more carefully worked over. But even these are connected with Goethe's name as the author of *Faust* and not as a lyric poet. The same distinction might be made with regard to the poems in *Wilhelm Meister*. Now and again some devoted student had tried to impress upon English readers the greatness of Goethe as a lyric poet and had had some success. This idea was greatly strengthened toward the end of our period, in 1855, when George Henry Lewes's *Life of Goethe*⁶⁷ was published, which emphasized Goethe's lyric gift. This biography was one of the most widely read and reviewed books of the time. In it Lewes said:

The *Faust* and the lyrics suffice to give Goethe preeminence among the poets of modern times, Shakespeare excepted; and had they stood alone as representatives of his genius, no one would ever have disputed his rank. The lyrics are the best known of his work and have by their witchery gained the admiration of even his antagonists. One hears very strange opinions about him and his works but one never hears anything except praise of the minor poems. They are instinct with life and beauty against which no prejudice can stand. But one and all are inaccessible through translation; therefore I cannot attempt to give the English reader an idea of them; the German reader already has anticipated me, by studying them in the original.

What Lewes said in 1855 must still stand as true. In Germany all authorities agree that Goethe stands as the first and greatest master in the domain of lyric verse. In England and America this is just as fully recognized. Professor J. G. Robertson,⁶⁸ of the University of London, has reiterated this opinion for the English literary world, when he says:

In what form of poetry did Goethe most excel? Where is he to be found at his best and highest? Most critics will no doubt answer, in the lyric. To say that Goethe was supreme as a lyric poet is only another way of saying that the peculiar strength of the German artistic genius lies in its power to give expression to

⁶⁷ See Bibliography D, no. 71.

⁶⁸ Robertson, J. G., *Goethe and the Twentieth Century*, Cambridge Univ. Press, 1912.

the subjective, and Goethe's genius seems to sum up the qualities which we have learned to associate with the German lyric.—There is a bigness and a universality about his lyric genius before which that of the other poets seems small and personal.

And now how is the English reader to know the beauties, and this bigness, and this universality of these lyrics?

The Goethe lyrics in magazines, in anthologies, and in single volumes appeared with greatest frequency from 1840 to 1855. Most of these translations are now widely scattered and quite inaccessible for the general reader, and most of them seem sadly inadequate in representing Goethe to the foreign reader. The spirit in which the translations were made, especially after Carlyle's work in England, and the writings of the transcendentalists and Unitarians in America, was generally a serious one, which wished to understand the essence of the Goethean thought. To that extent most of the work is commendable, even though the re-shaping of the material into English lyric form was not successful. As has been said, the books of Aytoun-Martin and Mangan are now out of print and give, at the best, only a small portion of these poems in a way that would suggest the charm of the originals and win readers for Goethe either in English or in German, while Bowring and Thomas give versions that are stiff, unpoetical, and lifeless. Thus, even though fifty years have passed, years in which the study and understanding of Goethe have made enormous strides, we have to reiterate Lewes' statement of 1855, and say that in this, his supreme field, Goethe is inaccessible to the English reader. Since Goethe's greatest title to fame rests upon his lyric poems, it seems a serious loss that this important phase of his work must be so meagerly and inadequately known. As the author of *Faust* and of other dramas, as the author of novels, tales, autobiography, and letters, we are able to draw very near to Goethe, in English translations. Any one of the standard sets of Goethe's complete works will convey to us a fairly accurate knowledge of his genius, in all fields *except the lyric*; here he is still *terra incognita*,—or worse.

And yet we would not leave the subject feeling that it is all in the shadow. It is encouraging to note how many lovers of literature have tried in some way to make known some part of these lyric beauties. It would probably be hard to find any other foreign author, the translation of whose lyrics has been attempted by so many thoughtful, earnest, and well-known students of literature: John Anster, Mrs. Sarah Austin, George Bancroft, John Blackie, William Cullen Bryant, Thomas Carlyle, W. E. Channing, J. F. Clarke, Arthur Hugh Clough, Samuel T. Coleridge, John S. Dwight, Margaret Fuller, Fitz-Greene Halleck, Mrs. Felicia Hemans, George Henry Lewes, H. W. Longfellow, Walter Scott, Percy Bysshe Shelley, Harriet Beecher Stowe, Bayard Taylor, John G. Whittier. Evidently these minds sensed the fact that here lies hidden valuable material. Certainly such a list indicates that here is a great field for some future worker, and it should act as an inspiration to some qualified person with a willingness to subordinate his own gift, who may some day make accessible to the English reader the finest expression of Goethe's genius.

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B.—GOETHE'S WORKS IN SETS

1. *Bohn's Standard Library.*** *Goethe's Works.* First volume, *Goethe's Dramatic Works*, published by Bohn, Lond., 1847. Taken over by George Bell & Co. in 1864.

Latest edition, 14 vols. in 1908. Bell & Co. Lond.; Macmillan Co. N. Y.

Vol. VII. *Goethe's Poems and Ballads*, by E. A. Bowring, added in 1874.

	CONTENTS	TRANSLATOR	DATE
Vol. I, II.			
	<i>Autobiography</i> , (Poetry and Truth from my Life)....	John Oxenford	1848
	Revised translation	Minna Steele Smith.....	1904
Vol. III.			
	<i>Faust</i> , first part.....	Anna Swanwick	1850
	<i>Faust</i> , second part.....	Anna Swanwick	1879
Vol. IV.			
	Novels and Tales:		
	<i>Elective Affinities</i> , <i>Good Women</i> , <i>Werter</i> , <i>German Emigrants</i> , <i>Nouvellette</i> , <i>A Fairy Tale</i>	R. D. Boylan	1854
Vol. V.			
	<i>Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship</i>	R. D. Boylan	1855

** Goedeke's *Grundriss*, (3. Auflage, 4. Band, 3. Abtheilung, 1. Heft, §34) mentions this edition as appearing in 1846, and includes Bowring's volume of poems. Upon investigation I find that the *Bohn Library* was not begun until 1847. George Bell & Sons, who took over the *Bohn Library* in 1864, write me that no volume of poems was included at that time. In the book lists and catalogs of the time there is no record of the incorporation of these poems in the set previous to 1874, and then Bowring's translation of 1853 was added.

Goedeke's *Grundriss* also states that previous to 1876 three editions of Goethe's works, (presumably poems also), appeared in the United States: viz., Appleton, N. Y. 6 vols. 12°; Lippincott, Phila. 7 vols. 12°; Bohn, Boston and N. Y. 7 vols. 12°. Letters from these various publishing houses state that they have no records of these publications and cannot tell whether any of them appeared before 1860 or not, nor do they know whether these were all copies of the Bohn translations. Bell & Co. write, "We have no doubt that the American editions had been reprinted from Bohn without acknowledgement."

- Vol. VI.
*Conversations with Soret
 and Eckermann* John Oxenford1850
- Vol. VII.
*Goethe's Poems and Ballads
 (including Hermann und
 Dorothea)* E. A. Bowring1853
- Vol. VIII.
Götz von Berlichingen.... Walter Scott1799
Tasso, Egmont Anna Swanwick1850
Iphigenia Anna Swanwick1843
*Clavigo, The Wayward Lover,
 The Fellow Culprits.* E. A. Bowring1879
- Vol. IX.
Wilhelm Meister's Travels. Edward Bell1882
- Vol. X.
*Travels in Italy and Second
 Residence in Rome*..... A. J. W. Morrison1849
- Vol. XI.
*Miscellaneous Travels of
 Goethe: Letters from
 Switzerland, The Cam-
 paign in France, The
 Siege of Mainz, The Tour
 on the Rhine* Dora Schmitz1882
- Vol. XII.
*Early and miscellaneous
 Letters, including letters
 to his mother* Edward Bell1884
- Vol. XIII.
*Correspondence with Zelter.
 (out of print)*..... A. D. Coleridge1877
- Vol. XIV.
*Reineke For, West-East-
 erly Divan, Achilleid*.... Alex. Rogers1890
*(Correspondence with Schil-
 ler, printed by the Bohn
 Library but not included
 in the regular set.)*.... Dora Schmitz1877

2. *The Works of Goethe.* Edited and revised by F. H. Hedge
 and L. Noa.

- (a) People's Edition. 9 vols. 8°. S. E. Cassino.
 1882. Bost.
- (b) People's Edition. 9 vols. in 5. 12°. Estes &
 Lauriat. 1882. Bost.
- (c) People's Edition. 9 vols. in 5. 12°. Crowell &
 Co. 1882. N. Y.
- (d) People's Edition. Same as above. Bost. and N.
 Y. 1885.

- (e) Universal Edition. 5 vols. 12°. S. E. Cassino. 1885. Bost.
- (f) Goethe's Popular Works. Edited by Hedge and Noa. Cambridge Edition. 10 vols. 12°. Cassino, Bost.; Crowell, N. Y., 1882. Identical with (a).
- (g) Cambridge Edition. 10 vols. Cambridge, Mass. 1895. Same as (a) and (f).

Vol. VI in this first edition and the corresponding volume in the other editions contains Goethe's poems, the "eclectic volume". It is constituted as follows: 274 poems by Bowring, 68 by Aytoun-Martin, 5 by Noa, 2 by Lewes, 3 by Chawner, 2 by Dwight, 1 each by Longfellow, Carlyle, Bayard Taylor, Sprague, Dale, Morrison. For exact contents see Bibliography C, footnote 72. All the other works in these editions are the same as those used in the *Bohn Library*, except *Wilhelm Meister*, which is here found in Carlyle's translation, while Bohn uses that of R. D. Boylan.

3. *The Works of Johann Wolfgang von Goethe*. Göttingen Edition. With an introduction by Thomas Carlyle, and with photogravure plates on Japan paper, including the celebrated Goethe Gallery of William von Kaulbach. Translated by Henry W. Longfellow, Thomas Carlyle, Sir Walter Scott, Bayard Taylor, Anna Swanwick, and others. 10 vols. 8°. J. H. Moore & Co. Phil. and Chic. 1882. 2nd edition, Phil. and Chic. 1901.

Vol. V, *Poems of Goethe*, eclectic volume, same as 2. All other works identical with *Bohn's Library*, except that to Swanwick's translation of *Faust* has been added the prose translation of part I, by A. Hayward.

4. *Goethe's Works*, with Life by Hjalmar Boyesen.⁷⁰ Beautifully printed and very richly illustrated. 5 vols. Large quarto. (Life, pp. 3-34.) Barrie, Phil. 1885.

⁷⁰ Goedeke's *Grundriss* §235, p. 35, mentions this edition as being by H. Boyesen and therefore ascribes all the translations in it to Boyesen, whereas really only 31 pages of the introduction are his work. E. Os-

Vol. I, *Goethe's Poems* is the eclectic volume, as in the other American editions, except that to this have been added a few epigrams, 7 elegies in Martin's translation, and 15 sonnets. The other works are identical with *Bohn's Library*, no. 1 (except *Reynard the Fox*, given in the translation of T. J. Arnold.)

In none of the five volumes are the names of any translators given. The only name mentioned in connection with the set is that of Boyesen, which has led to some bibliographical errors.

5. *The Life and Works of Goethe*. Selected. 6 vols. Quarto. Houghton & Mifflin, Bost., 1885.

No Poems; vol. I, *Goethe's Life* by G. H. Lewes; vol. II and III, *Faust* by Bayard Taylor; vol. IV, *Goethe's Correspondence with a Child*; vols. V and VI, *Wilhelm Meister* by Carlyle.

6. *The Works of Johann Wolfgang von Goethe*. Edition de luxe, with portraits and plates. Amaranth Society, London. 10 vols. 1901. Also published in Phil. and Chicago. This seems to be entirely identical with the Göttingen Edition published by J. H. Moore & Co. in 1882 and 1901.

Vol. V, *The Poems of Goethe*, is the eclectic volume. Other works are the same as the Bohn edition.

The title page says, "Translated by Henry W. Longfellow, Thomas Carlyle, Sir Walter Scott, Bayard Taylor, Anna Swanwick and others." Longfellow translated, of the ten volumes, the two *Wanderer's Night Songs*, (sixteen short lines); Carlyle translated the *Wilhelm Meister*; Scott, the *Götz*; Bayard Taylor, the *King of Thule*, (twenty-four lines); his translation of *Faust* was not used but rather that of Swanwick; also Swanwick's translation of *Iphigenia*, *Egmont*, and *Tasso*. Otherwise the ten

wald in his bibliography, *Goethe in England and America*, makes the same error, for example, Scott's *Götz*, Swanwick's *Egmont*, and both parts of *Faust*, Bowring's *Clavigo* and *Hermann and Dorothea* are all attributed to Boyesen.

volumes are the work of translators whose names are not mentioned.

7. (a) *Goethe's Works*. Weimar Edition.⁷¹ Edited by N. H. Dole. Translated by Samuel Taylor Coleridge, John Storer Cobb, Anna Swanwick and others. 14 vols. 8°. Limited to 1000 copies. F. A. Niccolls & Co. Bost. 1902.

Vol. IX, *Poems of Goethe*, eclectic volume. *Goethe's Life* by G. H. Lewes, *Wilhelm Meister* by Carlyle, *Faust*, part I, by Theodore Martin, otherwise the *Bohn* translations are given. In spite of the title page, an examination of the contents fails to show any translations by Coleridge, and only *The Reineke Fox* by Cobb.

- (b) *Goethe's Works*, Lyceum Edition. 14 vols. Limited to 750 copies. F. A. Niccolls Co. Bost. 1912.

Vol. IX, eclectic volume of poems. Other works like (a).

- (c) *Goethe's Works*. Edited by N. H. Dole. 7 vols. International Publ. Co. N. Y. 1902. Vol. I, *Poems*, eclectic volume. Other works like (a).

- (d) *Goethe's Poetical Works*.⁷² Edited by N. H. Dole. Translated by Samuel Taylor Coleridge, John Storer Cobb, Anna Swanwick and others. 2 vols. F. A. Niccolls Co. Bost. 1902.

Contains no poems, *Faust*, two parts, by Theodore Martin, *Egmont* by Swanwick, *Clavigo* and *Wayward Lover* by Bowring, nothing translated by Coleridge.

⁷¹ The Francis A. Niccolls Co. of Boston write me that they have sold the rights to these translations to other firms for cheap trade editions, the contents of the latter being of course identical with edition 7 (a). So it is very probable that there are other editions of Goethe's works in circulation, which I have not happened to find, and which are not included here. But it is not probable that any of them offer anything new in the way of translations.

⁷² Goedeke's *Grundriss*, §235, p. 35, mentions this edition but not accurately, evidently confusing it with the seven volume edition.

C.—SINGLE VOLUMES OF GOETHE

1. *Select Minor Poems of Goethe and Schiller*, by Jonathan S. Dwight. Edited as vol. III of the series, *Specimens of German Prose and Poetry in English Translation and Literature*. Hilliard, Gray & Co., Dub. pp. XX and 439. 16°. (pp. 1-197, Goethe, 89 poems.) Reviewed in: *B. Quart.* 1839, II:187; *B. Christ. Exam.* 1839, XXVI:360; 1840, XXIX:117; *Dub. Univ. Mag.* 1844, XXIV:379; *Knickerbocker*, N. Y. 1851, XXXVII:358; *Ladies' Repository*, Cinn. 1841, I:127; *N. Amer. Rev.* 1839, XLVIII:505; *N. Y. Rev.* 1839, IV:393; *West. Mess.* 1839, VI:259.

Contents: Translated by Bancroft; *Joy, Salutation of a Spirit, My Goddess, The Divine, Cupid as Landscape Painter.*

By W. H. Channing, *Mignon*.

By J. F. Clarke, *For Life, For Ever, Orphic Sayings. In Memory of Schiller—Epilogue to Schiller's Bell.*

By N. L. Frothingham, *Song of the Fates from Iphigenia, Stability in Change.*

⁷³ There might well be included here the following volume; *Goethe's Poetical Works (or Poems of Goethe)*. In the original metres, by Bowring, Lewes, Carlyle, Longfellow, and others. Crowell & Co. N. Y. 1882. pp. 439.

This has been referred to throughout this investigation as the eclectic volume. Nearly all the translations in it were made before 1860. It is the one most generally known in this country; as can be seen from Bibliography B, it is the collection of poems used by all the publishers, except Bohn, who have presented Goethe's works in sets.

Contents: Bowring, (1853), 274 poems; Aytoun-Martin, (1844-1859), 68 poems; Dwight, (1839), 2 poems, *To the Moon, The Harz Mountains*; Lewes, (1855), 2 poems, *From the Mountain, The Fisher*; Longfellow, (1845), 1 poem, *Wanderer's Night Song*; Carlyle, (1824), 1 poem, *Mignon*; Dale, (1859), 1 poem, *Hermann and Dorothea*; Morrison, (1850), 1 poem, *To Belinda*; Chawner, (1866), 3 poems, *Spirit Greeting, Vanitas, Dance of the Dead*; Bayard Taylor, (1870), 1 poem, *The King of Thule*; Sprague, (1870), 1 poem, *Song of the Spirits over the Waters*; Noa, (1876), 5 poems, *On the Lake, To a Golden Heart, Delight of Sorrow, Ballad of the Exiled Count, Legend of the Horseshoe.*

By Margaret Fuller, *To a Golden Heart, Eagles and Doves* (*sic*).

By G. W. Haven, (*from Faust*) *The Song of the Angels, Gretchen's Song*.

By F. H. Hedge, *The Erlking*.

By Dwight, see Bibliography F, 61 poems, besides parables, epigrams and proverbs.

2. *Poems of Goethe*.¹⁴ Translated in the original metres, with a sketch of Goethe's life. Edward Alfred Bowring. Parker, Lond. 1853. pp. 433. 8°. Edition revised by the author in 1874. *Hermann and Dorothea* and more translations from the *West-Eastern Divan* added, as vol. VII of *Bohn's Standard Library*. Lond. Bell.

Reviewed in: *L. Athen.* 1853, No. 1358, p. 1319; *L. Examiner*, 1853; *Littell's Living Age*, 1853, XXXVIII: 123.

3. *Poems and Ballads of Goethe*,¹⁵ with notes, by W. E. Aytoun and Sir Theodore Martin. Blackwood's. Lond. and Edin. 1859. Delisser & Proctor, N. Y. 1859. pp. xv and 240. 8°. Last edition. Lond. and Edin. Blackwood's. 1908.

Reviewed in: *L. Athen.* 1859, p. 215; *Bentley's Misc.* 1859, XLV: 401; *Brit. Quart. Rev.* 1859, XXIX: 550; *Eclect. Mag. B.* 1860, XIIX: 53; *Fraser's Mag.* 1859, LIX: 710; *Lit. World*, B. 1871, II: 91; *Littell's Liv. Age*, B. 1859, LXI: 181; *L. Quart. Rev.* 1859, XII: 121; *L. Sat. Rev.* 1859, VII: 187; VIII: 456; *North Brit. Rev.* 1859, XXX: 270; *Once a Week*, L. 1859, I: 89; *Scottish Rev. Edin.* 1859, p. 199; *Overland Mo.* San Francisco. 1872, VIII: 200; *Southern Mag.* Balt. 1871. XIX: 755.

4. *Minor Poetry of Goethe*. A Selection of Songs and Ballads and Lesser Poems. William Grassett Thomas. Phil. Butler & Co. 1859. pp. xxxiv and 335. 8°.

¹⁴ See footnote 47.

¹⁵ See footnotes 51 and 52.

D.—LIST OF ANTHOLOGIES AND OTHER BOOKS, CONTAINING
TRANSLATIONS FROM GOETHE⁷⁶

*1. *Specimens of German Lyric Poets*. (Beresford.) See
no. 9 below. 1798 (?)

2. *German Erato*. A collection of favorite songs translated
into English with original music by Reichardt. The
translator is the author of *Specimens of German
Lyrics*. Berlin. C. Falk. 1798. pp. 31. (Sold
in London by Boosey). In one catalogue this was
listed as a second edition.

Mention is made of this book in the *Brit. Critic*, 1799,
XIII: 694; *Poetical Mag.* Lond. 1801, I: 386; *Mo.
Mirror*, 1802, XIV: 402; *Mo. Register*, Lond. 1803,
II: 333; *Lond. Poet. Register*, 1804, IV: 446; V: 218;
L. Mo. Review, 1805, XL: 75; *Westminster Rev.*,
1824, I: 557.

Contains poems 75, 103, 104, 105, 108.

3. *German Songster*, or a collection of favorite airs with their
original music, done into English by the translator
of the *German Erato*. Berlin. C. Falk. 1798. pp.
27. 4°. 2nd Edition, Berlin, Fröhlich. 1800. (Sold
in London by Boosey.) Reviewed by the same maga-
zines as no. 2.

Contains 75, 103, 104, 105, 108.

4. *A Collection of German Ballads and Songs*, with their orig-
inal music done into English by the translator of the
German Erato. Berlin, 2nd Edit. Fröhlich. 1800.
pp. 32. 4°.

Contains 104, 108.

⁷⁶ An asterisk marks those books which are mentioned as containing
translations from Goethe, but which I have not been able to examine and
verify.

The titles are arranged chronologically, and the individual poems found
in the various volumes are indicated by the number they have in the
subsequent list, E.

- *5. *German Museum* or Monthly Repository of the Literature of Germany, the North, and the Continent in General. Nov. to Dec. 1800; Jan. to June, 1801. With numerous sheets of music by Mozart, Reichart, Weisse, and translated poems of Goethe. L. Geisweiler. 2 vols. 1800-1801. Royal 8°. Reviewed in the *Brit. Critic*, XVII: 669, 1801. Contains 165 and others not verified.
6. *Tales of Wonder*. Matthew Gregory Lewis. Lond. Bell, 1801. N. Y. Nicholas, 1801. (Reprinted, Lond. Routledge, 1887.) Contains 106, 107, 108, 370.
- *7. *Translations from German Miscellaneous Poetry*. W. Herbert. L. Reynolds. 1804. Rev. in the *Brit. Critic*, 1804, XXV: 138; *L. Mo. Mag.* 1804, XIV: 75.
8. *Lays of a Wanderer*. A series of songs in English with music by C. Walter. L. Johanning & Whatmore. 1820. Folio. *Amer.*
Contains 37, 104.
9. *Specimens of German Lyric Poets*, translated into verse from Bürger, Goethe, Klopstock, Schiller. (Beresford.) Lond. Boosey, 1821. pp. 152. 8°. 2nd edit. 1822. (Preface says, "The chief portion of these were published twenty years ago at Berlin, with musical melodies. The words were translated by an English gentleman, Beresford, a few were added by Mr. Mellish, late British consul at Hamburg.") It is sometimes cataloged as the "Beresford-Mellish Lyrics." 3rd edit. Blackwood's 1823. 4th edit. Longman's. 1828.
Rev. in *Bost. Quart. Rev.*, 1821, XXV: 276; 1822, XXVII: 559; *Amer. Meth. Mag.*, 1822, XI: 114; *Blackwood's Mag.*, 1822, II: 172; *European Mag.*, 1822, LXXXI: 156; *Athenaeum*, B. 1822, XI: 144; *Athenaeum*, L. 1828, I: 500; *Museum of Foreign Lit. Phil.*, 1828, XIII: 15.
Contains 74, 75, 103, 104, 105, 108, 109.

10. *Life and Genius of Goethe*. George Bancroft. B. Everett, pp. 24, 8°. First printed as an essay in *N. Amer. Rev.* 1824, XIX: 303-325. Bost.
Contains 41, 69, 103, 105, 108, 110, 167, 172.
11. *Translations from the German and Original Poems*. Lord Francis Leveson Gower, (Francis Egerton, Earl of Ellesmere.) Lond. Murray, 1824. pp. 153. 8°. Reviewed in *L. Lit. Gazette*, 1824; *Westminster Rev.*, 1824, I; *Western Rev.*, 1824, I; *Edin. Rev.*, 1830, LII: 231; *Dublin Rev.*, XIX.
Contains 110.
- *12. *Cabinet of Poetry and Romance*. Robinson. Lond. 1825.
Contains 107.
13. *Torquato Tasso*. A dramatic poem from the German of Goethe and other German poetry from Goethe, Schiller, Bürger, Eichendorf, Hölty, and Uhland. By Charles Des Voeux. Lond. Longmans, 1827. pp. 307. 8°. 2nd edit. Weimar, 1833.
Reviewed in *L. Lit. Gazette*, 1827, VI: 182; *L. Mo. Rev.*, 1827, VII: 453.
Contains 34, 37, 49, 63, 64, 72, 75, 104, 105, 107, 109, 110, 129, 189, 300, 367, 373.
- *14. *Stray Leaves*, including translations from the lyric poets of Germany, with brief notices of their lives. Lond. Treuttel. Edin. Clark, 1827. pp. 165. 12°. Reviewed in *L. Mirror*, 1827, X: 144; *L. Mo. Rev.*, 1827, VI: 126.
15. *Employment*. Frederick Page. Bath, Eng., Upham, 1828. Pamphlet, pp. 44. 8°. Contains 37, 228, 375.
16. *Specimens of the German Lyric Poets*, by Robert Robinson of Dukinfeld. Lond. Longmans, 1828. pp. 110. 8°. Reviewed in *L. Athenaeum*, I: 500.
Contains 32, 37, 39, 40, 74, 103, 325.

- *17. *Golden Lyre*. Specimens of the Poets of England, France, Germany, Italy and Spain. Edited by John Macray, Lond. 1829. Rev. in *Edin. Lit. Jour.*, 1829, II: 307; *New Mo. Mag.* Lond. 1829, XXVII: 12; *L. Ath.* 1830, III: 135.
18. *Historic Survey of German Poetry*. William Taylor of Norwich. 3 vols. Lond. Treuttel & Wurtz. 1st vol. 1828. 3rd vol. includes Goethe, 1830. pp. 506. 8°.
Reviewed in *Edin. Rev.*, 1831, LIII: 151; (Same article in Carlyle's *Essays*, III: 217); *Amer. Quart. Rev.*, 1830, VII: 436; 1831, X: 194.
Contains 103, 104, 107, 108, 109, 127, 128, 133, 142, 165, 224, 368, 380, 381.
19. *Characteristics of Goethe*, from the German of Falk, von Müller, and others, with notes original and translated, illustrative of German Literature, by Sarah Austin. Lond. Wilson. 1833. 3 vols. 8°. Later edit., Wilson, Lond. 1836, called *Goethe and His Contemporaries*. Phil. Lea & Blanchard, 1841.
Reviewed in *Amer. Meth. Mag.*, N. Y. 1833, XXIII: 500; *Dublin Univ. Mag.*, 1836, VIII: 350; *Edin. Rev.*, 1833, LVII; *Gentlemen's Mag.* 1833, CIII: 137; *L. Mo. Rev.* 1833, CXXXI; *Museum of For. Lit.* Phil. 1833, XXIII: 500; *North Amer. Rev.* 1833, II: 289; *Select Jour. of For. Lit. Bost.*, 1833, I: 923; II: 289.
Contains 73, 93, 95, 136, 138, 139, 142, 173, 179, 288, 362.
20. *The Literary Rambler*. A Collection of the Most Popular and Entertaining Stories in the English Language. Edinburg. 1833.
Contains 24, 65, 295.
- *21. *Lays and Legends of Germany*. W. J. Thoms. Lond. Cowie, 1834. Reviewed in *L. Ath.* VII: 222.
22. *Flowers of German Poetry*. J. G. Flügel. Lond. 1835.
Contains 371.

23. *Anthologia Germanica*. J. Clarence Mangan. *Dublin Univ. Mag.* 1835-1846, vols. V-XIV and XVIII-XXVII. (Goethe vols. V, VII, IX.)
Contains 6, 69, 91, 92, 93, 103, 104, 105, 107, 108, 109, 110, 113, 164, 233, 236, 323, 372, 378.
24. *German Wreath*. Translations in poetry and prose from celebrated German writers, with biographies and explanatory notes, by Hermann Bokum, instructor in German at Harvard Univ. Bost. Munroe, 1836. pp. 146. 12°.
Reviewed in *N. Amer. Rev.* XLII: 556. 1836.
Contains 41, 75, 103, 104, 107, 108, 109, 127, 224.
25. *Song of the Bell* and other Poems from the German of Goethe, Schiller, Bürger, Mathisson and Salis. John J. Campbell. Edin. Blackwood, 1836. pp. 259.
Contains 6, 23, 37, 50, 64, 85, 88, 97, 102, 103, 109, 110, 128, 196, 298, 371.
26. *Library of Romance*. A Collection of Traditions, Poetical Legends and Short Standard Tales of All Nations. Lond. 1836.
Contains 107, 125. *Anon.*
27. *Goethe's Correspondence with a Child*, Bettina von Armin. Translated into English by herself and Mrs. Sarah Austin. Lond. Longmans, 1837. pp. 540. Lowell, Mass. Bixby. 1840. Boston, Ticknor & Fields. 1859.
Reviewed in *Atl. Mo.* 1860, V: 251; 1873, XXXI: 210; *Blackwood's Mag.* 1845, IX; *B. Dial*, 1841, II: 134; *Jour. of Books*, N. Y. 1841, I: 255; *L. Ath.* 1839, p. 169; *Lond. Mo. Rev.* 1840, p. 144; *Nat'l Quart. Rev.* Lond. 1871, no. 41; *New Englander*, 1860, XVIII: 549; *Russell's Mag.* 1860, VI: 382; *Tait's Edin. Mag.* 1842, IX.
Contains 72, 144, 147, 148, 150, 151, 152, 153, 159, 358, 367.

- *28. *Translations from the Lyric Poets of Germany*, with brief notices of their lives and writings. John Macray. Lond. Blackwoods. 1838. 8°. Reviewed in *L. Ath.* 1838, p. 728; *L. Spectator*, 1838, XI: 519; *Dub. Univ. Mag.* 1839, XIII: 643; *L. Mirror*, 1840, XXXVI: 90.
- 29. *Capuciner*. N. Y. Radde. 1839. pp. 23. 16°. Contains 108, 110.
- 30. *Life and Correspondence of M. G. Lewis*. Lond. Colburn, 2 vols. 1839. Contains 105.
- 31. *A Drama and Other Poems*. S. Naylor. Maidenhead, Eng. 1839. pp. 166. Contains 89, 226, 372.
- 32. *Poems*. Robert Fraser. Poetical Remains with a Memoir of the Author, by D. Vedder. Lond. 1839. 8°. Contains 3, 14, 93.
- 33. *The Drama of Life*. J. E. Reade. L. Saunders & Otley. 1840. pp. 162. 8°. Reviewed in *L. Mo. Chronicle*, 1839. IV: 405. Contains 103, 372, 377, 379, 381.
- 34. *Specimens of German Lyrical Poetry*. Illustrations of German Poetry with notes. Elijah Barwell Impey. Lond. Simpkins. 1841. 2 vols. 12°. Reviewed in *Dub. Univ. Mag.* 1842, XIX: 330; *L. Lit. Gazette*, 1841, p. 105. Contains 127.
- 35. *Ballads, Songs and Poems*, translated from the German. Lord Lindsay. Lond. C. Sims. 1841. pp. 159. Folio. Contains 71, 107, 108, 109.
- 36. *Design and Border Illustrations* to poems from Goethe, Schiller, Uhland, Bürger, etc. with translations. J. B. Sunderland. Lond. Senior. 1841. pp. 30. Folio.

- Reviewed in *Christ. Remembrancer*, 1841. II: 395; *Dub. Univ. Mag.* 1841. XIX: 331.
Contains 114, 127.
37. *Ideals and Other Poems*. "Algernon." Phil. Perkins. 1842. pp. 102.
Contains 23, 372, 384.
38. *Songs and Ballads*, translated from Goethe, Schiller (and from fifteen other German lyric poets) with notes. Chas. T. Brooks. Bost. Munroe, Lond. Green. 1842. pp. 360. Reviewed in *Amer. Bibl. Repository*, 1842, series 2, VIII: 479, *Christ. Rev.*, 1842, VII: 626; *Knickerbocker*, 1842, XX: 484; *B. Mo. Misc.* 1842, VII: 290; *Christ. Exam.* Bost. 1843, XXXIV: 232.
Contains 39, 103, 107, 108, 137.
39. *The New Hampshire Book*, Specimens of Lit. Edited by Chas. J. Fox and Sam'l Osgood. Nashua, N. H., Marshall. Bost. Munroe. 1842. pp. 391. 16°.
Contains 372.
40. *Translations from German Prose and Verse*. H. Reeve and J. E. Taylor. Lond. Murray. 1842, pp. 78.
Contains 384.
41. *Goethe's Poems and Ballads*. Essay with translations, (Aytoun and Martin) *Blackwood's Mag.* 1844, LVI: 54; 1845, LVII: 165. Reviewed in *Fraser's Mag.* Lond. 1859, LIX: 710; *Eclectic Mag.* Bost. 1860, XLV: 53; *L. Quart. Rev.* 1859, XII: 121.
Contains 1, 6, 22, 30, 35, 37, 38, 45, 46, 49, 50, 64, 68, 70, 71, 72, 103, 104, 105, 107, 108, 109, 110, 113, 125, 127, 128, 129, 164, 173, 189, 198, 199, 201, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 225, 226, 369, 370.
42. *Poems*, Original and Translated. Dedicated to Joanna Baillie, by John Hermann Merivale. Lond. Pickering. 1844. 3 vols.
Contains 37, 44, 92, 127, 372.

43. *German Ballads and Songs*. Edited by James Burns. Translated from Goethe, Schiller, etc. Lond. Robinson. 1845. pp. 200. Reviewed in *Gentleman's Mag.* 1845, XXIV: 509; *Tait's Edin. Mag.* 1846, XIII: 94.
Contains 103, 104.
44. *Critical and Miscellaneous Essays*. A. H. Everett. Bost. Munroe. 1845.
Contains 371, 375.
45. *Poems, Original and Translated*. A. H. Everett. Bost. Munroe. 1845. pp. 410. 12°.
Contains 371, 375.
46. *The Spirit of German Poetry*, with translations and biographical notes. Joseph Gostick (Gostwick). Lond. Smith, 1845. 8°.
Reviewed in *L. Ath.* 1845, p. 1242; *Jerrold's Shilling Mag.* Lond. 1846. III: 84.
Contains 13, 68, 103, 109, 229, 372, 383, 384.
47. *The Poets and Poetry of Europe*. Edited by Henry W. Longfellow. Phil. Porter & Coates. Lond. Chapman. 1845. pp. 916. 8°. Reviewed in *Amer. Whig Rev.* 1846, IV: 580; *Christ. Exam.* 1845, XXXIX: 225; *Dem. Rev.* 1846, XX: 121; *N. Am. Rev.* 1845, LXI: 199.
Contains 37, 64, 69, 72, 73, 75, 93, 165, 166, 173, 371, 380, 381, 383.
48. *German Anthology, A Garland from the German Poets*. James Clarence Mangan. Dublin, Curry & Co. 1845. 2 vols. pp. 206, 203. (N. Y. Haverty, 1859.)
Reviewed in *Brit. Quart. Rev.* 1845, II: 582; *Dub. Rev.* 1845, XIX: 312; *Eng. Rev.* 1845, IV: 222; *For. Quart. Rev.* 1845, XXXVI: 238; *L. Spectator*, 1846, XIX: 1003; *Tait's Edin. Mag.* 1846, XIII: 94.
Contains 6, 69, 91, 92, 93, 103, 104, 105, 107, 108, 109, 110, 113, 164, 233, 236.

49. *Translations from Goethe*. "P. M." *Blackwood's Mag.*,
Edin. LIX:120. 1846.
Contains 131, 202, 205, 221.
50. *The Diadem for MDCCCXLVI*. A Present for All Sea-
sons, Translated from Goethe, Schiller, Uhland, Rich-
ter, and Zschokke. Phil. Carey & Hunt. 1846.
pp. 95.
Contains 107.
- *51. *Wild Flowers*. A Collection of Gems from the Best
Authors. Miss Colman. Bost. Colman. 1846.
pp. 126. 24°. Reissued 1848 as *Ladies' Vase of
Wild Flowers*.
52. *English Hexameter Translations* from Schiller, Goethe,
Homer, Callinus, and Meleager. (J. C. Hare?)
Lond. Murray, 1847. pp. 277. 8°. Reviewed in
L. Lit. Gaz. 1847. pp. 277.
Contains 137, 139.
53. *Prose and Poetry of Europe and America*. Compiled by
G. P. Morris and N. P. Willis. N. Y. Leavitt, Trow
& Co. 1847. pp. 598.
Contains 383.
54. *Book of Ballads from the German*. Percy Boyd, Esq.
Dublin, Orr. 1848. 8°.
Reviewed in *L. Ath.* 1848, p. 458; *Dub. Univ. Mag.* 1848.
XXXI: 305; *Westm. Rev.* XLIX: 261.
Contains 112.
55. *A Collection of Select Pieces of Poetry*, by Schiller and
Bürger, together with some characteristic poems of
the most eminent German bards. Translated in the
meters of the originals. George Ph. Maurer. N. Y.
Lange. 1848. pp. 141. 16°.
Contains 45, 46, 107.
- *56. *The Beauties of German Literature*. J. Burns. Lond.
1849. 12°.

57. *First General History of German Literature.* J. Gostick (Gostwick.) Edin. 1849. pp. 324. Phil. Lippincott, 1854.
Contains 383, 384, and many short selections and fragments of Goethe's verse.
58. *Schiller's Song of the Bell.* A New Translation by W. H. Furness, with Poems and Ballads from Goethe, Schiller and others, by F. H. Hedge. Phil. Hazard. 1850. pp. 48. 16°. Reviewed in *Knickerbocker*, 1851. XXXVII: 357.
Contains 69, 104, 108, 372.
59. *Poems and Translations from the German of Goethe, Schiller, Chamisso, Uhland, Rückert, etc.* C. R. Lambert. Lond. Whitaker & Co. 1850. (Goethe, pp. 81-98).
Reviewed in *Russell's Mag.* 1859, V: 93.
Contains 23, 37, 41, 108, 109, 123, 360, 372.
60. *Memoirs of a Literary Veteran.* R. P. Gillies. Lond. Bentley, 3 vols. 1851.
Contains 384.
61. *Metrical Translations from the German,* (Goethe, Schiller, Uhland, Heine), by a German Lady, (Mrs. Adela Haller.) Lond. Williams & Norgate. 1852. pp. 167. 8°. Also published in Hamburg.
Contains 6, 11, 20, 63, 64, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 103, 104, 105, 108, 109, 173, 181, 195, 198, 365, 368, 371, 378.
62. *The Poetry of Germany,* consisting of selections from upwards of seventy of the most celebrated poets, translated into English verse with the original text on the opposite page. Alfred Baskerville. Leipzig, Mayer; N. Y. Garrigue; Lond. Williams & Norgate, 1853. pp. 332. 8°. (14th Edit. Phil. Schaefer & Koradi, 1886).
Reviewed in *L. Ath.* 1854, p. 1427; *Christ. Exam.* Bost. 1854, LVII: 464; *Harper's Mo. Mag.* IX: 857;

- Putnam's Mag.* 1854, IV:562; *Littell's Liv. Age*, 1855, LXIV:548; *Meth. Quart. Rev.* 1855, XV:137.
Contains 6, 9, 10, 13, 14, 45, 46, 49, 50, 52, 60, 63, 64, 75, 85, 103, 104 105, 107, 108, 113, 122, 130.
63. *Gems of German Verse*, from Goethe, Schiller, Uhland, Heine, Körner, edited by Wm. H. Furness. Illustrations by Retzsch. Phil. Hazard. 1853. pp. 150. 16°. Revised and enlarged, 1860.
Reviewed in *Lit. World*, N. Y. 1853, XII:43; *Norton's Lit. Gaz.* 1852, III:20; *Chr. Exam.* 1860, LXVIII:311.
Contains 69, 104, 107, 372.
64. *Thalatta, A Book for the Seaside*. Compiled by Samuel Longfellow and Thos. W. Higginson. Bost. Ticknor, 1853. pp. 206. 16°. Contains 108.
65. *Hours of Life and Other Poems*, translated from the German. Sarah Helen Whitman. Prov. R. I. Whitney. 1853. Reviewed in *Christ. Exam.* 1855, XX:39.
Contains 383.
66. *Specimens of the Choicest Lyrical Productions* of the most celebrated German poets, from Klopstock to the present time, with biographies and literary notices. Mary Anne Burt. Leipzig, 1854; Lond. Hall, 1856, pp. 504.
Reviewed in *Lond. Lit. Gazette.* 1855, p. 649.
Contains 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 103, 104, 107, 110, 126, 164.
67. *Literary and Historic Miscellanies*. George Bancroft. N. Y. Harper. 1855. pp. 517.
Contains 41, 69, 105, 110, 164, 167, 176.
68. *Metrical Pieces*, Translated and Original, from Goethe, Schiller, Herder, R. Rückert, Uhland, Auersperg, etc. N. L. Frothingham. Bost. Crosby & Nicholls. 1855. pp. 362. 16°. Reviewed in *Littell's Liv. Age*. 1856, L:24.
Contains 86, 368.

- *69. *Gleanings from the Poets*. Bost. Crosby & Nichols. 1855. New edit.
- *70. *Torquato Tasso and Other Poems*, translated and original, with extracts from Goethe, Schiller, Körner, Uhland, Kosegarten, Mathisson. "M. A. H." Lond. Longmans. 12°. 2nd edit. 1856. Reviewed in *L. Ath.* 1857. p. 498.
71. *Echoes of Leisure Hours with the German Poets*. Asahel C. Kendrick. Rochester, N. Y. Sage; N. Y. Evans & Dickerson; Chic. Griggs, 1855. pp. 148. 16°. Reviewed in *Christ. Rev.* 1855, XX: 636; *Norton's Literary Gazette*. 1855, II: 153; *West. Lit. Mess.* XXIV: 17.
Contains 107, 110, 127.
72. *Poetry and Mystery of Dreams*. Chas. G. Leland, ("Hans Breitmann".) Containing translations from Goethe, Schiller, Heine, Uhland, Richter, Gerstenberg, etc. Phil. Butler & Co. 1855. pp. 270. 12°. Contains 108.
73. *Life and Works of Goethe* with sketches of his age and contemporaries, from published and unpublished sources. George Henry Lewes. Lond. Nutt. 1855. 2 vols. pp. 786. 8°; Bost. Ticknor, 1856. 2 vols. pp. 945. 12°. 2nd edit. Lond. Smith. 1864, partly rewritten. 4th edit. 1890. Everyman's Lib. Lond. Dent. 1908.
Reviewed in 1855, in Eng., *Fras. Mag.* LII: 639; *L. Lit. Gaz.* p. 691; *L. Spect.* XVIII: 113; in 1856, in Eng., *Bentley's Misc.* Lond. XXXIX: 96; *Brit. Quart. Rev.* XXXIII: 468; *Ecl. Rev.* Lond. CIV: 447; *New Quart. Rev.* V: 11; *Sat. Rev.* I: 99; *Tait's Edin. Mag.* XXIII: 136; in 1856, in Amer., *Christ. Rev.* XXI: 412; *Criterion*, N. Y. I: 164; *Dem. Rev.* XXXVII: 157; *Ecl. Mag.* XXXVII: 200; *Graham's Mag.* XLVIII: 439; *Knickerbocker*, XLVII: 187; *Littell's Liv. Age*. XLVIII: 91; L: 1; *N. Am. Rev.* LXXXII: 564; *Panorama of Life and Lit.* Bost.

II: 332; *Putnam's Mag.* VII: 104, 192; *S. Lit. Mess.* XXII: 160.

Contains 50, 51, 57, 108, 132, 173, 367, 377.

*74. *Legends and Ballads from the German.* J. C. D. Huber. Lond. Whittaker. 1856. 12°.

*75. *Lyrical Poems from the German.* J. E. Reade. Lond. Longmans. 1856.

*76. *The German Lyrical.* Translations from Klopstock, Goethe, Schiller, Bürger, etc. Wm. Nind. Lond. Bell & Daldy. 1856. 8°. Reviewed in *N. Y. World.* 1856, XV: 229; *L. Ath.* 1857, p. 499.

77. *The Household Book of Poetry.* Edited by Chas. A. Dana. N. Y. Appleton. 1857.

Contains 104, 108.

*78. *German Ballads and Poems, with English Translations.* A. Boyd. Lond. Houston, 1857. 12°.

79. *Goethe's Poems and Ballads.* Arthur Hugh Clough. Critical article upon the translations of Aytoun and Martin, with original translations. *Fraser's Mag.* 1859, LIX: 710; *Eclectic Mag.* Bost. 1860, XLV: 531. Contains 6, 46, 66, 71, 72, 73, 166, 175, 198, 203, 212, 214, 215, 218, 221.

80. *The Roman Martyr, A Dramatic Poem.* "Nominis Umbra." Lond. Williams & Norgate. 1859. pp. 111. Contains in the appendix 1, 193, 226, 371, 384.

81. *Life Without and Within.* Margaret Fuller Ossoli. Bost. Brown, Taggart & Chase, 1859. pp. 424. 16°; N. Y. Sheldon; Phil. Lippincott; Lond. Sampson. Contains 64, 70, 72, 172, 176, 368.

82. *Poems Translated from the German.* J. C. Mangan. N. Y. Haverty. 1859. pp. 460. For contents see No. 47.

E.—TRANSLATIONS OF INDIVIDUAL POEMS PRIOR TO 1860

(VOL. I) LIEDER⁷⁷1. *Zueignung (Der Morgen kam).*1824. *Dedication*, N. O. H. I. *L. Mag.* IX: 186.1839. *Inscription*, Dwight. Poems. Bost.1844. *Dedication*, Aytoun-Martin. *Blackwood's Mag.* LVI: 54. Edin.1853. *Dedication*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.1855. *Dedication*, M. A. Burt. Specimens, etc. Lond.1859. *Dedication*, Aytoun-Martin. Poems. Lond. N. Y.1859. *Dedication*, Nominis Umbra. Lond.2. *Vorklage.*1839. *Apology*, Dwight. Poems. Bost.1855. *Apology*, M. A. Burt. Specimens, etc. Lond.1859. *Deprecation*, Thomas. Poems. Phil.3. *An die Günstigen.*1839. *To the Friendly*, Dwight. Poems. Bost.1839. *To the Gentle Reader*, Robt. Fraser. *Poetical Remains.* Lond.1853. *To the Kind Reader*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.1855. *To the Benevolent*, M. A. Burt. Specimens etc. Lond.1859. *To the Friendly*, Thomas. Poems. Phil.

⁷⁷ Titles of the poems and their order have been given as in the Weimar Edition of Goethe's works. Bowring, Dwight, Aytoun-Martin and Thomas, each has a large number of these poems to which repeated reference must be made; therefore simply the name and the word "Poems" is given in these lists. For fuller details refer to the preceding bibliographies, C and D, both of which are chronologically arranged.

Many of these versions, particularly the early ones, were printed anonymously. In some cases I have been able later to identify the author. The name has then been placed in parenthesis to indicate this. As far as possible, I have tried to give the place of publication of the various books, magazines, and journals, in order to show how widespread or how limited were the various translations. Practically all poems here given have been examined and compared, so that even when the titles are identical, the poems are not duplicates, unless it is so stated in the list.

4. *Der neue Amadis.*

1853. *The new Amadis*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
 1855. *The new Amadis*, M. A. Burt. Specimens etc.
 Lond.
 1859. *The new Amadis*, Aytoun-Martin. Poems. Lond.
 N. Y.

5. *Stirbt der Fuchs.*

1853. *When the Fox Dies*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
 1855. *When the Fox Dies*, M. A. Burt. Specimens etc.
 Lond.
 1859. *Jack's Alive*, Thomas. Poems. Phil.

6. *Heidenröslein.*

1822. *The Rosebud*, "T". (Colburn's) *New Mo. Mag.*
 V: 309. N. Y., Bost., Lond.
 1824. Same version, *Canadian Mag.* III: 211. Montreal.
 1826. *Rose upon the Lea*, G. Bancroft. *Atkinson's*
Casket. I: 392. Phil.
 1826. Same version, *Literary Casket*. I: 168. Hartford,
 Conn.
 1827. Same version, *Atlantic Souvenir*. Bost.
 1836. *The Rosebud*, J. J. Campbell. *Song of the Bell*,
 etc. Edin.
 1836. *Heather Rose*, (J. C. Mangan) *Dublin Univ.*
Mag. VII: 298.
 1843. *Little Red Rose*, J. B. Tait's *Edin. Mag.* X: 420.
 1844. *The Wild Rose*, (Th. Martin) *Blackwood's Mag.*
 LVI: 417. Lond., Edin.
 1852. *Rosebud on the Heather*, Mrs. Haller. Transla-
 tions. Lond., Hamburg.
 1853. *Rosebud on the Heath*, A. Baskerville. *Poetry of*
Ger. Lond., N. Y., Phil., Leip.
 1853. *The Heath Rose*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
 1855. *The Wood Rose*, M. A. Burt. Specimens, etc.
 Lond.
 1859. *The Wild Rose*, Aytoun-Martin. Poems. Lond.,
 N. Y.
 1859. Same version, *Fraser's Mag.* LIX: 714. Lond.
 1859. *The Wild Rose*, Thomas. Poems. Phil.

7. *Blinde Kuh.*

1853. *Blindman's Buff*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
 1855. *Blindman's Buff*, M. A. Burt. Specimens, etc. Lond.
 1859. *Blindman's Buff*, Thomas. Poems. Phil.

8. *Christel.*

1853. *Christel*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
 1855. *Christine*, M. A. Burt. Specimens, etc. Lond.

9. *Die Spröde.*

1850. *Coy Shepherdess*, Anon. *Tait's Edin. Mag.*, XVII: 274.
 1853. *The Prude*, A. Baskerville. *Poetry of Ger.* Lond., N. Y., Phil., Leip.
 1853. *The Coy One*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
 1855. *The Prude*, M. A. Burt. Specimens, etc. Lond.
 1859. *The Coquette*, Aytoun-Martin. Poems. Lond., N. Y.
 1859. *The Prude*, Thomas. Poems. Phil.

10. *Die Bekehrte.*

1850. *The Shepherdess Caught*, *Tait's Edin. Mag.* XVII: 274.
 1853. *The Convert*, A. Baskerville. *Poetry of Ger.* Lond., N. Y., Phil., Leip.
 1853. *The Convert*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
 1855. *The Convert*, M. A. Burt. Specimens, etc. Lond.
 1859. *Smitten*, Aytoun-Martin. Poems. Lond., N. Y.
 1859. *The Convert*, Thomas. Phil.

11. *Rettung.*

1852. *The Rescue*, Mrs. Haller. Translations, etc. Lond., Hamburg.
 1853. *Preservation*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
 1859. *Just in Time*, Aytoun-Martin. Poems. Lond., N. Y.
 1859. *Rescue*, Thomas. Poems. Phil.

12. *Der Musensohn.*

- 1839. *The Son of the Muses*, Dwight. Poems. Bost.
- 1853. *The Muses' Son*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
- 1855. *Son of the Muses*, M. A. Burt. Specimens, etc. Lond.

13. *Gefunden.*

- 1845. *Found*, J. Gostwick. *Spirit of German Poetry*. Lond.
- 1853. *Found*, A. Baskerville. *Poetry of Ger.* Lond., N. Y., Phil., Leip.
- 1853. *Found*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
- 1855. *Flower of the Forest*, M. A. Burt. Specimens, etc. Lond.
- 1859. *Treasure Trove*, Aytoun-Martin. Lond., N. Y.
- 1860. *Found*, J. D. Strong. *Hesperian Mag.* III: 502. San Francisco.

14. *Gleich und Gleich.*

- 1839. *Like to Like*, Rob't Fraser. Poetical Remains. Lond.
- 1853. *Like to Like*, A. Baskerville. *Poetry of Germany*. Lond., N. Y., Phil., Leip.
- 1853. *Like and Like*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
- 1855. *Sympathetic Companions*, M. A. Burt. Specimens, etc. Lond.

15. *Wechsel lied zum Tanze.*

- 1853. *Reciprocal Invitation to the Dance*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
- 1855. *Alternate Songs for the Dance*, M. A. Burt. Specimens, etc. Lond.

16. *Selbtsbetrug.*

- 1833. *Self Deceit*, Anon. *Mo. Mag.* XVI: 35. Lond.
- 1839. *Self Deception*, Dwight. Poems. Bost.
- 1839. Same version, *Western Messenger*. VI: 259. Louisville, Cincinnati.
- 1853. *Self Deceit*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.

1855. *Self Deception*, M. A. Burt. Specimens, etc. Lond.
1859. *Self Deception*, Thomas. Poems. Phil.
17. *Kriegserklärung.*
1853. *Declaration of War*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
1855. *Declaration of War*, M. A. Burt. Specimens etc. Lond.
18. *Liebhaber in allen Gestalten.*
1853. *Lover in all Shapes*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
1855. *Lover under Many Forms*, M. A. Burt. Specimens, etc. Lond.
1859. *Multiform Lover*, Thomas. Poems. Phil.
19. *Der Goldschmiedsgesell.*
1853. *The Goldsmith's Apprentice*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
1855. *The Goldsmith's Companion*, M. A. Burt. Specimens, etc. Lond.
20. *Antworten bei einem gesellschaftlichen Fragespiel.*
1850. *Answers for a Company*, S. E. B. *Democratic Rev.* XXII: 132. N. Y.
1852. *Answers to Questions*, (Mrs. A. Haller) Translations etc. Lond., Hamburg.
1852. *Answers in a Game of Questions*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
1855. *Answers on Conversation Cards*, M. A. Burt. Specimens etc. Lond.
21. *Verschiedene Empfindungen an einem Platze.*
1853. *Different Emotions on the same Spot*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
22. *Wer kauft Liebesgötter?*
1844. *Who'll buy a Cupid?* (Aytoun) *Blackwood's Mag.* LVI: 62. Edin.
1853. *Who'll buy Gods of Love?* Bowring. Poems. Lond.
1859. Same as 1844, Aytoun-Martin. Poems. Lond., N. Y.

23. *Der Abschied.* (Lass mein Aug' den Abschied sagen)1828. *O Let Me Look Farewell*, Anon. *Lond. Weekly Rev.*1828. Same version, *Museum of Foreign Lit.* XIII: 15. Phil.1836. *Farewell*, J. J. Campbell. *Song of the Bell* etc. Edin.1839. *The Parting*, Dwight. Poems. Bost.1839. *The Farewell*, Mrs. C. M. Sawyer. *New Yorker Mag.* VII: 195.1840. Same as 1836, *Knickerbocker Mag.* XVI: 42. N. Y.1841. Same as 1836, *Knickerbocker Mag.* XVII: 506. N. Y.1842. *The Farewell*, Algernon. *Ideals.* Phil.1850. *Parting*, C. R. Lambert. Poems. Lond.1853. *The Farewell*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.1859. *The Parting*, Aytoun-Martin. Poems. Lond., N. Y.1859. Same version, *Littell's Living Age.* LXI: 185. Bost.1859. *The Farewell*, Thomas. Poems. Phil.24. *Die schöne Nacht.*1830. *The Return*, Anon. *Literary Gem.* Lond.1833. Same version, *Literary Rambler.* Edin.1853. *The Beautiful Night.* Bowring. Poems.1859. *Lovely Night*, Aytoun-Martin. Poems. Lond., N. Y.1859. *Beautiful Night*, Thomas. Poems. Phil.25. *Glück und Traum.*1849. *Love's Dream*, "Bon Gaultier", (Martin). *Dublin Univ. Mag.* XXXIII: 609.1853. *Happiness and Vision*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.

1859. Same version as 1849, Aytoun-Martin. Poems. Lond., N. Y.

1859. *Joys and Dreams*, Thomas. Poems. Phil.

26. *Lebendiges Andenken*.
 1853. *Living Remembrance*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
27. *Glück der Entfernung*.
 1839. *Joy of Separation*, Dwight. Poems. Bost.
 1849. *The Bliss of Absence*, (Martin). *Dublin Univ. Mag.* XXXIII: 620.
 1853. *The Bliss of Absence*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
 1859. Same as 1849, Aytoun-Martin. Poems. Lond., N. Y.
28. *An Luna*.
 1853. *To Luna*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
 1859. *To Luna*, Aytoun-Martin. Poems. Lond., N. Y.
29. *Brautnacht*.
 1853. *The Wedding Night*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
30. *Schadenfreude*.
 1844. *Second Life*, (Aytoun). *Blackwood's Mag.* LVI: 62. Edin.
 1853. *Mischievous Joy*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
 1859. Same as 1844, Aytoun-Martin. Poems. Lond., N. Y.
31. *Unschuld*.
 1839. *Innocence*, Dwight. Poems. Bost.
32. *Scheintod*.
 1828. *Semblance of Death*, Rob't Robinson. Specimens, etc. Lond.
 1845. *Death Trance*, (Martin). *Blackwood's Mag.* LVII: 177. Edin.
 1853. *Apparent Death*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
 1859. *Love's Grave*, Thomas. Poems. Phil.
33. *Novemberlied*.
 1839. *November Song*, Dwight. Poems. Bost.
 1853. *November Song*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
 1859. *November Song*, Thomas. Poems. Phil.

34. *An die Erwählte.*
 1827. *To the Chosen One*, Chas. Des Voeux. *Tasso*, etc. Lond.
 1853. *To the Chosen One*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
 1859. *To the Betrothed*, Aytoun-Martin. Poems. Lond., N. Y.
 1859. *To the Chosen*, Thomas. Poems. Phil.
35. *Erster Verlust.*
 1833. *First Love*, Anon. *Mo. Mag.* XVI: 35. Lond.
 1844. *First Love*, (Martin). *Blackwood's Mag.* LVI: 61. Edin.
 1853. *First Loss*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
 1859. Same as 1844, Aytoun-Martin. Poems. Lond., N. Y.
36. *Nachgefühl.*
 1853. *After Sensations*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
 1859. *Sympathy*, Thomas. Poems. Phil.
37. *Nähe des Geliebten.*
 1820. *I think of thee*, (Beresford) *Lays of a Wanderer*. Lond.
 1827. *Proximity to the Beloved One*, C. Des Voeux. *Tasso* etc. Lond.
 1828. *I think of thee*, F. Page. Employment. Bath. Eng.
 1828. *I think of thee*, Robt. Robinson. Specimens etc. Lond.
 1828. *I think of thee*, Anon. *Weekly Rev.* Lond.
 1828. Same as preceding, *Museum of For. Lit.* XIII:45. Phil.
 1830. Same as preceding, "Y". *Fraser's Mag.* I:554. Lond.
 1831. *Loved One Ever Near*, Anon. *Edin. Lit. Jour.* V: 185.
 1833. *Loved One Ever Near*, Anon. *Mo. Mag.* XVI: 35. Lond.
 1835. *I think of thee*, L. E. L(andon). *Lit. Gazette.* p. 11. Lond.

- 1836. *Nearness of the Beloved*, J. J. Campbell. *Song of the Bell*, etc. Edin.
- 1839. *Loved One Ever Near*, Dwight, Poems. Bost.
- 1839. *Forever Thine*, W. F. (an imitation) *New Yorker Mag.* VIII: 180.
- 1839. *Presence of the Beloved*, Mrs. C. M. Sawyer. *New Yorker* VIII: 180.
- 1843. *I think of thee*, J. S. B. *Tait's Edin. Mag.* X: 483.
- 1844. *I think of thee*, Wm. C. Bryant. *Godey's Lady's Book.* XXVIII: 41. Phil.
- 1844. *To Laura*, L. F. Klipstein. *Orion*, Georgia. IV: 75.
- 1844. *I think of thee*, J. H. Merivale. Poems. Lond.
- 1844. *Separation*, (Aytoun) *Blackwood's Mag.* LVI: 430. Edin.
- 1845. Same as 1839, Dwight, in Lonfellow's *Poets of Europe*. Lond., Phil.
- 1850. *Loved One Ever Near*, C. R. Lambert. Poems etc. Lond.
- 1851. *I think of thee*, Anon. *Fraser's Mag.* XLIII: 113. Lond.
- 1851. Same version, *Eclectic Mag.* XXII: 539. N. Y.
- 1853. *Proximity of the Beloved*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
- 1859. Same as 1844, Aytoun-Martin. Poems. Lond., N. Y.
- 1859. *Nearness of the Beloved*, Thomas. Poems. Phil.
- 38. *Gegenwart.*
 - 1844. *To My Mistress*, (Martin) *Blackwood's Mag.* LVI: 427. Edin.
 - 1853. *Presence*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
 - 1859. Same version as 1844, Aytoun-Martin. Poems. Lond., N. Y.
- 39. *An die Entfernte.*
 - 1828. *To the Distant Fair*, Anon. *Weekly Rev.* Lond.
 - 1828. Same version, *Museum of For. Lit.* XIII: 16. Phil.

1828. *To One Removed to a Distance*, R. Robinson. Specimens etc. Lond.
1833. *Distant One*, Anon. *L. Mo. Mag.* XVI: 35. Lond.
1842. *To the Parted One*, C. P. Cranch, in *Brooks' Songs* etc. Bost., Lond.
1850. *Loved One Far Away*, S. E. B. *Democratic Rev.* XXVII: 146. N. Y.
1853. *To the Distant One*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
1859. *In Absence*, Aytoun-Martin. Poems. Lond., N. Y.
1859. *To the Distant*, Thomas. Poems. Phil.
40. *Am Flusse.*
1828. *By a River*, R. Robinson. Specimens etc. Bost.
1853. *By the River*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
1859. *By the River*, Thomas. Poems. Phil.
41. *Die Freuden.*
1819. *Our Joys*, Anon. *Blackwood's Mag.* IV: 404. Edin.
1824. *Joy*, George Bancroft. *N. Amer. Rev.* XIX: 306. Bost.
1824. Same version, Bancroft, *Life and Genius of Goethe*. Bost.
1836. Same version as 1819, in Bokum's *Ger. Wreath*. Bost.
1839. Same version as 1824, in Dwight's Poems. Bost.
1850. *Joy*, C. R. Lambert. Poems. etc. Lond.
1853. *Joy*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
1859. Same as 1850, *Russell's Mag.* VI: 108. Charleston, S. C.
1859. *Joy*, Thomas. Poems. Phil.
42. *Abschied.* (Zu lieblich ist's, ein Wort zu brechen)
1853. *Farewell*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
43. *Wechsel.*
1853. *The Exchange*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
1859. *Change*, Thomas. Poems. Phil.

44. *Beherrigung.*1839. *Musings*, Dwight. Poems. Bost.1844. *Encouragement*, J. H. Merivale. Poems. Lond.1853. *The Rule of Life*, Bowring. Poems.45. *Meeres Stille.*1845. *Calm at Sea*, (Martin) *Blackwood's Mag.* LVII: 175. Edin.1845. *Calm at Sea*, "Horus", *Amer. Whig Mag.* I: 289. N. Y.1848. *The Calm*, G. P. Maurer. *Collection of Poetry.* N. Y.1853. *The Ocean at Rest*, A. Baskerville. *Poetry of Ger.* Lond., N. Y., Phil., Leip.1853. *Calm at Sea*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.1859. *Calm at Sea*, Aytoun-Martin. Poems. Lond., N. Y.1859. *Calm at Sea*, Thomas. Poems. Phil.46. *Glückliche Fahrt.*1845. *The Breeze*, (Martin) *Blackwood's Mag.* LVII: 173. Edin.1848. *The Happy Voyage*, G. P. Maurer. *Collection of Poetry.* N. Y.1853. *The Prosperous Voyage*, A. Baskerville. *Poetry of Ger.* Lond., N. Y., Phil., Leip.1853. *The Prosperous Voyage*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.

1859. Same as 1845, Aytoun-Martin. Poems. Lond., N. Y.

1859. *The Prosperous Voyage*, Anon. *Fraser's Mag.* LIX: 712. Lond.47. *Mut.*1853. *Courage*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.48. *Erinnerung.*1839. *Hint*, Dwight. Poems. Bost.1839. Same version, *Western Mess.* VII: 248. Louisville, Ky.

1848. *Admonition*, "H"(uddleston). *Haileybury Observer*. V: 32. Conn.
1853. *Admonition*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
1859. *Admonition*, Thomas. Poems. Phil.
49. *Willkommen und Abschied*.
1827. *Welcome and Farewell*, C. Des Voeux. *Tasso* etc. Lond.
1841. Same version, *Democratic Rev.* IX: 589. N. Y.
1842. *Welcome and Farewell*, (E. Quinet). *Dem. Rev.* X: 581. N. Y.
1845. *Welcome and Departure*, (Martin) *Blackwood's Mag.* LVII: 472. Edin.
1853. *Welcome and Parting*, A. Baskerville. *Poetry of Ger.* Lond., N. Y., Phil., Leip.
1853. *Welcome and Farewell*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
1859. *Welcome and Farewell*, Thomas. Poems. Phil.
1859. Same as 1845, Aytoun-Martin. Poems. Lond., N. Y.
50. *Neue Liebe, neues Leben*.
1836. *New Love, New Life*, J. J. Campbell. *Song of the Bell* etc. Lond.
1839. *New Love, New Life*, Dwight. Poems. Bost.
1839. *New Love, New Life*, Dwight. *N. Y. Rev.* IV: 393.
1839. *New Love, New Life*, Anon. *N. Y. Rev.* IV: 397.
1844. *New Love, New Life*, Anon. *Blackwood's Mag.* LVI: 429. Edin.
1849. *New Love, New Life*, J. Oxenford. *Goethe's Autobiog.* Lond.
1853. *New Love, New Life*, A. Baskerville, *Poetry of Germany.* Lond., N. Y., Phil., Leip.
1853. *New Love, New Life*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
1855. *New Love, New Life*, G. H. Lewes. *Life of Goethe.* Lond., Bost.
1855. Same as 1849, Parke Godwin in *Goethe's Truth and Poetry.* Bost., N. Y.
1859. *New Love, New Life*, Thomas. Poems. Phil.

51. *An Belinden.*

1839. *To Belinda*, Dwight. Poems. Bost.
 1848. *To Belinda*, J. Oxenford. *Goethe's Autobiography*. Lond.
 1849. *To his Mistress*, "Bon Gaultier," (Martin) *Dub. Univ. Mag.* XXXIII: 608.
 1853. *To Belinda*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
 1855. *To Belinda*, G. H. Lewes. *Life of Goethe*. Lond., Bost.
 1855. Same as 1839, in Parke Godwin's *Truth and Poetry*. N. Y., Bost.
 1859. Same as 1849, Aytoun-Martin. Poems. Lond., N. Y.
 1859. Same as 1848, *Littell's Liv. Age*. LXI: 184. Bost.
 1859. Same as 1849, *Littell's Liv. Age*. LXI: 184. Bost.
 1859. *To Belinda*, prose version, Anon. *Littell's Liv. Age*. LXI: 184. Bost.
 1859. *To Belinda*, Thomas. Poems. Phil.

52. *Mailed.* (Wie herrlich leuchtet)

1849. *May Song*, "Bon Gaultier", (Martin). *Dub. Univ. Mag.* XXXIII: 609.
 1853. *May Song*, A. Baskerville, *Poetry of Ger.* Lond., N. Y. Phil., Leip.
 1853. *May Song*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
 1856. *May Song*, Anon. *Blackwood's Mag.* LXXX: 422. Edin.
 1859. Same as 1849, Aytoun-Martin. Poems. Lond., N. Y.
 1859. *May Song*, Thomas. Poems. Phil.
 1860. *May Song*, J. Benton. *The Dial*. I: 477. Cinn.

53. *Mit einem gemalten Bande.*

1849. *With an Embroidered Ribbon*, "Bon Gaultier", (Martin). *Dub. Univ. Mag.* XXXIII: 608.
 1853. *With a Painted Ribbon*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
 1859. Same as 1849, Aytoun-Martin. Poems. Lond., N. Y.
 1859. *With a Painted Ribbon*, Thomas. Poems. Phil.

54. *Mit einem goldnen Halskettchen.*1853. *With a Gold Necklace*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.1859. *With a Gold Necklace*, Aytoun-Martin. Poems.
Lond., N. Y.1859. *With a Gold Chain*, Thomas. Poems. Phil.55. *An Lottchen.*1853. *To Charlotte*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.56. *Auf dem See.*1839. *On the Lake*, Dwight. Poems. Bost.1849. *On the Lake*, J. Oxenford. *Goethe's Autobiog.*
Lond.1853. *On the Lake*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.1856. *On the Lake*, Anon. *Littell's Living Age*. L: 18.
Bost.1859. *On the Lake*, Aytoun-Martin. Poems. Lond.,
N. Y.1859. *On the Lake*, Thomas. Poems. Phil.57. *Vom Berge.*1839. *From the Mountain*, Dwight. Poems. Bost.1849. *To Lili*, J. Oxenford. *Goethe's Autobiog.* Lond.1853. *From the Mountain*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.1855. *From the Mountain*, G. H. Lewes. *Life of Goethe.*
Lond., Bost.1859. *From the Mountain*, Aytoun-Martin. Poems.
Lond., N. Y.1859. *From the Mountain*, Thomas. Poems. Phil.58. *Blumengruss.*1853. *Flower Salute*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.59. *Mailed.* (Zwischen Weizen und Korn.)1839. *May Song*, Dwight. Poems. Bost.1839. Same version, *N. Amer. Rev.* XLVIII: 510. Bost.1853. *May Song*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.1859. *May Song*, Thomas. Poems. Phil.

60. *Frühzeitiger Frühling.*

1853. *Early Spring*, A. Baskerville. *Poetry of Germany*. Lond., N. Y., Phil., Leip.
 1853. *Premature Spring*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
 1856. *Early Spring*, Anon. *Blackwood's Mag.* LXXX: 423. Edin.
 1859. *Early Spring*, Aytoun-Martin. Poems. Lond. N. Y.

61. *Herbstgefühl.*

1853. *Autumn Feelings*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.

62. *Rastlose Liebe.*

1839. *Restless Love*, Dwight. Poems. Bost.
 1853. *Restless Love*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
 1856. *Restless Love*, Anon. *Blackwood's Mag.* LXXX: 410. Edin.

63. *Schüfers Klagelied.*

1827. *Shepherd's Lament*, C. Des Voeux. *Tasso* etc. Lond.
 1828. *Shepherd's Lament*, Anon. Lond. *Weekly Rev.*
 1828. Same version, Anon. *Museum of For. Lit.* XIII: 15. Phil.
 1831. Same version, *Fraser's Mag.* II: 232. Lond.
 1852. *Shepherd's Complaint*, Mrs. A. Haller. Translations etc. Lond., Hamburg.
 1853. *Shepherd's Lament*, A. Baskerville. *Poetry of Germany*. Lond., N. Y., Phil., Leip.
 1853. *Shepherd's Lament*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
 1859. *Shepherd's Lament*, Aytoun-Martin. Poems. Lond., N. Y.
 1859. *Shepherd's Lament*, Thomas. Poems. Phil.

64. *Trost in Tränen.*

1827. *Consolation in Tears*, C. Des Voeux. *Tasso* etc. Lond.
 1836. *Consolation in Tears*, J. J. Campbell, *Song of the Bell* etc. Lond.

- 1839. *Solace*, Dwight. Poems. Bost.
- 1845. Same version, in Longfellow's *Poets of Europe*. Lond., Phil.
- 1852. *Comfort in Tears*, Mrs. A. Haller. Translations etc. Lond., Hamburg.
- 1853. *Consolation in Tears*, A. Baskerville. *Poetry of Germany*. Lond., N. Y., Phil., Leip.
- 1853. *Comfort in Tears*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
- 1856. *Comfort in Tears*, W. B. Rands, *Tait's Edin. Mag.* XXIII: 215.
- 1859. *Comfort in Tears*, Aytoun-Martin. Poems. Lond., N. Y.
- 1859. *The Consolers*, Marg. Fuller Ossoli. *Life Without and Within*. Bost., N. Y., Phil.

- 65. *Nachtgesang*.
 - 1830. *Serenade*, Anon. *Literary Gem*. Lond.
 - 1833. *Serenade*, Anon. *Literary Rambler*. Edin.
 - 1837. *Serenade*, "V". *Tait's Edin. Mag.* IV: 23.
 - 1853. *Night Song*. Bowring. Poems. Lond.

- 66. *Sehnsucht*. (Was zieht mir das Herz so.)
 - 1839. *Longings*, Dwight. Poems. Bost.
 - 1853. *Longings*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
 - 1859. *Longings*, Aytoun-Martin. Poems. Lond., N. Y.
 - 1859. *Longings*, Same version, *Fraser's Mag.* LIX: 714. Lond.

- 67. *An Mignon*.
 - 1853. *To Mignon*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.

- 68. *Bergschloss*.
 - 1844. *Castle on the Mountain*, (Martin) *L. Mirror*. XLIV: 375. (Wrongly attributed to Bulwer Lytton.)
 - 1844. Same version, (Martin) *Blackwood's Mag.* LVI: 425. Edin.
 - 1845. *Castle on the Hill*, J. Gostwick. *Spirit of Ger. Poetry*. Lond.

1853. *The Mountain Castle*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
 1856. *Hill Castle*. Anon. *National Rev.* Lond.
 1856. Same version, Anon. *Littell's Liv. Age.* L: 28.
 Bost.
 1859. Same as 1844, Aytoun-Martin. Poems. Lond., N.
 Y.
 1859. *Ruined Castle*, Thomas. Poems. Phil.
69. *Geistesgruss*.
 1806. *Spirit's Greeting*, Anon. *L. Mo. Repository.* I: 56.
 1824. *Salutation of a Spirit*, G. Bancroft. *N. Amer. Rev.*
 XIX: 306. Bost.
 1824. Same version, G. Bancroft. *Life and Genius of*
 Goethe. Bost.
 1824. Same version, *L. Mo. Mag.* LVIII: 144.
 1830. *The Sea-Mark*, Wm. Taylor. *Hist. Survey of Ger.*
 Poetry. Lond.
 1836. *Voice from the Invisible World*, (J. C. Mangan)
 Dub. Univ. Mag. VII: 299.
 1839. Same as 1824, in Dwight's Poems. Bost.
 1845. Same as 1824, in Longfellow's *Poets of Europe.*
 Lond., Phil.
 1845. Same as 1836, Mangan's *Ger. Anthology.* Dub.
 1850. *Spirit Greeting*, F. H. Hedge, in *Furness' Song*
 of the Bell, etc. Phil.
 1852. *Spirit Greeting*, Mrs. A. Haller. Translations
 etc. Lond.
 1853. *Spirit's Salute*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
 1853. *Spirit's Greeting*, F. H. Hedge, *Gems of Ger.*
 Verse. Phil., N. Y.
 1859. *Spirit's Greeting*, Aytoun-Martin. Poems. Lond.,
 N. Y.
 1859. *Spirit's Greeting*, Thomas. Poems. Phil.
70. *An ein goldnes Herz*.
 1839. *To a Golden Heart*, Marg. Fuller, in Dwight's
 Poems. Bost.
 1845. *To a Golden Heart*, (Aytoun) *Blackwood's Mag.*
 LVII: 171. Edin.

1847. *To a Golden Heart*, F. H. Hedge. *Prose Writers of Ger.* p. 263. Bost.
1849. *To a Golden Heart*, J. Oxenford. *Goethe's Autobiog.* Lond.
1852. *To a Golden Heart*, (Mrs. A. Haller). *Translations etc.* Lond., Hamburg.
1853. *To a Golden Heart*, Bowring. *Poems.* Lond.
1855. Same as 1839, in *Godwin's Truth and Poetry.* Bost., N. Y.
1859. Same as 1845, Aytoun-Martin. *Poems.* Lond., N. Y.
1859. Same as 1839, *Life Within and Without.* Bost.
1859. *To a Golden Heart*, Thomas. *Poems.* Phil.
71. *Wonne der Wehmut.*
1800. *Bliss of Sorrow*, Anon. *L. Mo. Mag.* X: 46.
1801. Same version, Anon. *Poetical Register.* I: 210. Lond.
1841. *Strength of Sorrow*, Lord Lindsay. *Ballads etc.* Lond.
1845. *Sorrow without Consolation*, (Aytoun) *Blackwood's Mag.* LVII: 170. Edin.
1852. *Charm of Sadness*, Mrs. A. Haller. *Translations etc.* Lond., Hamburg.
1853. *Bliss of Sorrow*, Bowring. *Poems.* Lond.
1859. Same as 1845, *Fraser's Mag.* LIX: 714. Lond.
1859. Same as 1845, Aytoun-Martin. *Poems.* Lond., N. Y.
72. *Wandrers Nachtlied.* (Der du von dem Himmel bist.)
1827. *Wanderer's Night Lay*, C. Des Voeux. *Tasso etc.* Lond.
1828. *Wanderer's Night Song*, Anon. *L. Weekly Rev.*
1828. Same version, *Museum of For. Lit.* XIII: 16. Phil.
1837. *Wanderer's Night Song*, B. von Arnim. *Goethe's Correspondence with a Child.* Lond.
1840. *Wanderer's Night Song*, B. von Arnim. *Goethe's Correspondence with a Child.* Bost.

1845. *Wanderer's Night Song*, H. W. Longfellow. *Poets of Europe*. Lond., Phil.
1845. *Wanderer's Night Song*, (Martin) *Blackwood's Mag.* LVII: 173. Edin.
1852. *Wanderer's Night Song*, Mrs. A. Haller. Translations etc. Lond., Hamburg.
1853. *Wanderer's Night Song*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
1859. *Wanderer's Night Song*, A. H. Clough. *Fraser's Mag.* LIX: 710. Lond.
1859. *Wanderer's Night Song*, Thomas. Poems. Phil.
1859. Same as 1845, Aytoun-Martin. Poems. Lond., N. Y.
1859. Same as 1837, American Edition. Bost.
73. *Ein gleiches* (Ueber allen Gipfeln)
1833. *Night Song*, Mrs. Sarah Austin. *Goethe's Characteristics*. II: 161. Lond.
1844. *Night Song*, (Martin.) *Blackwood's Mag.* LVI: 546. Edin.
1845. *Night Song*, H. W. Longfellow. *Poets of Europe*. Lond., Phil.
1852. *Night Song*, Mrs. A. Haller. Translations etc. Lond., Hamburg.
1853. *Night Song*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
1859. *Evening*, Aytoun-Martin. Poems. Lond., N. Y.
1859. *Night Song*, A. H. Clough. *Fraser's Mag.* LIX: 712. Lond.
1859. *Night Song*, H. W. Longfellow. *Fraser's Mag.* LIX: 712. Lond. (Not the same version as in 1845.)
74. *Jägers Abendlied*.
1822. *Hunter's Evening Lay*, (Beresford.) Specimens etc. Lond.
1828. *Hunter's Evening Lay*, R. Robinson. Specimens etc. Lond.
1852. *Hunter's Evening Song*, Mrs. A. Haller. Translations etc. Lond., Hamburg.
1853. *Hunter's Even Song*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.

1859. *Huntsman's Evening Song*, Aytoun-Martin. Poems. Lond., N. Y.
1859. *Huntsman's Evening Song*, Thomas. Poems. Phil.
75. *An den Mond*.
1798. *Moonlight*, (Beresford.) *German Erato*. Berlin, Lond.
1798. *Moonlight*, (Beresford.) *German Songster*. Berlin, Lond.
1800. *Moonlight*, (Beresford.) *Ladies' Mag.* LXXXI: 158. Lond.
1821. *Moonlight*, (Beresford.) *Specimens of Ger. Lyric Poets*. Lond.
1827. *To the Moon*, C. Des Voeux. *Tasso* etc. Lond.
1828. *To the Moon*, *Weekly Rev.* Lond.
1828. Same version, *Museum of For. Lit.* XIII: 16. Phil.
1836. Same version as 1798, in *Bokum's Ger. Wreath*. Bost.
1839. *To the Moon*. Dwight. Poems. Bost.
1845. Same version, in Longfellow's *Poets of Europe*. Lond., Phil.
1852. *To the Moon*, Mrs. A. Haller. *Translations* etc. Lond., Hamburg.
1853. *To the Moon*, A. Baskerville. *Poetry of Germany*. Lond., N. Y., Phil., Leip.
1853. *To the Moon*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
1859. *To the Moon*, Aytoun-Martin. Poems. Lond., N. Y.
1859. *To the Moon*, Thomas. Poems. Phil.
76. *Einschränkung*.
1839. *Confinement*, Dwight. Poems. Bost.
77. *Hoffnung*.
1839. *Hope*, Dwight. Poems. Bost.
78. *Sorge*.
1839. *Care*, Dwight. Poems. Bost.

79. *Eigentum.*1839. *Property*, Dwight. Poems. Bost.1853. *My only Property*. Bowring. Poems. Lond.80. *An Lina.*1839. *To Lina*, Dwight. Poems. Bost.1839. *To Lina*, Dwight, *Western Messenger*. VI:359
Louisville.1853. *To Lina*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.1859. *To Lina*, Aytoun-Martin. Poems. Lond., N. Y.1859. *To Lina*, Thomas. Poems. Phil.

GESELLIGE LIEDER

81. *Zum neuen Jahr.*1853. *On the New Year*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.82. *Stiftungslied.*1853. *Anniversary Song*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.83. *Frühlingsorakel.*1839. *Spring Oracle*, Dwight. Poems. Bost.1853. *Oracle of Spring*, A. Baskerville. *Poetry of Germany*. Lond., N. Y., Phil., Leip.1853. *The Spring Oracle*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.1859. *The Spring Oracle*, Thomas. Poems. Phil.84. *Die glücklichen Gatten.*1839. *For Life*, J. F. Clark, in Dwight's Poems. Bost.1847. *The Happy Pair*, (Anon.) *Amer. Whig. Rev.*
V:122. N. Y.1853. *The Happy Couple*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.1859. *The Happy Couple*, Thomas. Poems. Phil.1859. *The Happy Pair*, Aytoun-Martin. Poems. Lond.
N. Y.1859. Same version, *Littell's Living Age*. LXI:18
Bost.1859. Same version, *Harper's Mo. Mag.* XVIII:70
N. Y.

85. *Bundeslied.*

1836. *Drinking Song*. J. J. Campbell. *Song of the Bell*, etc. Lond.
 1839. *Song of Union*, Dwight. Poems. Bost.
 1846. *Convivial Song*, Anon. *Tait's Edin. Mag.* XIII: 98.
 1853. *Song of Fellowship*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.

86. *Dauer im Wechsel.*

1839. *Stability in Change*, N. L. Frothingham, in Dwight's Poems. Bost.
 1839. *Stability in Change*, S. Marg. Fuller, Bost. (Not published.)⁷⁸
 1853. *Constancy in Change*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
 1855. Same as 1839, N. L. Frothingham. *Metrical Pieces*, etc. Bost.

87. *Tischlied.*

1832. *Table Song*, John Payne Collier. (Cited in *Goethe-Jahrbuch*, XXX: 220, 1909.)
 1853. *Table Song*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.

88. *Gewohnt, getan.*

1836. *Wont and Done*, J. J. Campbell, *Song of the Bell*, etc. Lond.
 1853. *Wont and Done*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.

89. *Generalbeichte.*

1839. *General Confession*, Dwight. Poems. Bost.
 1839. *General Confession*, S. Naylor. A Drama, etc. Maidenhead, Eng.
 1846. *General Confession*, Anon. *Tait's Edin. Mag.* XIII: 98.
 1853. *General Confession*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.

90. Left unassigned through an error discovered too late for correction.

⁷⁸ Braun, F. A., *Margaret Fuller and Goethe*, pp. 216-241. Holt & Co., N. Y., 1910.

91. *Kophtisches Lied.*

1836. *Song from the Coptic*, (J. C. Mangan.) *Dub. Univ. Mag.* VII:293.
 1839. *Cophtic Song*, Dwight. Poems. Bost.
 1845. Same as 1836, Mangan's *Ger. Anthology*. Dublin.
 1853. *Coptic Song*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
 1859. *Coptic Song*, Aytoun-Martin. Poems. Lond., N. Y.
 1859. *Coptic Song*, Thomas. Poems. Phil.

92. *Ein anderes.* (Geh, gehorche meinen Winken)

1831. *World's Philosophy*, Anon. *Edin. Lit. Journal*. V:185.
 1836. *A Second*, (J. C. Mangan) *Dub. Univ. Mag.* VII:293.
 1844. *Koptic Song*. J. H. Merivale. Specimens, etc. Lond.
 1845. Same as 1836, Mangan's *Ger. Anthology*. Dublin.
 1853. *Another*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
 1859. *Another*, Thomas. Poems. Phil.

93. *Vanitas, vanitatum vanitas!*

1833. *Vanitas*, Mrs. Sarah Austin. *Goethe's Characteristics*, I:225. Lond.
 1833. *Vanitas*, J. M. *Gentlemen's Mag.* CIII, part II, p. 138. Lond.
 1836. *Vanitas*, L. J. B(ernays). *L. Mirror*. XXVII:292.
 1836. *Cosmopolite*, (J. C. Mangan) *Dub. Univ. Mag.* VII:300.
 1837. *Vanitas*, (J. S. Dwight) *Amer. Mo. Mag.* X:361. N. Y.
 1838. *Vanitas*, M. N. *Tait's Edin. Mag.* V:704.
 1839. Same as 1837. Dwight. Poems. Bost.
 1839. Same as 1837. Dwight. *Western Messenger*. VI:259. Louisville.
 1839. Same as 1837. Dwight. *N. Y. Rev.* IV:393.
 1839. *Vanitas*, Robt. Fraser. *Poetical Remains*. Lond.
 1845. Same as 1837, Longfellow's *Poets of Europe*. Lond., Phil.

1853. *Vanitas*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
 1856. *Vanitas*, Anon. *Blackwood's Mag.* LXXX: 413.
 Edin.
 1859. *Vanitas*, Thomas. Poems. Phil.
94. *Kriegsglück*.
 1853. *Fortunes of War*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
95. *Offene Tafel*.
 1833. *Open Table*, Mrs. Sarah Austin. *Goethe's Characteristics*. IV: 344. Lond.
 1839. *Open Table*, Dwight. Poems. Bost.
 1853. *Open Table*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
 1859. *Open House*, Thomas. Poems. Phil.
96. *Rechenschaft*.
 1839. *The Reckoning*, Dwight. Poems. Bost.
 1853. *The Reckoning*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
97. *Ergo bibamus!*
 1836. *Ergo Bibamus*, J. J. Campbell. *Song of the Bell*,
 etc. Lond.
 1853. *Ergo Bibamus*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
98. *Epiphaniasfest*.
 1853. *Epiphanias*. Bowring. Poems. Lond.
99. *Sizilianisches Lied*.
 1853. *Sicilian Song*. Bowring. Poems. Lond.
100. *Schweizerlied*.
 1836. *Swiss Song*, Mrs. E. Robinson. *N. Amer. Rev.*
 XXXVI: 266. N. Y., Bost.
 1853. *Swiss Song*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
101. *Finnisches Lied*.
 1853. *Finnish Song*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.

102. *Zigeunerlied.*

1799. *Gipsy's Song*, Rose Lawrence. Translation of Götz. Liverpool.
1799. *Gipsy's Song*, Walter Scott. Translation of Götz. Liverpool.
1833. *Gipsy's Song*, J. M. *Gentlemen's Mag.* CIII, part 2, p. 139. Lond.
1836. *Gipsy's Song*, J. J. Campbell. *Song of the Bell*, etc. Lond.
1836. *Gipsy's Song*. Anon. *Dub. Univ. Mag.* VIII:360.
1850. *Gipsy's Song*, New edition of Scott's Götz, Bohn. Lond.
1853. *Gipsy's Song*, Bowring. *Poems.* Lond.
1856. *Gipsy's Song*, Anon. *Blackwood's Mag.* LXXX:426. Edin.

BALLADEN

103. *Mignon.*

1798. *Mignon*, (Beresford.) *German Erato.* Berlin, Lond.
1798. The same version, *German Songster*, Berlin, Lond.
1814. *Mignon*, C. Kedding. *Mo. Mag.* XXXVIII:45. Lond.
1817. Same as 1798, *N. Amer. Rev.* IV:201. Bost., N. Y. (It is stated that this is translated "by a celebrated English Bard," but it is Beresford's.)
1821. Same as 1798, *Specimens*, etc. Lond.
1822. Same as 1798, *Athenaeum.* XI:144. Bost.
1822. Same as 1798, *European Mag.* p. 157. Lond.
1822. *Mignon*, Anon. *Scot's Mag.* VII:414. Edin.
1824. *Mignon*, Thos. Carlyle. Translation of *Wilhelm Meister.* Edin., Lond.
1824. *Mignon*, (R. Robinson) *Annual Rev.* LXVI:286. Lond.
1824. *Mignon*, Anon. *Lond. Mag.* IX:285.
1824. *Mignon*, J. C. H(are?) *Lond. Mag.* IX:527.

1824. *Mignon*, G. Bancroft. *N. Amer. Rev.* XIX: 316. Bost., N. Y.
1824. *Mignon*, G. Bancroft. *Life and Genius of Goethe*. Bost.
1824. *Mignon*, Anon. *Kaleidoscope*. IV: 432. Liverpool.
1825. *Mignon*, Anon. *Edin. Rev.* XLII: 428.
1825. Same as 1824, Robinson. *Cabinet of Poetry and Romance*. Lond.
1827. *Mignon*, C. Des Voeux. *Tasso*, etc. Lond.
1828. Same as 1824, Robinson. *Specimens*, etc. Lond.
1828. Same as 1824, Robinson. *Athenaeum*. I: 501. Lond.
1830. Same as 1798, in W. Taylor's *Hist. Survey of Ger. Poetry*. Lond.
1833. *Mignon*, Felicia Hemans. *Dub. Univ. Mag.* II: 203. (Same version found in the collected poems of Mrs. Hemans and in Bryant's *New Library of Poetry*. p. 789. 1870.)
1833. *Mignon*, H. H. J. *Blackwood's Mag.* XXXIII: 90. Edin.
1835. *Mignon*, (C. J. Mangan.) *Dub. Univ. Mag.* V: 405.
1836. *Mignon*, J. J. Campbell. *Song of the Bell*, etc. Lond.
1836. *Song*, same as 1798, in Bokum's *Ger. Wreath*. Bost.
1838. *Mignon*, A. B. C. *Court Mag.* II: 249. Lond.
1838. *Mignon*, W. M. H. (Cölburn's) *New Mo. Mag.* LIV: 553. Lond.
1839. *Mignon*, L. J. Bernays, *Selected Translations with Faust*. Lond.
1839. *Mignon*, W. H. Channing in Dwight's *Poems*. Bost.
1840. *Mignon*, J. E. Reade. *The Drama of Life*. Lond.
1840. *Mignon*, Mrs. C. M. Sawyer. *New Yorker*, IX: 162. N. Y.
1842. *Mignon*, C. T. Brooks. *Songs and Ballads*. Bost., Lond.

1844. *Mignon*, H. M. *Democratic Rev.* IV: 315. N. Y.
1844. *Mignon*, (Aytoun-Martin.) *Blackwood's Mag.* LVI: 64. Edin.
1845. *Mignon*, (Aytoun-Martin.) *Christ. Parlor Mag.* II: 11. N. Y. (Wrongly attributed to Bulwer Lytton.)⁷⁸
1845. *Mignon*, same as 1835. *Mangan's Ger. Anthology.* Dub.
1846. *Mignon*, J. Burns. *Ger. Ballads.* Lond.
1852. *Mignon*, Samuel T. Coleridge. *Poetic and Dramatic Works.* Lond.
1852. *Mignon*, Mrs. A. Haller. *Translations, etc.* Lond., Hamburg.
1853. *Mignon*, A. Baskerville. *Poetry of Germany.* Lond., N. Y., Phil., Leip.
1853. *Mignon*, Bowring. *Poems.* Lond.
1855. *Mignon*, R. D. Boylan. *Translation of Wilhelm Meister.* Lond.
1855. *Mignon*, M. A. Burt. *Specimens, etc.* Lond.
1859. Same as 1844, Aytoun-Martin. *Poems.* Lond., N. Y.
1859. *Mignon*, J. D. Strong. *Hutching's Cal. Mag.* III: 323. San Fran.
1859. *Mignon*, Thomas. *Poems.* Phil.
104. *Der Sänger.*
1798. *The Harper's Song*, (Beresford) *German Erato.* Berlin, Lond.
1798. *The Minstrel*, same version, *German Songster.* Berlin, Lond.
1800. *The Minstrel*, same version, *Lady's Mag.* XXX: 220. Lond.
1800. *The Harper*, same version, *Collection of Ger. Ballads.* Berlin.
1820. *The Minstrel*, Anon. *Lays of a Wanderer.* Lond.
1821. Same as 1798, *Specimens of German Lyrics.* Lond.

⁷⁸ This same magazine contains a parody of *Mignon*, written as a religious poem.

1824. *The Singer*, Thomas Carlyle. *Wilhelm Meister*. Lond., Edin.
1825. *The Singer*, Thomas Carlyle. *L. Mo. Rev.* CVI: 529.
1828. *The Singer*, Thomas Carlyle. Amer. edition of *Wilhelm Meister*. Bost.
1829. *The Minstrel*, Anon. *Edin. Lit. Jour.* I: 290.
1833. Same as 1798, Wm. Taylor's *Hist. Survey of Ger. Poetry*. Lond.
1835. *The Minstrel*, (J. C. Mangan) *Dub. Univ. Mag.* V: 404.
1836. Same as 1798, Bokum's *Ger. Wreath*. Bost.
1839. *The Minstrel*, J. S. Dwight. Poems. Bost.
1841. *The Minstrel*, T. P. *Museum of For. Lit.* II: 356. Phil.
1844. *The Minstrel*, (Martin). *Blackwood's Mag.* LVI: 65. Edin.
1844. *The Minstrel*, M. M. A. *Dublin Citizen*. IV: 251.
1844. *The Minstrel*, L. F. Klipstein. *Orion*. IV: 161. Georgia, U. S. A.
1845. Same as 1835, Mangan's *Ger. Anthology*. Dublin.
1845. *The Minstrel*, J. Burns. *Ger. Ballads*. Lond.
1850. *The Singer*, F. H. Hedge in Furness' *Song of the Bell* etc. Phil.
1852. *The Minstrel*, Mrs. A. H. Haller. Translations etc. Lond.
1853. *The Minstrel*, A. Baskerville. *Poetry of Ger.* Lond., N. Y., Phil., Leip.
1853. *The Minstrel*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
1853. *The Minstrel*, R. D. Boylan. *Wilhelm Meister*. Lond.
1853. Same as 1850, Furness' *Gems of Ger. Verse*. Phil.
1855. *The Minstrel*, M. A. Burt. Specimens etc. Lond.
1859. *The Minstrel*, Thomas. Poems. Phil.
1859. Same as 1844, Aytoun-Martin. Poems. Lond., N. Y.

105. *Das Veilchen*.

1798. *The Violet*, (Beresford) *German Erato*. Berlin, Lond.
1798. Same version, *German Songster*. Berlin, Lond.
1803. Same version, *L. Mo. Register*. II: 333.
1821. Same version, *Specimens of Ger. Lyrics*. Lond.
1824. *The Violet*, George Bancroft. *N. Amer. Rev.* XIX: 317. Bost.
1827. *The Violet*, C. Des Voeux. *Tasso* etc. Lond.
1829. *The Violet*, Anon. *Edin. Lit. Jour.* I: 290.
1833. Same as 1824, *Western Mo. Mag.* I: 308. Cincinnati, O.
1835. *The Violet*, (J. C. Mangan) *Dub. Univ. Mag.* V: 406.
1839. *The Violet*, Dwight. Poems. Bost.
1839. *The Primrose*, M. G. Lewes. *Life and Correspondence*. Lond.
1841. *The Violet*, M. M. A. *Dub. Citizen*. IV: 268.
1844. *The Violet*, (Martin) *Blackwood's Mag.* LVI: 66. Edin.
1845. *Acrostic from Goethe*, "M". *South. Lit. Messenger*. XI: 118. Richmond, Va.
1845. Same as 1835, Mangan's *Ger. Anthology*. Dublin.
1852. *The Violet*, Mrs. A. Haller. *Translations* etc. Lond.
1853. *The Violet*, A. Baskerville. *Poetry of Ger.* Lond., N. Y., Phil., Leip.
1853. *The Violet*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
1855. Same as 1824, Bancroft's *Essays and Misc.* Bost.
1859. Same as 1844, Aytoun-Martin. Poems. Lond., N. Y.
1859. *The Violet*, Thomas. Poems. Phil.

106. *Der untreue Knabe*.

1801. *Frederick and Alice*, Walter Scott, in Lewis' *Tales of Wonder*. Lond.
1806. Same version, Scott's *Ballads and Lyrical Pieces*. Edin.

1807. Same version, *Portfolio*, new series, IV: 134. Phil.
 1853. *The Faithless Boy*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
 1859. *The False Lover*, Aytoun-Martin. Poems. Lond.,
 N. Y.
107. *Der Erlkönig*.
 1795. *The Erlking*, M. G. Lewis in *Ambrosio or the Monk*. Lond.
 1796. Same version, *Mo. Mirror*. II: 371. Lond.
 1797. *The Erlking*, Walter Scott. Privately printed. Edin.
 1798. Same as 1795, *Weekly Mag.* III: 93. Phil.
 1798. Same as 1795, Amer. edition of *The Monk*. Phil.
 1798. *The King of the Deuses*, (Wm. Taylor). *Mo. Mag.* VI: 438. Lond.
 1801. Same as 1797, Lewis' *Tales of Wonder*. Lond.
 1806. Same as 1797, Scott's *Ballads and Lyrical Pieces*. Edin.
 1808. Same as 1797, *Portfolio*, IV: 32. Phil.
 1821. *The Erlking*, Anon. *Athenaeum*. X: 154. Bost.
 1823. *The Erlking*, George O. Borrow. *Mo. Mag.* LVI: 438. Lond.
 1824. Same version, *Athenaeum*. XIV: 439. Bost.
 1827. *The Erlking*, C. Des Voeux. *Tasso etc.* Lond.
 1830. *The Erlking*, D. H. L. *Athenaeum*. III: 57. Lond.
 1833. Same as 1798, Taylor's *Hist. Survey of Ger. Poetry*. Lond.
 1833. *The Erlenkoenig*, E. Fehrmann. *Knickerbocker Mag.* II: 197. N. Y.
 1833. *The Wood Demon*, "L." *New Eng. Mag.* V: 7. Bost.
 1834. *The Erlking*, T. J. A. Tait's *Edin. Mag.* I: 520.
 1834. Same version, *Lond. Mirror*. XXIV: 421.
 1835. *The Erlking*, H. Berkeley. *New Eng. Mag.* VIII: 371. Bost.
 1836. *The Alder King*, (J. C. Mangan.) *Dub. Univ. Mag.* VII: 291.

1836. *The Erlking*, Anon. Library of Romance. Lond.
 1836. Same as 1833, Fehrmann in Bokum's *Ger. Wreath*. Bost.
 1839. *The Erlking*, F. H. Hedge in Dwight's *Poems*. Bost.⁸⁰
 1839. *King of the Alders*, W. F. *New Yorker*. VIII:210.
 1841. *The Erlking*, Mary E. Lee. *Magnolia*. III:131. Savannah.
 1841. *The Erlking*, Lord Lindsay. *Ballads, etc.* Lond.
 1842. *The Erlking*, C. T. Brooks. *Songs and Ballads*. Bost., Lond.
 1843. *The Erlking*, L. F. Klipstein. *Magnolia*. New series, II:374. Savannah.
 1844. *The Erlking*. (Martin) *Blackwood's Mag.* LVI:63. Edin.
 1845. Same as 1836, Mangan's *Ger. Anthology*. Dublin.
 1848. *The Erlking*, G. P. Maurer. *Collection of Poetry*. N. Y.
 1849. *The Erlking*, C. F. Fraser's *Mag.* XL:276. Lond.
 1850. Same as 1839, Hedge in Furness' *Song of the Bell*. Phil.
 1852. *The Erlking*, L. J. L. *South Lit. Messenger*. XVIII:352. Richmond., Va.
 1853. *The Erlking*, A. Baskerville. *Poetry of Ger.* Lond., N. Y., Phil., Leip.
 1853. Same as 1839, in Furness' *Gems of Ger. Verse*. Phil.
 1853. *The Erlking*, Bowring *Poems*. Lond.
 1855. *The Erlking*, M. A. Burt. *Specimens, etc.* Lond.
 1855. *The Erlking*, A. C. Kendrick. *Echoes etc.* Rochester, N. Y., Chic.
 1855. Same as 1839, Hedge in *Gleanings from the Poets*. Bost.
 1859. *The Erlking*, Joel Benton. *Democratic Rev.* XL:373. N. Y.

⁸⁰ This translation is generally used with Schubert's music, Opus 21.

1859. Same as 1844, Aytoun-Martin. Poems. Lond., N. Y.
1859. *The Erlking*, J. Cochran. Hutching's *California Mag.* III: 505. San Fran.
1859. *The Erlking*, Mrs. J. A. Morgan. Privately circulated. Racine, Wis.
1859. *The Erlking*, Thomas. Poems. Phil.
- *The Erlking*, J. G. Whittier, (Year of translation uncertain, but it probably is prior to 1860. See *Goethe-Jahrbuch*, XXV: 233, 1904. It is not included among his published poems.)
108. *Der Fischer*.
1798. *The Fisher*, (Beresford.) *German Erato*. Berlin, Lond.
1798. Same version, *German Songster*. Berlin, Lond.
1800. Same version, *Collection of Ger. Ballads*. Berlin.
1801. *The Fisherman*, M. G. Lewis. *The Monk*. Lond.
1817. *The Mermaid*, J. F. *Blackwood's Mag.* I: 171. Edin.
1821. Same as 1798, *Specimens of Ger. Lyrics*. Lond.
1822. Same version, *European Mag.* p. 157. Lond.
1822. Same version, *Athenaeum*, p. 144. Bost.
1822. Same version, *Gentlemen's Mag.* II: 415. Phil.
1822. *The Fisher*, Jane Welsh (Carlyle). Sent in a letter to Thos. Carlyle.⁵¹
1824. *The Angler*, George Baneroft. *N. Amer. Rev.* XIX: 318. Bost.
1824. *The Fisher*, "G. M." *New Mo. Mag.* VII: 576. Lond.
1824. Same version, *New Mo. Mag.* VIII: 576. Bost.
1829. *The Fisher*, Anon. *Edin. Lit. Jour.* I: 290.
1830. *The Mermaid*. Wm. Taylor. *Hist. Survey of Ger. Poetry*. Lond.
1833. *The Fisher*, Anon. *Lit. Gazette*. XVII: 315. Lond.
1834. *The Fisher*, T. J. A. *Tait's Edin. Mag.* I: 804.

⁵¹ See *Love Letters of Jane Welsh and Thomas Carlyle*, edited by A. Carlyle. Published by Lane & Co., Lond., 1909.

1836. Same as 1817, in Bokum's *Ger. Wreath*. Bost.
1837. *The Fisher*, J. C. Mangan. *Dub. Univ. Mag.* IX: 284.
1838. *The Fisher*, Anon. *Gentleman's Mag.* II: 415. Phil.
1839. *The Fisher*, Anon. *The Capuciner*. N. Y.
1839. *The Angler*, W. F. *New Yorker*. VIII: 210.
1839. *The Fisher*, Dwight. *Poems*. Bost.
1841. *The Fisher*, M. M. A. *Dub. Citizen*. IV: 228.
1841. *The Fisherman Caught*, Harriet Beecher Stowe. *Godey's Lady's Book*. XXIII: 11. Phil.
1841. *The Fisher*, Lord Lindsay. *Ballads*. Lond.
1842. *The Fisher*, C. T. Brooks. *Songs and Ballads*. Bost., Lond.
1844. *The Fisher*, F. H. Hedge in *The Gift*. p. 182. Phil.
1844. *The Fisher*, (Martin.) *Blackwood's Mag.* LVI: 65. Edin.
1845. Same as 1837, Mangan's *Ger. Anthology*. Dublin.
1850. *The Fisher*, C. R. Lambert. *Poems etc.* Lond.
1852. *The Fisher*, Anon. *Dub. Univ. Mag.* XL: 581.
1852. *The Fisher*, Mrs. A. Haller. *Translations etc.* Lond.
1852. *The Fisher*, L. I. L. *South. Lit. Messenger*. XVIII: 352. Richmond, Va.
1853. *The Angler*, A. Baskerville. *Poetry of Ger.* Lond., N. Y., Phil., Leip.
1853. *The Fisher*, Bowring. *Poems*. Lond.
1853. *The Fisher*, Anon. *Thalatta*. Bost.
1855. *The Fisher*, G. H. Lewes. *Life of Goethe*. Lond., Bost.
1856. Same as 1842, in Bryant's *Anthology of Poetry*. N. Y.
1857. Same as 1837, in *Household Book of Poetry*. Edited by C. A. Dana. N. Y.
1859. Same as 1844, Aytoun-Martin. *Poems*. Lond., N. Y.
1859. Same as 1844, *Littell's Living Age*. LXI: 186. Bost.

1859. Same as 1844, *The Critic*, p. 824. Lond.
 1859. *The Fisher*, Thomas. Poems. Phil.
109. *Der König in Thule*.⁸²
 1821. *The King of Thule*, (Beresford.) *Specimens of Ger. Lyrics*. Lond.
 1823. *The King of Thule*, Francis Leveson Gower. Translations etc. Lond.
 1825. *The King of Thule*, Anon. *Lit. Gazette*. p. 796. Lond.
 1827. *The King in Thule*, C. Des Voeux. *Tasso* etc. Lond.
 1830. *The King of Thule*, Wm. Taylor. *Hist. Survey of Ger. Poetry*. Lond.
 1834. *The King in Thule*, T. J. A. *Tait's Edin. Mag.* I: 804.
 1835. *The Monarch's Goblet*, G(rimke) D(ayton). *South. Lit. Jour.* I: 112. South Carolina.
 1836. *The King of Thule*, J. J. Campbell. *Song of the Bell*. Edin.
 1836. Same as 1830, in Bokum's *Ger. Wreath*. Bost.
 1837. *The King of Thule*, (J. C. Mangan.) *Dub. Univ. Mag.* IX: 285.
 1839. *The King of Thule*, Dwight. Poems. Bost.
 1841. *The King of Thule*, M. M. A. *Dub. Citizen.* IV: 268.
 1841. *The King of Thule*, Lord Lindsay. *Ballads*. Lond.
 1845. *The King of Thule*, (Aytoun-Martin) *Blackwood's Mag.* LVII: 166. Edin.
 1845. *The King of Thule*, J. Gostwick. *Ger. Lit.* Lond.
 1845. *The King of Thule*, J. Gostwick. *Spirit of Ger. Poetry*. Lond. (Not the same version as the preceding.)
 1845. Same as 1837, Mangan's *Ger. Anthology*. Dub.
 1849. *The King of Thule*, C. F. *Fraser's Mag.* XL: 95. Lond.
 1850. *The King of Thule*, C. R. Lambert. Poems etc. Lond.

⁸² Not including the eighteen translations of *Faust*, part I.

1852. *The King of Thule*, Mrs. A. Haller. Translations etc. Lond.
1853. *The King of Thule*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
1857. *The King of Thule*, G. Turner. *Train*. IV:59. Lond.
1859. *The King of Thule*, Aytoun-Martin. Poems. Lond., N. Y. (Not the same as 1844.)
1859. *The King of Thule*, Martin. *Once A Week*. I:250. Lond. (Not the same as 1844.)
1859. *The King of Thule*, Thomas. Poems. Phil.
110. *Das Blümlein Wunderschön. (Lied des gefangnen Grafen.)*
1823. *Lay of the Imprisoned Knight*, Francis Leveson Gower. Translations. Lond.
1824. Same version, *Lit. Gazette*. p. 85. Lond.
1824. *Song of the Captive Count*, G. Bancroft. *N. Amer. Rev.* XIX:319. Bost.
1827. *Flouret Wondrous Fair*, C. Des Voeux. *Tasso*. Lond.
1835. *The Lovely Little Flower*, L. E. L(andon). *Lit. Gazette*, p. 11. Lond.
1836. *Song of the Imprisoned Count*, J. J. Campbell. *Song of the Bell*. Lond.
1836. *Lay of the Captive Count*, (J. C. Mangan.) *Dub. Univ. Mag.* VII:290.
1839. *The Wonderful Flower*, Anon. *The Capuciner*. N. Y.
1839. *The Flouret Wondrous Fair*, Dwight, Poems. Bost.
1841. *The Imprisoned Knight*, M. M. A. *Dub. Citizen*. IX:250.
1844. Same as 1823, *Democratic Rev.* XV:47. N. Y.
1844. *Lay of the Imprisoned Knight*, H. M. M. *Columbian Mag.* XV:47. N. Y.
1845. *The fairest Flower*, (Martin.) *Blackwood's Mag.* XLV:168. Edin.
1845. Same as 1836, Mangan's *Ger. Anthology*. Dub.

1853. *The Beauteous Flower*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
 1855. *My Favorite Flower*, M. A. Burt. Specimens etc.
 Lond., Leip.
 1855. *The Lay of the Captive Count*, A. C. Kendricks.
 Poems. Lond., N. Y., Chic.
 1859. Same as 1845, Aytoun-Martin. Poems. Lond.,
 N. Y.
 1859. *The Beautiful Flower*, Thomas. Poems. Phil.
111. *Ritter Kurts Brautfahrt*.
 1853. *Sir Kurt's Wedding Journey*, Bowring. Poems.
 Lond.
112. *Hochzeitlied*.
 1848. *A Lay of Christmas*, Percy Boyd. Ballads, etc.
 Dublin.
 1848. Same version, *Dub. Univ. Mag.* XXXI: 305.
 1853. *Wedding Song*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
 1859. *An Autumn Night's Dream*, Aytoun-Martin.
 Poems. Lond., N. Y.
113. *Der Schatzgräber*.
 1835. *The Treasure Seeker*, (J. C. Mangan.) *Dub.*
Univ. Mag. V: 406.
 1839. *The Treasure Digger*, Dwight. Poems. Bost.
 1844. *The Treasure Digger*, (Aytoun.) *Blackwood's*
Mag. LVI: 423. Edin.
 1845. Same as 1835, Mangan's *Ger. Anthology*. Dublin.
 1853. *The Treasure Digger*, A. Baskerville. *Poetry of*
Ger. Lond., N. Y., Phil., Leip.
 1853. *The Treasure Digger*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
 1859. *The Treasure Digger*, (Anon.) *Littell's Living*
Age. LXI: 186. Bost.
 1859. Same as 1844, Aytoun-Martin. Poems. Lond.,
 N. Y.
 1859. Same as 1844, Aytoun, *Littell's Living Age*.
 LXI: 186. Bost.

114. *Der Rattenfänger.*

1841. *The Rat Catcher*, E. B. Impey. Specimens, etc. Lond.
 1841. Same version, Sunderland's *Designs and Border Illustrations*. Lond.
 1853. Same version, *N. Y. Lit. World*. VII:84.
 1853. *The Rat Catcher*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.

115. *Die Spinnerin.*

1853. *The Spinner*. Bowring. Poems. Lond.

116. *Vor Gericht.*

1853. *Before a Court of Justice*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.

117. *Der Edelknabe und die Müllerin.*

1853. *The Page and the Miller's Daughter*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
 1859. *The Traveller and the Peasant Maid*, Thomas. Poems. Phil.

118. *Der Junggeselle und der Mühlbach.*

1839. *The Youth and the Millstream*, Dwight. Poems. Bost.
 1839. Same version, *Western Messenger*, VI:259. Louisville.
 1842. *The Shepherd and the Brook*, Wm. Falconer. *Graham's Mag.* XXI:280. Phil.
 1853. *The Youth and the Millstream*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
 1859. *The Youth and the Millstream*, Aytoun-Martin. Poems. Lond., N. Y.
 1859. *The Youth and the Millstream*, Thomas. Poems. Phil.

119. *Der Müllerin Verrat.*

1853. *The Maid of the Mill's Treachery*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
 1859. *The Treacherous Maid of the Mill*, Aytoun-Martin. Poems. Lond., N. Y.

120. *Der Müllerin Reue.*

1853. *The Maid of the Mill's Repentance*, Bowring.
Poems. Lond.

121. *Wandrer and Pächterin.*

1853. *The Traveller and the Farm Maiden*, Bowring.
Poems. Lond.
1859. *The Traveller and the Peasant Maid*, Thomas.
Poems. Phil.

122. *Wirkung in die Ferne.*

1853. *Effect at a Distance*, A. Baskerville. *Poetry of Germany*. Lond., N. Y., Phil., Leip.
1853. *Effect at a Distance*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
1859. *The Page and the Maid of Honour*, Aytoun-Martin. Poems. Lond., N. Y.
1859. *Distant Influence*, Thomas. Poems. Phil.

123. *Die wandelnde Glocke.*

1850. *The Walking Bell*, C. R. Lambert. Poems, etc.
Lond.
1853. *The Walking Bell*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
1859. *The Roving Boy*, Aytoun-Martin. Poems. Lond.,
N. Y.

124. *Der getreue Eckart.*

1839. *The Trusty Eckart*, Dwight. Poems. Bost.
1853. *Faithful Eckart*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
1859. *Eckart the Trusty*, (Th. Martin.) *Once A Week*.
I: 89. Lond.
1859. *The Trusty Eckart*, Thomas. Poems. Phil.

125. *Der Totentanz.*

1832. *The Skeleton Dance*, H. S. *Lit. Gazette*. p. 731.
Lond.
1836. *Dance of the Dead*, Anon. *Library of Romance*.
Lond.
1845. *Dance of Death*, (Th. Martin.) *Blackwood's Mag.*
XLV: 167. Edin.

1845. *Skeleton's Dance*, J. Gostwick. *Ger. Lit.* Lond.
 1853. *The Dance of Death*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
 1859. Same as 1845, Aytoun-Martin. Poems. Lond,
 N. Y.
 1859. *The Dance of the Dead*, Thomas. Poems. Phil.
126. *Die erste Walpurgisnacht.*
 1835. *The First Walpurgis Night*, J. Anster. *Faustus*.
 Lond.
 1853. *The First Walpurgis Night*, Bowring. Poems.
 Lond.
 1855. *The First Walpurgis Night*, M. A. Burt. Specimens,
 etc. Lond.
127. *Der Zauberlehrling.*
 1830. *The Apprentice to Magic*, Wm. Taylor. *Hist.*
 Survey of Ger. Poetry. Lond.
 1831. *The Apprentice to Magic*, same version. *Amer.*
 Quart. Rev. X:194. Phil.
 1836. *The Apprentice to Magic*, same version, Bokum.
 Ger. Wreath. Bost.
 1838. *The Apprentice to Magic*, Anon. *Blackwood's*
 Mag. XLIII:578. Edin.
 1839. *The Magician's Apprentice*, Dwight, Poems.
 Bost.
 1839. *The Magician's Apprentice*, S. Menzies. *Court*
 Mag. I:117. Lond.
 1841. *The Magician's Apprentice*, E. B. Impey. Specimens,
 etc. Lond.
 1841. *The Magician's Apprentice*, J. H. Merivale, in
 Sunderland's Design and Border Illustrations.
 Lond.
 1842. *The Magician's Apprentice*, same version. *Dub.*
 Univ. Mag. XIX:331.
 1843. *The Magician's Apprentice*, A. C. Kendrick,
 Orion. III:171. Georgia.
 1844. Same as 1841, Merivale. Poems translated and
 original. Lond.
 1845. *The Magician's Apprentice*, (Th. Martin) *Black-*
 wood's Mag. LVI:430. Edin.

1846. *The Magician's Apprentice*, Anon. *Tait's Edin. Mag.* XIII: 99.
1853. *The Pupil in Magic*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
1855. *The Apprentice in Magic*, A. C. Kendrick. *Echoes*, etc. N. Y., Chic., Rochester. Not the same version as 1843.
1859. Same as 1845, Aytoun-Martin. Poems. Lond., N. Y.
1859. *The Wizard's Apprentice*. Thomas. Poems. Phil.
128. *Die Braut von Korinth*.
1819. *The Bride of Corinth*, Anon. *Blackwood's Mag.* IV: 688. Edin.
1830. *The Vampire Nun*, Wm. Taylor. *Historic Survey of German Poetry*. Lond.
1835. *The Bride of Corinth*, J. Anster. *Faustus*. Lond.
1836. *The Bride of Corinth*, J. J. Campbell. *Song of the Bell*. Edin.
1844. *The Bride of Corinth*, (Aytoun-Martin) *Blackwood's Magazine*. LVI: 57. Edin.
1853. *The Bride of Corinth*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
1859. Same as 1844, Aytoun-Martin. Poems. Lond., N. Y.
129. *Der Gott und die Bajadere. Indische Legende*.
1809. *The Genius and the Baydere*, Anon. (Sir Brooke Boothy.) *Edin. Annual Register*. II: 647.
1813. *The Genius and the Baydere*, same version. *Polyanthus*. II: 161. Bost.
1825. *Indian God and the Bayadeer*, Anon. *N. Y. Rev. and Athenaeum*. I: 165.
1827. *The God and the Bayadere*, C. Des Voeux. *Tasso*, etc. Lond.
1844. *The God and the Bayadere*, (Aytoun-Martin) *Blackwood's Mag.* LVI: 421. Edin.
1853. *The God and the Bayadere*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
1859. *The God and the Bayadere*, Aytoun-Martin. Poems. Lond., N. Y.

ELEGIEN. I.

ROEMISCHE ELEGIEN.

130. I. *Saget, Steine, mir an.*
 1853. A. Baskerville. *Spirit of Ger. Poetry.* Lond., N. Y., Phil., Leip.
 1853. Bowring. Poems. Lond.
 1859. Thomas. Poems. Phil.
131. III. *Lass dich, Geliebte, nicht reu.*
 1846. *Blackwood's Mag.* LIX: 120. Edin.
 1853. Bowring. Poems. Lond.
 1855. Th. Martin, in Lewes' *Life of Goethe.* Lond., Bost.
 1859. Thomas. Poems. Phil.
132. VIII. *Wenn du mir sagst.*
 1855. G. H. Lewes, in *Life of Goethe.* Lond., Bost.
133. X. *Alexander and Cäsar und Heinrich.*
 1830. Wm. Taylor. *Historic Survey of Ger. Poetry.* Lond.
 1853. Bowring. Poems. Lond.
134. XI. *Euch, o Grazien.*
 1853. Bowring. Poems. Lond.
135. XIII. *Amor bleibet ein Schalk.*
 1853. Bowring. Poems. Lond.
136. XVII. *Manche Töne sind mir Verdruss.*
 1833. Mrs. Sarah Austin. *Goethe's Characteristics.* I: 252. Lond.
 1853. Thomas. Poems. Phil.

ELEGIEN. II.

137. *Alexis und Dora.*1829. Anon. *Athenaeum*. II:677. Lond.1842. C. P. Cranch in Brooks' *Songs and Ballads*.
Lond., Bost.1847. (J. C. Hare.) *Eng. Hexameter Translations* etc.
Lond.1849. Anon. *Democratic Rev.* XXIV:66. N. Y.1853. Bowring. *Poems*. Lond.138. *Euphrosyne.*1833. Prose translation, 12 lines, Mrs. Sarah Austin.
Goethe's Characteristics. I:160. Lond.139. *Die Metamorphose der Pflanzen.*1833. Mrs. Sarah Austin. *Goethe's Characteristics*.
I:167. Lond.1839. Dwight. *Poems*. Bost.1847. (J. C. Hare.) *Eng. Hexameter Translations*.
Lond.1853. Bowring. *Poems*. Lond.1859. Wm. Whewell. *History of Inductive Science*.
III:360. Lond.140. *Erste Epistel.*1829. *Poetical Epistle*, J. C. H(are?) *Athenaeum*.
II:261. Lond.141. *Zweite Epistel.*1829. *Second Poetical Epistle*, J. C. H(are?) *Athen-*
aeum. II:297. Lond.142. *Epigramme. Venedig. 1790.*1830. Wm. Taylor. *Historic Survey of Ger. Poetry*.
Lond. (8 and 34b.)1833. Mrs. Sarah Austin. *Goethe's Characteristics*.
Lond. (34b, 73, 98.)1838. (Anon.) *Western Messenger*. IV:379. Louis-
ville. (12.)

1839. Dwight. Poems. Bost. (8, 12, 15, 22, 34b, 50, 55, 57, 58, 59, 61, 62, 75.)
1846. (Anon.) *Blackwood's Mag.* LIX: 120. Edin. (96.)
1853. Bowring. Poems. Lond. (1, 8, 10, 14, 35, 46, 88, 89, 94, 95, 96, 97.)
143. *Weissagungen des Bakis.*
 1839. *Prophecies of Bakis*, (5 stanzas) Dwight. Poems. Bost.
- (VOL. II) SONETTE.
144. I. *Mächtiges Ueberraschen.*
 1837. Bettina von Arnim. *Goethe's Correspondence with a Child.* p. 89. Lond.
145. II. *Freundliches Begegnen.*
 1853. *The Friendly Meeting*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
 1859. *The Friendly Meeting*, Thomas. Poems. Phil.
146. III. *Kurz und gut.*
 1853. *In a Word*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
 1859. *The Resolution*, Thomas. Poems. Phil.
147. IV. *Das Mädchen spricht.*
 1837. Bettina von Arnim. *Goethe's Correspondence with a Child.* p. 487. Lond.
 1853. *The Maiden Speaks*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
 1859. *The Maiden Speaks*, Thomas. Poems. Phil.
148. V. *Wachstum.*
 1837. Bettina von Arnim. *Goethe's Correspondence with a Child.* p. 487. Lond.
 1853. *Growth*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
 1859. *Growth*, Thomas. Poems. Phil.
149. VI. *Reisezehrung.*
 1853. *Food in Travel*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.

150. VII. *Abschied.*
1837. Bettina von Arnim. *Goethe's Correspondence with a Child.* p. 89. Lond.
1853. *Departure*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
151. VIII. *Die Liebende schreibt.*
1837. Bettina von Arnim. *Goethe's Correspondence with a Child.* p. 500. Lond.
1853. *The Loving One Writes*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
1859. *She Writes*, Thomas. Poems. Phil.
152. IX. *Die Liebende abermals.*
1837. Bettina von Arnim. *Goethe's Correspondence with a Child.* p. 500. Lond.
1853. *The Loving One Once More*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
1859. *She Writes Again*, Thomas. Poems. Phil.
153. X. *Sie kann nicht enden.*
1837. Bettina von Arnim. *Goethe's Correspondence with a Child.* p. 502. Lond.
1853. *She Cannot End*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
1859. *She Cannot Cease*, Thomas. Poems. Phil.
154. XI. *Nemesis.*
1853. *Nemesis*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
155. XII. *Christgeschenk.*
1853. *The Christmas Box*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
156. XIII. *Warnung.*
1853. *The Warning*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
1856. *The Warning*, W. B. Rands. *Tait's Edin. Mag.* XXIII: 238.
1859. *Warning*, Thomas. Poems. Phil.
157. XIV. *Die Zweifelnden und die Liebenden.*
1853. *The Doubters and the Lovers*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.

158. XVI. *Epoche*.

1837. Bettina von Arnim. *Goethe's Correspondence with a Child*. p. 70. Lond.

1853. *The Epochs*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.

159. XVII. *Charade*.

1837. Bettina von Arnim. *Goethe's Correspondence with a Child*. p. 179. Lond.

1853. *Charade*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.

KANTATEN

160. *Deutscher Parnass*.

1853. *The German Parnassus*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.

161. *Idylle*.

1853. *Idyll*. Bowring. Poems. Lond.

162. *Johanna Sebus*.

1853. *Johanna Sebus*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.

163. *Rinaldo*.

1853. *Rinaldo*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.

VERMISCHTE GEDICHTE

164. *Klaggesang von der edlen Frauen des Asan Aga*.²³

1799. *Morlachian Ballad*, Walter Scott. (Privately printed with an apology, intended for M. G. Lewis' *Tales of Terror*. It is not included in Scott's collected works.)

1836. *Hassan Aga*, (J. C. Mangan.) *Dub. Univ. Mag.* VII: 495.

1844. *Doleful Lay of the Wife of Asan Aga*, (Aytoun.) *Blackwood's Mag.* LVI: 67. Edin.

1845. Same as 1836, Mangan's *Ger. Anthology*. Dub.

²³ Goedeke's *Grundriss*, §236:126, mentions a translation of this poem in the *Westminster Review*, VI: 23. 1826, London, but it is not a translation, only an outline of the story of the ballad in prose.

1853. *Death Lament of the Noble Wife of Asan Aga.* Bowring. Poems. Lond.
1854. *Lament of Hassan Aga's Noble Wife.* M. A. Burt. Specimens etc. Lond.
1855. *Mournful History of the Noble Wife of Asan Ago,* G. Bancroft. *Lit. and Hist. Miscellanies.* N. Y.
1859. Same as 1844, Aytoun-Martin. Poems. Lond., N. Y.
165. *Mahomets Gesang.*
1800. *Mahomet,* Anon. *German Museum.* Lond.
1830. *Mahomet's Song,* Wm. Taylor. *Hist. Survey of Ger. Poetry.* Lond.
1839. *Mahomet's Song,* Dwight. Poems. Bost.
1845. Same version, in Longfellow's *Poets of Europe.* Lond., Phil.
1845. *Mahomet's Song,* (J. Anster.) *Dub. Univ. Mag.* XXV: 156.
1853. *Mahomet's Song,* Bowring. Poems. Lond.
1853. *Mahomet's Song,* (Martin.) *Fraser's Mag.* XLVIII: 114. Lond.
1859. Same version, Aytoun-Martin. Poems. N. Y.
166. *Gesang der Geister über den Wassern.*
1839. *Song of the Spirits over the Water,* Dwight. Poems. Bost.
1845. Same version, in Longfellow's *Poets of Europe.* Lond., Phil.
1853. *Spirit Song over Waters,* Bowring. Poems. Lond.
1859. *Song of the Spirits over the Waters,* (Th. Martin) *Fraser's Mag.* LIX: 712. Lond.
1859. Same version. Aytoun-Martin. Poems. Lond., N. Y.
167. *Meine Göttin.*
1824. *My Goddess,* G. Bancroft. *N. Amer. Rev.* XIX: 308. Bost.
1839. Same version, in Dwight's Poems. Bost.

1839. *My Goddess*, Dwight. Poems. Bost. (Dwight prints two versions, his own and Bancroft's.)
1853. *My Goddess*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
1855. Same as 1824, Bancroft. *Lit. and Hist. Miscellanies*. N. Y.
168. *Harzreise im Winter*.
1839. *Ride to the Harz in Winter*, Dwight. Poems. Bost.
1853. *Winter Journey over the Harz*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
169. *An Schwager Kronos*.
1853. *To Father Kronos*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
170. *Wandrer's Sturmlied*.
1853. *The Wanderer's Storm Song*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
171. *Seefahrt*.
1853. *The Sea Voyage*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
172. *Adler und Taube*.
1824. *Eagle and Dove*, G. Bancroft. *N. Amer. Rev.* XIX: 323. Bost.
1839. *Eagles and Doves*, Margaret Fuller, in Dwight's Poems. Bost.
1853. *The Eagle and the Dove*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
1855. Same as 1839, in *Life Within and Without*. p. 387. Bost.
173. *Prometheus*.
1802. *Prometheus*, Henry Crabb Robinson. *Lit. Remains*. Lond.²⁴
1833. *Prometheus*, Mrs. Sarah Austin. *Goethe's Characteristics*. I: 262. Lond.

²⁴ See *Goethe-Jahrbuch*, XXX: 217. 1909.

1838. *Prometheus*, Margaret Fuller. Bost. (Not published.)⁸⁵
1839. *Prometheus*, Dwight. Poems. Bost.
1844. *Prometheus*, (Th. Martin.) *Blackwood's Mag.* LVI:428. Edin.
1845. Same as 1839, in Longfellow's *Poets of Europe*. Lond., Phil.
1846. *Prometheus*, (Anon.) *Tait's Edin. Mag.* XIII:98.
1850. Same as 1844, *Dub. Univ. Mag.* XXXVI:529. (Contains the entire fragment.)
1852. *Prometheus*, Mrs. Haller. Translations, etc. Lond.
1853. *Prometheus*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
1855. *Prometheus*, G. H. Lewes, *Life of Goethe*. Lond., Bost.
1859. Same as 1844, Aytoun-Martin. Poems. Lond., N. Y.
174. *Ganymed*.
1839. *Ganymede*, Dwight. Poems. Bost.
1853. *Ganymede*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
1859. *Ganymede*, Aytoun-Martin. Poems. Lond., N. Y.
175. *Grenzen der Menschheit*.
1839. *Limits of Man*, Dwight. Poems. Bost.
1853. *Boundaries of Humanity*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
1859. *Limits of Humanity*, Aytoun-Martin. Poems. Lond., N. Y.
1859. Same version, *Fraser's Mag.* LIX:711. Lond.
176. *Das Göttliche*.
1839. *The Godlike*, G. Bancroft, in Dwight's Poems. Bost.
1839. Same version, *N. Amer. Rev.* XLVIII:510. Bost.
1839. *The Godlike*, Dwight. Poems. Bost.
1839. Same version, *N. Amer. Rev.* XLVIII:510. Bost.

⁸⁵ Braun, F. A., *Margaret Fuller and Goethe*, pp. 215-237, Holt & Co., N. Y., 1910.

1841. *The Godlike*, Margaret Fuller. *The Dial*. I: 344.
Bost.
1853. *The Godlike*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
1859. Same as 1841, in *Life Within and Without*. p. 18,
Bost.
177. *Königlich Gebet*.
1853. *Royal Prayer*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
178. *Menschengefühl*.
1853. *Human Feelings*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
179. *Lili's Park*.
1833. *Lili's Park*, Mrs. Sarah Austin. *Goethe's Characteristics*. I: 279. Lond.
1853. *Lili's Menagerie*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
1859. *Lili's Menagerie*, Aytoun-Martin. Poems. Lond.,
N. Y.
1859. *Lili's Menagerie*, Thomas. Poems. Phil.
180. *Liebebedürfnis*.
1853. *Love's Distresses*. Bowring. Poems. Lond.
1859. *Chapped Lips*, Thomas. Poems. Phil.
181. *Süsse Sorgen*.
1852. *Sweet Cares*, Mrs. Haller. Translations, etc. Lond.
182. *Anliegen*.
1853. *Petition*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
183. *An seine Spröde*.
1853. *To his Coy One*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
184. *Die Musagetes*.
1853. *The Musagetes*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
1859. *The Musagetes*, Aytoun-Martin. Poems. Lond.,
N. Y.
185. *Morgenklagen*.
1853. *Morning Lament*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.

186. *Der Besuch.*

1845. *The Visit*, "Horus." Imitated from Goethe.
Amer. Whig Rev. I: 289. N. Y.
1853. *The Visit*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
1853. Same version, *Lond. Examiner*.
1853. Same version, *Littell's Living Age*. XXXVIII: 123.
Bost.
1859. *The Visit*, Aytoun-Martin. Poems. Lond., N. Y.

187. *Magisches Netz.*

1853. *The Magic Net*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.

188. *Der Becher.*

1853. *The Goblet*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
1859. *The Goblet*, Aytoun-Martin. Poems. Lond., N. Y.

189. *Nachtgedanken.*

1827. *Night Thoughts*, C. Des Voeux. *Tasso*, etc. Lond.
1830. *Night Thoughts*, "Yorke." *Fraser's Mag.* I: 216.
Lond.
1844. *Night Thoughts*, (Th. Martin.) *Blackwood's Mag.*
LVI: 428. Edin.
1853. *Night Thoughts*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
1859. *Night Thoughts*, Thomas. Poems. Phil.
1859. Same as 1844, Aytoun-Martin. Poems. Lond.,
N. Y.

190. *An Lida.*

1853. *To Lida*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
1859. *To Lida*, Thomas. Poems. Phil.

191. *Nähe.*

1853. *Proximity*. Bowring. Poems. Lond.
1859. *Nearness*, Thomas. Poems. Phil.

192. *An die Cicade.*

1853. *To the Grasshopper*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.

AUS WILHELM MEISTER

193. *Heiss mich nicht reden.*

1824. Thomas Carlyle, in *Wilhelm Meister*. Lond.,
Edin.

1855. R. D. Boylan, in *Wilhelm Meister*. Lond.

1859. "Nominis Umbra." Lond.

1859. Thomas. Poems. Phil.

194. *Nur wer die Sehnsucht kennt.*

1824. Thos. Carlyle, *Wilhelm Meister*. Lond., Edin.

1853. Bowring, Poems. Lond.

1855. R. D. Boylan. *Wilhelm Meister*. Lond.

1859. Thomas. Poems. Phil.

195. *So lasst mich scheinen*

1824. Thos. Carlyle. *Wilhelm Meister*. Lond. Edin.

1852. Mrs. Haller. Translations, etc. Lond.

1855. R. D. Boylan. *Wilhelm Meister*. Lond.

1859. Thomas. Poems. Phil.

196. *Wer sich der Einsamkeit ergibt.*

1824. Thos. Carlyle. *Wilhelm Meister*. Lond., Edin.

1836. J. J. Campbell. *Song of the Bell*. etc. Lond.

1853. Bowring. Poems. Lond.

1855. R. D. Boylan. *Wilhelm Meister*. Lond.

1859. Thomas. Poems. Phil.

197. *An die Türen will ich schleichen.*

1824. Thos. Carlyle. *Wilhelm Meister*. Lond. Edin.

1855. R. D. Boylan. *Wilhelm Meister*. Lond.

1859. Thomas. Poems. Phil.

198. *Wer nie sein Brot mit Tränen ass.*

1824. Thos. Carlyle. *Wilhelm Meister*. Lond., Edin.

1845. (Th. Martin.) *Blackwood's Mag.* LVI: 175.
Edin.

1852. Mrs. Haller. Translations, etc. Lond.

1853. Bowring. Poems. Lond.
 1855. R. D. Boylan. *Wilhelm Meister*. Lond.
 1856. (Anon.) *Blackwood's Mag.* LXXX:416. Edin.
 1859. Carlyle's version, *Fraser's Mag.* LIX:713. Lond.
 1859. A. H. Clough, *Fraser's Mag.* LIX:713. Lond.
 1859. Martin's version, *Fraser's Mag.* LIX:713. Lond.
 1859. Martin's version, *Littell's Living Age*. LXI:184.
 Bost.
 1859. Martin's version, Aytoun-Martin. Poems. Lond.,
 N. Y.
 1859. Thomas. Poems. Phil.

199. *Philine*.

1824. Thos. Carlyle. *Wilhelm Meister*. Lond., Edin.
 1844. (Th. Martin.) *Blackwood's Mag.* LVI:426.
 Edin.
 1853. Bowring. Poems. Lond.
 1855. R. D. Boylan. *Wilhelm Meister*. Lond.
 1856. (Anon.) *Blackwood's Mag.* LXXX:420. Edin.
 1859. Aytoun-Martin. Poems. Lond., N. Y.
 1859. Thomas. Poems. Phil.

ANTIKER FORM SICH NAEHERND

200. *Herzog Leopold von Braunschweig*.

1853. *Leopold, Duke of Brunswick*, Bowring. Poems.
 Lond.

201. *Dem Ackermann*.

1820. *To the Husbandman*, (Anon.) *Scots Mag.*
 VI:329. Edin. (Possibly Wm. Taylor.)
 1845. *The Husbandman*, (Th. Martin.) *Blackwood's*
 Mag. LVII:175. Edin.
 1853. *The Husbandman*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
 1859. Same as 1845, Aytoun-Martin. Poems. Lond.,
 N. Y.

202. *Anakreons Grab.*

1845. *Anacreon's Grave*, (Aytoun.) *Blackwood's Mag.* LVII: 175. Edin.
 1846. *Anacreon's Grave*, ("P. M.") *Blackwood's Mag.* LIX: 121. Edin.
 1853. *Anacreon's Grave*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
 1859. *Anacreon's Grave*, Thomas. Poems. Phil.
 1859. Same as 1845, Aytoun-Martin. Poems. Lond., N. Y.

203. *Die Geschwister.*

1845. *The Brothers*, (Aytoun.) *Blackwood's Mag.* LVII: 176. Edin.
 1853. *The Brethren*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
 1859. *The Brothers*, Thomas. Poems. Phil.
 1859. Same as 1845, Aytoun-Martin. Poems. Lond., N. Y.
 1859. Same as 1845, *Fraser's Mag.* LIX: 716. Lond.

204. *Zeitmass.*

1845. *Love's Hour Glass*, (Aytoun.) *Blackwood's Mag.* LVII: 176. Edin.
 1853. *Measure of Time*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
 1859. Same as 1845, Aytoun-Martin. Poems. Lond., N. Y.

205. *Warnung.* (Wecke den Amor nicht auf)

1845. *Warning*, (Aytoun.) *Blackwood's Mag.* LVII: 176. Edin.
 1846. *Warning*, (P. M.) *Blackwood's Mag.* LIX: 121. Edin.
 1853. *Warning*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
 1859. *Warning*, Thomas. Poems. Phil.
 1859. Same as 1845, Aytoun-Martin. Poems. Lond., N. Y.

206. *Einsamkeit.*

1845. *Solitude*, (Th. Martin.) *Blackwood's Mag.* LVII: 176. Edin.
 1853. *Solitude*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.

1859. Same as 1845. Aytoun-Martin. Poems. Lond.,
N. Y.
207. *Erkanntes Glück.*
1845. *Perfect Bliss.* (Th. Martin.) *Blackwood's Mag.*
LVII:176. Edin.
1859. Same version. Aytoun-Martin. Poems. Lond.,
N. Y.
208. *Erwählter Fels.*
1845. *The Chosen Rock,* (Th. Martin.) *Blackwood's*
Mag. LVII:177. Edin.
1853. *The Chosen Cliff,* Bowring. Poems. Lond.
1859. *The Chosen Stone,* Thomas. Poems. Phil.
1859. Same as 1845. Aytoun-Martin. Poems. Lond.,
N. Y.
209. *Philomela.*
1845. *Philomela,* (Th. Martin.) *Blackwood's Mag.*
LVII:177. Edin.
1859. *Philomela,* Thomas. Poems. Phil.
1859. Same as 1845, Aytoun-Martin. Poems. Lond.,
N. Y.
210. *Geweihter Platz.*
1845. *Sacred Ground,* (Aytoun.) *Blackwood's Mag.*
LVII:177. Edin.
1853. *The Consecrated Spot,* Bowring. Poems. Lond.
1859. Same as 1845, Aytoun-Martin. Poems. Lond.,
N. Y.
211. *Der Park.*
1845. *The Park,* (Th. Martin.) *Blackwood's Mag.*
LVII:178. Edin.
1859. Same version, Aytoun-Martin. Poems. Lond.,
N. Y.
212. *Die Lehrer.*
1845. *The Teachers,* (Th. Martin.) *Blackwood's Mag.*
LVII:178. Edin.

1855. *The Instructors*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
 1859. Same as 1845, Aytoun-Martin. Poems. Lond., N. Y.
 1859. Same as 1845, *Fraser's Mag.* LIX:716. Lond.
213. *Ungleiche Heirat.*
 1845. *Marriage Unequal*, (Aytoun.) *Blackwood's Mag.* LVII:178. Edin.
 1853. *The Unequal Marriage*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
 1859. Same as 1845, Aytoun-Martin. Poems. Lond., N. Y.
214. *Die heilige Familie.*
 1845. *The Holy Family*, (Aytoun.) *Blackwood's Mag.* LVII:178. Edin.
 1859. Same version. Aytoun-Martin. Poems. Lond., N. Y.
 1859. Same version, *Fraser's Mag.* LIX:716. Lond.
215. *Entschuldigung.*
 1814. *Inconstancy*, Anon. *L. Mo. Mag.* XXXVII:146. Lond. (Possibly Wm. Taylor.)
 1845. *Exculpation*, (Aytoun.) *Blackwood's Mag.* LVII:179. Edin.
 1846. *Epigram*, (Anon.) *Haileybury Observer*. IV:81. Hartford.
 1853. *Excuse*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
 1859. *Excuse*, Thomas. Poems. Phil.
 1859. Same as 1845. Aytoun-Martin. Poems. Lond., N. Y.
 1859. Same as 1845, *Fraser's Mag.* LIX:715. Lond.
216. *Der Chinese in Rom.*
 1859. *The Chinaman in Rome*, Aytoun-Martin. Poems. Lond., N. Y.
 1859. *The Chinese in Rome*, Thomas. Poems. Phil.

217. *Spiegel der Muse.*

1845. *The Muse's Mirror*, (Th. Martin.) *Blackwood's Mag.* LVII:179. Edin.
 1853. *The Muse's Mirror*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
 1859. Same as 1845, Aytoun-Martin. Poems. Lond., N. Y.

218. *Phöbus und Hermes.*

1845. *Phoebus and Hermes*, (Th. Martin.) *Blackwood's Mag.* LVII:179. Edin.
 1853. *Phoebus and Hermes*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
 1859. Same as 1845, Aytoun-Martin. Poems. Lond., N. Y.
 1859. Same as 1845, *Fraser's Mag.* LIX:715. Lond.

219. *Der neue Amor.*

1845. *A New Love*, (Th. Martin.) *Blackwood's Mag.* LVII:179. Edin.
 1859. *The New Amor*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
 1859. Same as 1845, Aytoun-Martin. Poems. Lond., N. Y.

220. *Die Kränze.*

1845. *The Wreaths*, (Aytoun-Martin.) *Blackwood's Mag.* LVII:180. Edin.
 1853. *The Garlands*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
 1859. Same as 1845, Aytoun-Martin. Poems. Lond., N. Y.

221. *Schweizeralpe.*

1845. *The Swiss Alp*, (Aytoun.) *Blackwood's Mag.* LVII:180. Edin.
 1846. *The Swiss Alp*, P. M. *Blackwood's Mag.* LIX:120. Edin.
 1853. *The Swiss Alps*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
 1859. Same as 1845, Aytoun-Martin. Poems. Lond., N. Y.
 1859. Same as 1845, *Fraser's Mag.* LIX:715. Lond.

AN PERSONEN

222. *Gellert's Monument von Oeser.*

1859. *Gellert's Monument by Oeser*, Thomas. Poems. Phil.

KUNST

223. *Die Nektartropfen.*

1802. *Drops of Nectar*, Anon. *L. Mo. Mag.* II: 26. (Possibly Wm. Taylor.) Lond.
 1853. *The Drops of Nectar*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
 1853. *The Drops of Nectar*, Thomas. Poems. Phil.
 1859. *The Nectar Drops*, Aytoun-Martin. Poems. Lond., N. Y.

224. *Der Wanderer.*

1798. *The Wanderer*, (Wm. Taylor.) *L. Mo. Mag.* VI: 120.
 1798. Same version, *Scots Mag.* LX: 627. Edin.
 1820. Same version, *Scots Mag.* New series, VI: 331. Edin.
 1830. Same version, Taylor's *Hist. Survey of Ger. Poetry.* Lond.
 1831. Same version, *Amer. Quart. Rev.* X: 194. Phil.
 1836. Same version, Bokum's *Ger. Wreath.* Bost.
 1839. *The Wanderer*, Dwight. Poems. Bost.
 1845. *The Wanderer*, Anon. *Godey's Lady's Book.* XXXI: 265. Phil., N. Y.
 1848. *The Wanderer*, C. L. L. *South. Lit. Messenger.* XIV: 420. Richmond, Va.
 1853. *The Wanderer*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
 1859. *The Wanderer*, Aytoun-Martin. Poems. Lond., N. Y.

225. *Künstlers Morgenlied.*

1844. *Artist's Morning Song*, (Martin.) *Blackwood's Mag.* LVI: 419. Edin.
 1859. Same version, Aytoun-Martin. Poems. Lond., N. Y.

226. *Amor als Landschaftsmaler.*
 1802. *Cupid as Landscape Painter*, (Anon.) *Mo. Register*. II: 26. Lond.
 1839. *Cupid as Landscape Painter*, G. Bancroft, in Dwight's Poems. Bost.
 1839. *Cupid as Landscape Painter*, S. Naylor. A Drama, etc. Maidenhead. Eng.
 1844. *Cupid as Landscape Painter*, (Aytoun) *Blackwood's Mag.* LVI: 417. Edin.
 1853. *Love as Landscape Painter*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
 1859. *Amor as Landscape Painter*, "Nominis Umbra." Lond.
 1859. Same as 1844, Aytoun-Martin. Poems. Lond., N. Y.
227. *Künstlers Abendlied.*
 1839. *Artist's Evening Song*, Dwight. Poems. Bost.
228. *Guter Rat.*
 1828. *Good Advice*, F. Page, in *Employment*. Bath, Eng.
229. *Gross ist die Diana der Epheser.*
 1845. *The Goldsmith of Ephesus*, J. Gostwick. *Spirit of Ger. Poetry*. Lond.

PARABOLISCH

230. *Erklärung einer antiken Gemme.*
 1853. *Explanation of an Antique Gem*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
231. *Katzenpastete.*
 1853. *Cat Pie*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
232. *Legende.* (In der Wüsten ein heiliger Mann)
 1853. *Legend*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
 1859. *Legend*, Thomas. Poems. Phil.

233. *Autoren.*

1836. *Authors*, (J. C. Mangan.) *Dub. Univ. Mag.*
VII: 300.

1853. *Authors*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.

234. *Recensent.*

1836. *The Reviewer*, (Anon.) *Blackwood's Mag.*
XIII: 526. Edin.

1853. *The Critic*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.

235. *Dilettant und Kritiker.*

1853. *The Dilettante and the Critic*, Bowring. Poems.
Lond.

236. *Neologen.*

1836. *An Incident*, (J. C. Mangan) *Dub. Univ. Mag.*
VII: 299.

237. *Krittler.*

1853. *The Wrangler*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.

238. *Kläffer.*

. 1853. *The Yelpers*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.

239. *Celebrität.*

1853. *Celebrity*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.

240. *Parabel. (Pfaffenspiel.)*

1853. *Playing at Priest*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.

GOTT, GEMUET UND WELT

241. *Gereimte Distichen, über fünfzig.*

1803. *Mo. Register.* II: 492. Lond.

1839. Dwight. Poems. Bost. (The two connected
with *Prooemion*; see no. 288.)

1853. *Rhymed Distichs* (nine numbers), Bowring.
Poems. Lond.

SPRICHWOERTLICH

242. *Sprichwörtlich.*1839. *Proverbs*, (26) Dwight. Poems. Bost.1839. Same version, (5) *Western Messenger*. VII:128.
Louisville.1853. *Proverbs*, (5) Bowring. Poems. Lond.1859. *Proverbs*, (11), Thomas. Poems. Phil.

EPIGRAMMATISCH

243. *Das garstige Gesicht.*1859. *The Ugly Face*, Thomas. Poems. Phil.244. *Soldatentrost.*1853. *Soldier's Consolation*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.245. *Problem.*1839. *Memento*, Dwight. Poems. Bost.1839. Same version, *Western Messenger*. VII:113.
Louisville.246. *Genialisch Treiben.*1853. *Genial Impulse*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.247. *Gesellschaft.*1837. *Society*, Anon. *Western Messenger*. IV:334.
Louisville.1839. *Society*, Dwight. Poems. Bost.1859. *Society*, Thomas. Poems. Phil.248. *Den Originalen.*1839. *The Original*, Dwight. Poems. Bost.1846. *An Original*, Anon. *Haileybury Observer*.
IV:81. Hartford.1853. *To Originals*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.1859. *An Original*, Thomas. Poems. Phil.

249. *Den Zudringlichen*.
1859. *To the Obtrusive*, Thomas. Poems. Phil.
250. *Den Guten*.
1839. *The Good*, Dwight. Poems. Bost.
1839. Same version, *Western Messenger*. VII: 326.
Louisville.
251. *Lähmung*.
1839. *Laming*, Dwight. Poems. Bost.
252. *Spruch, Widerspruch*.
1839. *Speech, Counterspeech*, Dwight. Poems. Bost.
1859. *Contradiction*, Thomas. Poems. Phil.
253. *Demut*.
1840. *Humility*, Anon. *Dial.* I: 216. Bost., Lond.
1859. *Humility*, Thomas. Poems. Phil.
254. *Keins von allen*.
1839. *Neither of All*, Dwight. Poems. Bost.
1853. *Neither This nor That*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
1859. *None of All*, Thomas. Poems. Phil.
255. *Lebensart*.
1853. *The Way to Behave*. Bowring. Poems. Lond.
1859. *Behavior*, Thomas. Poems. Phil.
256. *Bedingung*.
1839. *Condition*. Dwight. Poems. Bost.
1859. *Stipulation*, Thomas. Poems. Phil.
257. *Das Beste*.
1839. *The Best*, Dwight. Poems. Bost.
1853. *The Best*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
1859. *The Best*, Thomas. Poems. Phil.
258. *Memento*.
1839. *Memento*, Dwight. Poems. Bost.
1839. Same version, *Western Messenger*. VII: 138.
Louisville.
1859. *Memento*, Thomas. Poems. Phil.

259. *Ein anderes.* (Musst nicht widerstehn dem Schicksal)
1859. *Another*, Thomas. Poems. Phil.
260. *Breit wie lang.*
1853. *As Broad as it's Long.* Bowring. Poems. Lond.
1859. *Broad as Long.* Thomas. Poems. Phil.
261. *Lebensregel.*
1839. *Rule of Life*, Dwight. Poems. Bost.
1853. *Rule of Life*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
1859. *Rule of Life*, Thomas. Poems. Phil.
262. *Das Alter.*
1853. *Old Age*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
263. *Grabschrift.*
1853. *Epitaph.* Bowring. Poems. Lond.
264. *Beispiel.*
1839. *Example*, Dwight. Poems. Bost.
1859. *Example*, Thomas. Poems. Phil.
265. *Umgekehrt.*
1859. *Reversed*, Thomas. Poems. Phil.
266. *Fürstenregel.*
1853. *Rule for Monarchs*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
267. *Egalité.*
1859. *Equality*, Thomas. Poems. Phil.
268. *Wie du mir, so ich dir.*
1839. *As Thou Me, so I Thee*, Dwight. Poems. Bost.
1859. *Reciprocity*, Thomas. Poems. Phil.
269. *Kommt Zeit, kommt Rat.*
1839. *Comes Time, Comes Council*, Dwight. Poems.
Bost.

(VOL. III) LYRISCHES

270. *Ballade.*

1853. *Ballad of the Banished and Returning Count*,
Bowring. Poems. Lond.

271. I. *Des Paria Gebet.*

1853. *The Pariah's Prayer*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
1859. *The Pariah*, Aytoun-Martin. Poems. Lond.,
N. Y.

II. *Legende.*

1853. *Legende*. Bowring. Poems. Lond.
1859. *The Pariah's Legend*, Aytoun-Martin. Poems.
Lond., N. Y.

III. *Dank des Paria.*

1853. *The Pariah's Thanks*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
1859. *The Pariah's Thanksgiving*, Aytoun-Martin.
Poems. Lond., N. Y.

272. *Trilogie der Leidenschaft.*

- I. *An Werther*, II. *Elegie*, III. *Aussöhnung*.
1853. *Trilogy of Passion*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.

273. *Lust und Qual.*

1853. *Joy and Sorrow*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.

274. *Immer und überall.*

1853. *Ever and Everywhere*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.

275. *März.*

1853. *March*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
1859. *March*, Thomas. Poems. Phil.

276. *April.*

1853. *April*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
1859. *April or Speaking Eyes*, Thomas. Poems. Phil.

277. *Mai.*

1853. *May*. Bowring. Poems. Lond.

278. *Juni.*

1853. *June*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.

279. *Frühling übers Jahr.*
 1853. *Next Year's Spring.* Bowring. Poems. Lond.
- . *Fürs Leben.*
 See no. 84, *Die glücklichen Gatten.*
280. *Für ewig.*
 1839. *Forever*, J. F. Clarke, in Dwight's Poems. Bost.
 1853. *Forever*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
 1859. *Forever*, Thomas. Poems. Phil.
281. *Aus einem Stammbuch von 1604.*
 1853. *From an Album of 1604*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
282. *Um Mitternacht.* (Um Mitternacht ging ich)
 1839. *At Dead of Night.* Dwight. Poems. Bost.
 1853. *At Midnight Hour*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
 1856. *At Dead of Night*, Anon. *National Rev.* II: 60.
 Lond.
 1856. Same version, *Littell's Living Age.* L: 29. Bost.
283. *Gegenseitig.*
 1853. *Reciprocal*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
284. *Freibeuter.*
 1853. *The Freebooter.* Bowring. Poems. Lond.
285. *Wanderlied.* (Aus *Wilhelm Meister.*)
 1824. *Wanderer's Song*, Thos. Carlyle, *Wilhelm Meister.*
 Lond., Edin.
 1839. *Wanderer's Song*, Dwight. Poems. Bost.
 1855. *Wanderer's Song*, R. D. Boylan. *Wilhelm Meister*,
 Lond.
 1856. Same as 1824, *Blackwood's Mag.* LXXX: 410.
 Edin.
 1859. *Wanderer's Song.* Thomas. Poems. Phil.

LOGE

286. *Symbolum.*
 1853. *Symbol*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
287. *Verschwiegenheit.*
 1856. (Anon.) *Blackwood's Mag.* LXXX: 419. Edin.

GOTT UND WELT

288. *Prooemion*.

1833. One stanza, Mrs. Sarah Austin. *Characteristics of Goethe*. II:198. Lond.

1839. *Prooemium*, Dwight. Poems. Bost.

1839. Same version, *Western Messenger*. VI:259. Louisville.

1853. *Prooemion*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.

289. *Weltseele*.

1839. *World Soul*, Dwight. Poems. Bost.

— *Dauer im Wechsel*

See no. 86.

290. *Eins und Alles*.

1839. *One and All*, Dwight. Poems. Bost.

1839. Same version, *N. Amer. Rev.* XLVIII:510. Bost.

1839. *One and All*, Margaret Fuller. Not published.**

291. *Vermächtnis*.

1839. *Our Inheritance*, Dwight. Poems. Bost.

292. *Parabase*.

1839. *Parabasis*, Dwight. Poems. Bost.

— *Die Metamorphose der Pflanzen*.

See No. 139.

293. *Epirrhema*.

1839. *Epirrhema*, Dwight. Poems. Bost.

1839. Same version, *Western Messenger*. VII:14. Louisville.

294. *Schillers Reliquien*.

1853. *Lines on seeing Schiller's Skull*. Bowring. Poems. Lond.

** Braun, F. A., *Margaret Fuller and Goethe*, pp. 216-241, Holt & Co., N. Y., 1910.

295. *Urworte. Orphisch.*

1837. *Orphic Sayings*, (8) J. F. Clarke, *Western Messenger*. II: 59. Louisville.

1839. Same version, in Dwight's Poems. Bost.

1844. *Primeval Words*, F. H. Hedge. *Christian Examiner*. XXXVII: 247. Bost.

296. *Allerdings. Dem Physiker.*

1839. *By all means, To a Naturalist*, Dwight. Poems. Bost.

297. *Ultimatum.*

1839. *Ultimatum*, Dwight. Poems. Bost.

KUNST

298. *Künstlerlied. (Aus den Wanderjahren.)*

1823. *Artist's Song*, Thos. Carlyle. *Wilhelm Meister*. Lond., Edin.

1836. *Artist's Song*, J. J. Campbell. *Song of the Bell*, etc. Lond.

1839. *Artist's Song*, Dwight. Poems. Bost.

1855. *Artist's Song*, R. D. Boylan. *Wilhelm Meister*. Lond.

299. *Ideale.*

1859. *Ideal*, Thomas. Poems. Phil.

300. *Ländlich.*

1827. *Unchangeableness in Love*, C. Des Voeux. *Tasso*, etc. Lond.

301. *Erinnere ich mich doch spät und früh.*

1859. *Pardonable*, Thomas. Poems. Phil.

EPIGRAMMATISCH

302. *Kronos als Kunstrichter.*

1839. *Time as Epicure*, Dwight. Poems. Bost.

303. *Heut' und ewig.*

1839. *Today and Ever*, Dwight. Poems. Bost.

304. *Lauf der Welt.*1839. *Written at the Age of 77*, Dwight. Poems. Bost.1853. *When I was still a youthful Wight*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.305. *Der Narr epilogiert.*1839. *The Fool Epilogizes*, Dwight. Poems. Bost.1853. *The Fool's Epilog*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.

PARABOLISCH

306. *Gedichte sind gemalte Fensterscheiben.*1839. *Parables*, Dwight. Poems. Bost.1853. *Song*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.1859. *Churchwindow*, Aytoun-Martin. Poems. Lond. N. Y.1859. *Poems*, Thomas. Poems. Phil.307. *Gott sandte seinen rohen Kindern.*1839. *Poetry*, Dwight. Poems. Bost.1853. *Poetry*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.1859. *Poesy*, Aytoun-Martin. Poems. Lond., N. Y.1859. *Poesy*, Thomas. Poems. Phil.308. *Zu Regenschauer und Hagelschlag.*1853. *Should e'er the loveless day*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.309. *Den Musen-Schwestern fiel es ein.*1839. *The sister Nine did once propose*, Dwight. Poems. Bost.1853. *Muses' Plan*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.1859. *Psyche*, Aytoun-Martin. Poems. Lond., N. Y.1859. *Cupid and Psyche*, Thomas. Poems. Phil.310. *Sie saugt mit Gier verrätrisches Getränke.*1853. *The Death of the Fly*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.311. *Wenn du am breiten Flusse wohnst.*1853. *By the River*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.

312. *Zwei Personen ganz verschieden.*
1853. *The Fox and the Crane*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
313. *Schwer, in Waldes Busch und Wuchse.*
1853. *The Fox and the Huntsman*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
314. *Ein grosser Teich war zugefroren.*
1853. *The Frogs*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
1859. *The Frogs*, Thomas. Poems. Phil.
315. *Im Dorfe war ein gross Gelag.*
1853. *The Wedding*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
1859. *Wedding Feast*, Aytoun-Martin. Poems. Lond., N. Y.
316. *Ein Mägdlein trug man zur Tür hinaus.*
1853. *Burial*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
317. *Tritt in recht vollem klaren Schein.*
1853. *Threatening Signs*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
318. *Zu der Apfelverkäuferin.*
1853. *The Buyers*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
1859. *The Buyers*, Thomas. Poems. Phil.
319. *Jetzt war das Bergdorf abgebrannt.*
1853. *The Mountain Village*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
320. *Im Vatican bedient man sich.*
1853. *Symbols*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
321. *Drei Palinodien.*
1853. *Three Palinodias*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
322. *Valet.*
1853. *Valediction*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.

AUS FREMDEN SPRACHEN

323. *Klaggesang. Irisch.*
1836. *An Irish Lamentation*, (J. C. Mangan.) *Dub. Univ. Mag.* VII: 294.
1845. Same version. *Mangan's Anthology*. Dublin.

ZAHME XENIEN

324. *Zahme Xenien.*

1839. *From the "Zahme Xenien"* (12 numbers),
Dwight. Poems. Bost.

1853. *Tame Xenia* (5 numbers), Bowring. Poems.
Lond.

1856. Anon. *Blackwood's Mag.* LXXX: 409. Edin.
(Wenn im Unendlichen.)

(VOL. IV) AUS DEM NACHLASS

VERMISCHTE GEDICHTE

325. *Wahrer Genuss.*

1828. *Pleasure*, R. Robinson. Specimens, etc. Lond.

1841. *Felicity*, J. K. Armstrong, *Democratic Rev.*
XIX: 356. N. Y.

1853. *True Enjoyment*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.

326. *Ihr verblühet, süsse Rosen.*

1846. *Despair*, J. Gostwick. *Ger. Lit.* Lond.

1859. *Depression*, Aytoun-Martin. Poems. Lond., N. Y.

1859. *Sadness*, Thomas. Poems. Phil.

327. *Du machst die Alten jung, die Jungen alt.*

1859. *To the New Year*, Thomas. Poems. Phil.

328. *Es war ein fauler Schäfer.*

1859. *The Shepherd*, Thomas. Poems. Phil.

329. *Um Mitternacht, wenn die Menschen erst schlafen.*

1859. *A Midnight Fairy Song*, Thomas. Poems. Phil.

330. *Der Bräutigam.*

1853. *The Bridegroom*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.

331. *Dem aufgehenden Vollmonde.*

1853. *To the Rising Full Moon*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.

ANTIKER FORM SICH NAEHERND

332. *Will ich die Blumen des frühen.*

1853. *Sakontala*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.

PARABOLISCH UND EPIGRAMMATISCH

333. *Beruf des Storchs.*
1853. *The Stork's Vocation*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
334. *Ein Gleichnis.*
1838. *On hearing my songs being translated into English*, J. Macray. *Dublin Univ. Mag.* XIII: 642.
335. *Das Schreien.*
1853. *Different Threats*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
1859. *Two Threats*, Thomas. Poems. Phil.
336. *Wunsch eines jungen Mädchens.*
1853. *Maiden Wishes*, (Anon.) *New Quart. Rev.* II: 295. Lond.
1853. *Maiden Wishes*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
1859. *Girlish Wishes*, Thomas. Poems. Phil.
337. *Liebe und Tugend.*
1853. *Motives*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
1859. *Motives*, Thomas. Poems. Phil.
338. *Der Misanthrop.*
1853. *The Misanthrope*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
339. *Zu den Leiden des jungen Werthers.*
1853. *From the Sorrows of Young Werther*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
340. *Nach dem Italienischen.*
1853. *Paulo post futuri*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
341. *Hans Liederlich und der Kamerade.*
1853. *Rollicking Hans*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.

AN PERSONEN

342. *Drei Oden an meinen Freund Behrisch.*
1853. *Three Odes to my Friend*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.

343. *Pülgers Morgenlied. An Lili.*1859. *Pilgrim's Morning Song*, Thomas. Poems. Phil.344. *An Lili.*1859. *To Lili*, Thomas. Poems. Phil.345. *An Frau von Stein. Den 29. Juni 1776.*1859. *Here Tracing Nature in Repose*. Thomas. Poems. Phil.

UEBERSETZUNGEN

346. *Altschottisch.*1859. *Goodman and Goodwife*, Thomas. Poems. Phil.

GOETHE ZUGESCHRIEBENE GEDICHTE ZWEIFELHAFTEN URSPRUNGS

347. *Neun Gedichte an Friederike Brion.*1859. Thomas. Poems. Phil. (Contains eight of the nine poems, omitting no. 7, *Balde seh' ich Riechen wieder.*)348. *Mädchens Held.*1853. *Such, such is he*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.

(VOL. V) AUS DEM NACHLASS

VERMISCHTE GEDICHTE

349. *Nacht, o holde! halbes Leben.*1859. *Night*, Thomas. Poems. Phil.350. *Ein Schauspiel für Götter.*1847. *The Happy Pair*, Anon. *Amer. Whig Mag.* V:122. N. Y.351. *Es rauschet das Wasser.*1856. *Unchanging*, Anon. *Blackwood's Mag.* LXXX: 419. Edin.

352. *Aus Wilhelm Meister.* (Neun kleinere Gedichte.)
 1824. Thos. Carlyle. *Wilhelm Meister.* Lond. Edin.
 1855. R. D. Boylan, *Wilhelm Meister.* Lond.
 1859. Thomas. Poems. Phil.
 See also no. 198.
353. *Die Zerstörung Magdeburgs.*
 1853. *The Destruction of Magdeburg.* Bowring. Poems.
 Lond.

ZAHME XENIEN

354. *Gut verloren—etwas verloren.*
 1839. *Goods gone—something gone,* Dwight. Poems.
 Bost.
 1853. *If wealth is gone,* Bowring. Poems. Lond.
355. *Willst du dir ein hübsch Leben zimmern.*
 1839. *Rule of Life* (Enlarged) Dwight. Poems. Bost.
 1853. *Rule of Life,* Bowring. Poems. Lond.
356. *Angedenken.*
 1853. *Remembrance of the Good,* Bowring. Poems.
 Lond.
357. *Den Vereinigten Staaten.*
 1830. *To the United States,* Anon. *Edin. Lit. Journal.*
 IV: 258.
 1831. *To the United States,* Same version, *Fraser's*
Mag. III: 452. Lond.
 1834. *To the United States,* Anon. *Lond. Mo. Mag.*
 XXXIV: 52.
 1834. *To the United States,* Same version, *Atkinson's*
Casket. IX: 36. Phil.

(VOL. VI) WEST-OESTLICHER DIVAN⁸⁷358. *West-östlicher Divan.*

1837. Bettina von Arnim. *Goethe's Correspondence with a Child.* Lond. (1840, Bost.)

Haben sie von deinen Fehlen; Als ich auf dem Euphrat; Dies zu deuten; Wie mit innigstem Behagen.

1853. Bowring. *Poems.*⁸⁸ Lond.

Talismane; Vier Gnaden; Zwiespalt; Lied und Gebilde.—Unbegrenzt.—Musterbilder; Noch ein Paar; Eine Stelle suchte.—Fünf Dinge; Behandelt die Frauen; Ferdusi spricht; Suleika spricht.—Sich selbst zu loben.—22 "Sprüche."—Der Winter und Timur; An Suleika.—Dass Suleika von Jussuph; Nicht Gelegenheit; Die Sonne kommt; Lieb' um Liebe; Locken haltet mich; An vollen Büschelzweigen; Was bedeutet; Hochbild; Ach, um deine; Wiederfinden; Wie mit innigstem Behagen; In tausend Formen.—Ob der Koran; Sie haben wegen.—Vom Himmel sank; Bulbul's Nachtlied; Ich sah mit Staunen; Alle Menschen; Es ist gut.—Vermächtnis.—Berechtigte Männer; Begünstigte Tiere; Siebenschläfer. Aus dem Nachlass: Hafis, dir sich; Sprich, unter; Und warum sendet; Schreibt er in Neski.

⁸⁷ Goedeke's *Grundriss* mentions (p. 497, §242) translations of parts of the *Divan* as given in *Blackwood's Mag.* XI: 68, 1859. This article does not however contain any translations from Goethe, but rather it is a review of Rückert's (Rückert's?) *Oestliche Rosen*, with a poetical dedication to Goethe in the style of Goethe's *Divan*.

⁸⁸ The present edition of Bowring's translations of *Goethe's Poems* as published by Bell & Co., Lond., in the *Bohn Standard Library*, contains a translation of the entire *Divan*; this, however, was not done until 1874. The edition of 1853 contained the translation of about sixty various poems from the *Divan*. Aside from those, only the very few scattered translations, mentioned above, could be found previous to 1860, in fact practically nothing that gave in any way an idea of the nature of the collection.

1859. Aytoun-Martin. Poems. Lond., N. Y.
Siebenschläfer.
1859. Thomas. Poems. Phil.
Das Leben ist ein Gänsespiel; Ach um deine
feuchten Schwingen; Deinem Blick mich zu be-
quemmen; Nicht Gelegenheit macht Diebe.

(VOL. XVI) VERMISCHTE GEDICHTE

359. *Parabeln.* (Ein Meister einer ländlichen Schule.)
 1853. *The Country Schoolmaster*, Bowring. Poems.
 Lond.
360. *Legende vom Hufeisen.*
 1850. *The Horseshoe*, C. R. Lambert. Poems, etc. Lond.
 1853. *The Legend of the Horseshoe*, Bowring. Poems.
 Lond.
 1859. *St. Peter and the Cherries*, Aytoun-Martin.
 Poems. Lond., N. Y.
 1859. *The Legend of the Horseshoe*, Thomas. Poems.
 Phil.
361. *Hans Sachsens poetische Sendung.*
 1853. *Hans Sachs' Poetical Mission*, Bowring. Poems.
 Lond.
362. *Auf Miedings Tod.*
 1833. *Mieding's Death*, 46 lines, Mrs. Sarah Austin.
Goethe's Characteristics. I:156. Lond.
363. *Epilog zu Schillers Glocke.*
 1835. *Epilogue to Schiller's Bell*, (J. C. Mangan) *Dub.*
Univ. Mag. V:57.
 1839. *In Memory of Schiller*, J. F. Clark, in Dwight's
 Poems. Bost.
 1853. *Epilogue to Schiller's Bell*, Bowring. Poems.
 Lond.
 1859. *Epilogue to Schiller's Bell*, Aytoun-Martin.
 Poems. Lond., N. Y.

364. *Die Höllenfahrt Jesu Christi.*

1853. *Thoughts on Jesus Christ's Descent into Hell*,
Bowring. Poems. Lond.

(VOL. VIII) *AUS EGMONT*⁸⁹365. *Clärchens Lied.* (Freudvoll und leidvoll.)

1835. *Clarchen's Song*, L. E. L(andon) *Lit. Gazette*.
p. 138. Lond.
1842. *Clarchen's Song*, J. A. A(nster). *Dub. Univ.*
Mag. XX: 615. .
1848. *Clarchen's Song*, Anon. *North British Rev.*
1848. *Clarchen's Song*, same version, *Eclectic Mag.*
p. 15. N. Y.
1852. *Clara's Song*, Mrs. Haller. *Translations, etc.*
Lond.
1853. *Clara's Song*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
1856. *Clara's Song*, (Anon.) *National Rev.* II: 18.
Lond.
1856. *Clara's Song*, same version, *Littell's Living Age*.
L: 25. Bost.

366. *Die Trommel gerühret!*

1829. *Clara's Song*, Zarach. *Pocket Mag.* p. 40. Lond.
1853. *Clara's Song*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.

(VOL. X) *IPHIGENIE*⁹⁰367. *Opening Monologue.*

1827. C. Des Voeux. *Tasso* etc. Lond.
1837. Bettina von Arnim. *Goethe's Correspondence*
with a Child. Lond.

⁸⁹ Aside from these scattered translations, there were six complete translations of *Egmont* before 1860. See Oswald, E., *Goethe in England and America*, 2. edition, Lond., 1909, p. 19.

⁹⁰ Previous to 1860, there were six complete translations of the *Iphigenia*. None of those are included here. I have given only scattered translations of the distinctly lyrical portions.

Oswald, E., in his bibliography, *Goethe in England and America*, pp. 50-51, gives five complete translations. To these should be added a sixth, *Metrical Translation of Iphigenia*, by Judge Beverly Tucker, in *The Southern Lit. Messenger*, X: 2, 65, 129, 265; 1844.

368. *Song of the Fates.*

1830. *Song of the Fates*, Wm. Taylor. *Hist. Survey of Ger. Poetry*. Lond.
 1832. *Song of the Fates*, F. H. *New Mo. Mag.* XXXIV:407. Lond.
 1839. *Song of the Fates*, N. L. Frothingham in Dwight's Poems. Bost.
 1839. *Selections*, Mrs. Hemans, *New Mo. Mag.* XL:1-8.
 1844. Same as 1830, *Dub. Univ. Mag.* XXIII:312.
 1852. *Song of the Fates*, Mrs. Haller. Translations. Lond.
 1853. *Song of the Fates*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
 1855. Same as 1839, Frothingham. *Metrical Versions from the German*. Bost.
 1859. *Song of the Fates*, Margaret Fuller Ossoli. *Life Without and Within*. Bost.

(VOL. XII) DIE FISCHERIN

369. *Es war ein Ritter.*

1845. *Cavalier's Choice*, (Aytoun.) *Blackwood's Mag.* LVII:174. Edin.
 1859. Same version, Aytoun-Martin. Poems. London, N. Y.

370. *O. Mutter, guten Rat.*⁹¹

1795. *The Water King*, M. G. Lewis. *The Monk*. Lond.
 1801. Same version, M. G. Lewis. *Tales of Wonder*. Lond.
 1834. *The Water Sprite*, T. J. A. *Tait's Edin. Mag.* I:520.
 1845. *The Waterman*, (Martin.) *Blackwood's Mag.* LVII:165. Edin.
 1859. Same version, Aytoun-Martin. Poems. London, N. Y.

⁹¹ This poem was used by Goethe in *Die Fischerin* and was ascribed by early translators to him. It is really of Danish origin and was first published in 1779, in Herder's *Volksliedern*, IV, 13 as *Der Wassermann*.

(VOL. XIV) FAUST⁹²371. *Zueignung.*

1820. *Dedication to Faust*, (J. Anster.) *Dub. Univ. Mag.* VII:236.
1835. *Dedication to Faust*, J. G. Flügel. *Flowers of German Poetry.* Lond.
1836. *Dedication to Faust*, J. J. Campbell. *Song of the Bell.* Lond.
1839. *Inscription to Faust*, Dwight. *Poems.* Bost.
1845. *Dedication to Faust*, G. F. Duckett. *Translations from Faust.* Lond.
1845. *Dedication to Faust*, A. H. Everett. *Poems.* Bost.
1845. *Dedication to Faust*, F. G. Halleck in Longfellow's *Poets of Europe.* Phil.
1850. *Dedication to Faust*, "P". *Amer. Whig Rev.* XII:470. N. Y.
1852. *Dedication to Faust*, Mrs. A. Haller. *Translations, etc.* Lond.
1853. *Dedication to Faust*, Bowring. *Poems.* Lond.
1859. *Dedication to Faust*, Nominis Umbra, *The Roman Martyr.* Lond.

372. *Prolog im Himmel.*

1824. *Prologue in Heaven*, Percy Bysshe Shelley. *Posthumous Works.* Lond.
1826. Same version, *L. Quart. Rev.* XXXIV:136.
1835. *Song of the Archangels*, Anon. *South. Lit. Jour.* I:53. Charleston, S. C.
1836. *Song of the Angels*, J. Anster. *Dub. Univ. Mag.* VII:282.

⁹² Previous to 1860, there were at least eighteen translations of the entire first part of *Faust*, and seven of the second part. In my above list I have not included any of these versions, except when they occurred apart from the complete text, in anthologies, essays, or magazines, where they have oftentimes been used and the authorship not mentioned.

For lists of the various translations of *Faust* see Oswald, E., *Goethe in England and America*, 2. edition, Lond., 1909; Hauhart, W. H., *Goethe's Faust in England and America*, Columbia Univ. Press, N. Y., 1909; Baumann, Lina, *Die englischen Uebersetzungen von Goethes Faust*, Halle. 1907.

1836. *Song of the Angels*, J. Blackie. *Dub. Univ. Mag.* VII: 282.
1836. *Song of the Angels*, F. Egerton. *Dub. Univ. Mag.* VII: 283.
1836. *Song of the Angels*, (Mangan.) *Dub. Univ. Mag.* VII: 283.
1839. *Song of the Angels*, G. W. Haven in Dwight's Poems. Bost.
1839. Same version, *Western Messenger*. VI: 259. Louisville, Ky.
1839. *Prolog in Heaven*, S. Naylor. A Drama etc. Maidenhead, Eng.
1840. *Chorus of Angels*, J. E. Reade. *The Drama of Life*. Lond.
1841. Same as 1839, Haven. *Ladies' Repository*. I: 127. Cincinnati, O.⁹³
1842. Same as 1839, Haven. *New Hampshire Book*. Bost.
1842. *Prolog in Heaven*, Algernon. *Ideals*. Phil.
1844. *Song of Angels*. J. H. Merivale. Poems Orig. and Trans. Lond.
1845. *Prolog in Heaven*, G. F. Duckett. *Translations from Faust*. Lond.
1845. *Prolog in Heaven*, J. Gostwick. *Spirit of German Poetry*. Lond.
1846. *Prolog in Heaven*, Capt. Knox. *Oxford and Camb. Rev.* II: 207.
1849. *Song of Angels*, C. T. Brooks. *Lit. World*. V: 349. N. Y.
1850. *Chorus of Angels*, F. H. Hedge in Furness' *Song of the Bell*. Phil.
1850. *Hymn of the Angels*, C. R. Lambert. Poems. Lond.
1853. *Chorus of Angels*, Bowring. Poems. Lond.
1853. Same as 1850, Hedge in *Furness' Gems of Ger. Verse*. Phil.

⁹³ Goedeke's *Grundriss* states that 6 poems are to be found here translated; as a matter of fact only the *Prolog* is to be found.

1857. Same as 1824, Shelley. *U. S. Mag.* IV: 86. N. Y., Washington.
1859. *Song of the Archangels*, Thomas. Poems. Phil.
373. *Fausts Monolog.*
1820. (J. Anster.) *Blackwood's Mag.* VII: 237. Edin.
1822. Lines 1-576. George Soames. Boosey, Lond.
1826. *Youth*, F. L. Gower. *L. Quart. Rev.* XXXIV: 137.
1827. C. Des Voeux. *Tasso* etc. Lond.
1828. *Youth*, Anon. *Athenaeum*. No. 59, I: 939. Lond.
(With imitation by Thos. Moore.)
1836. *Monologue*, Chas. Hodges. *Faust Scenes*. Lond.
1842. *Monologue*, Anon. *Magnolia*. IV: 42. Savannah.
374. *Der Schäfer schmückte sich zum Tanz.*
1820. *The Shepherd for the Dance was Dressed*, (J. Anster.) *Blackwood's Mag.* VII: 244. Edin.
1859. *The Shepherd for the Dance was Dressed*, Thomas. Poems. Phil.
375. *Der Osterspaziergang.*
1820. (J. Anster.) *Blackwood's Mag.* VII: 243. Edin.
1826. *The Easter Walk*, F. L. Gower. *L. Quart. Rev.* XXXIV: 141.
1828. *The Easter Walk*, F. Page. *Employment*. Bath, Eng.
1831. *The Easter Walk*, Anon. *Edin. Lit. Journal*. V: 187.
1840. *The Easter Walk*, R. Talbot. *Dub. Univ. Mag.* IX: 498.
1845. *The Easter Walk*, A. H. Everett. Poems. Bost.
1853. *The Easter Walk*, Anon. *N. Y. Quarterly*. I: 416.
376. *Der Fluch.*
1820. *The Curse*, (J. Anster.) *Blackwood's Mag.* VII: 248. Edin.
1832. *The Curse*, Thos. Carlyle. *Athenaeum*. no. 219, p. 5. Lond.

377. *Wald und Höhle.*

1813. *Wood and Cavern*, Mme. de Staël. *Germany*.
Lond., Bost., N. Y., Phil.
1820. *Faust's Soliloquy*. (J. Anster.) *Blackwood's Magazine*. VII:255. Edin.
1834. *Faust's Soliloquy*, P. B. *New Eng. Mag.*
VII:365. Bost.
1836. *Forest and Cave*, Chas. Hodges. *Faust Scenes*.
Lond.
1840. *Forest and Cavern*, J. E. Reade. *The Drama of Life*. Lond.
1855. *Wood and Cavern*, J. Blackie, in *Lewes' Life of Goethe*. Lond., Bost.

378. *Meine Ruh' ist hin.*

1820. *My Peace is Gone*, (J. Anster.) *Blackwood's Mag.* VII:256. Edin.
1821. *My Peace of Mind's Ruined*, (G. Soane?) *European Mag.* LXXX:366. Lond.
1836. *My Peace is Vanished*, F. Egerton Leveson Gower. *Dub. Univ. Mag.* VII:288.⁹⁴
1836. *My Rest is Gone*, J. S. Blackie. *Dub. Univ. Mag.* VII:288.
1836. *My Peace is Departed*, (Mangan.) *Dub. Univ. Mag.* VII:289.
1836. Same as 1820, Anster. *Dub. Univ. Mag.* VII:288.
1839. *My Peace is Hence*, G. W. Haven, in *Dwight's Poems*. Bost.
1845. *My Heart is Heavy*, L. Fillmore in *Gostwick's Spirit of Ger. Poetry*. Lond.
1846. *I am Wearying*, E. Helfenstein. *Godey's Lady's Book*. XXXII:193. Phil.
1852. *My Heart is Oppressed*, Mrs. Haller. *Translations, etc.* Lond.
1853. *My Heart is Sad*, Bowring. *Poems*. Lond.
1858. *My Peace is Gone*, G. Turner. *Train*. V:300. Lond.
1859. *My Peace is Gone*, Thomas. *Poems*. Phil.

⁹⁴ The same version is used in *Masterpieces of the World's Best Literature*, edited by Jeannette Guilder, IV:178, 1910.

379. *Ach neige, du Schmerzenreiche.*
 1840. *Mater Dolorosa*, J. E. Reade. *The Drama of Life.* Lond.
 1840. *Mater Dolorosa*, J. Anster. *Dub. Univ. Mag.* IX: 504.
 1840. *Mater Dolorosa*, R. Talbot. *Dub. Univ. Mag.* IX: 505.
 1853. *Margaret's Prayer*, Bowring. *Poems.* Lond.
380. *Dom.*
 1810. *Cathedral Scene*, Wm. Taylor. *Mo. Rev.* LXII: 495. Lond.
 1826. *In the Cathedral*, F. L. Gower. *L. Quart. Rev.* XXXIV: 146.
 1830. Same as 1810, Taylor's *Hist. Survey of Ger. Poetry.* Lond.
 1840. *Cathedral Scene*, R. Talbot. *Dub. Univ. Mag.* IX: 501.
 1845. *Cathedral Scene*, A. Hayward in Longfellow's *Poets of Europe.* Lond., Phil.
381. *Walpurgisnacht.*
 1822. *Mayday Night*, Percy Bysshe Shelley. *The Liberal.* I: 120. Lond.
 1824. *Mayday Night*, Shelley's *Posthumous Poems.* Lond.
 1824. Same version, *Edin. Rev.* XL: 510.
 1826. Same version, *L. Quarterly Rev.* XXXIV: 149.
 1830. Same version, in Taylor's *Hist. Survey of Ger. Poetry.* Lond.
 1839. *The Walpurgis Night*, J. E. Reade. *L. Mo. Chronical.* IV: 405.
 1840. Same version, Reade's *The Drama of Life.* Lond.
 1845. Same as 1822, in Longfellow's *Poets of Europe.* Lond., Phil.
382. *Marthens Garten. Fausts Glaubensbekenntnis.*
 1813. *Faust's Confession of Faith*, Mme. de Staël. *Germany.* Lond., Bost., N. Y., Phil.

1832. *Dialog of Faust and Marguerite*, Henry Crabb Robinson. *Monthly Repository*. VI: 756.
1833. *Faust and Marguerite*, Mrs. S. Austin. *Goethe's Characteristics*. I: 279. Lond., N. Y.
383. *Kerker*.
1813. *Prison Scene*, Mme. de Staël. *Germany*. Lond., Bost., N. Y., Phil.
1820. *Prison Scene*, (J. Anster.) *Blackwood's Mag.* VII: 257. Edin.
1836. *In Prison*, Chas. Hodges. *Faust Scenes*. Lond.
384. *Scattered translations from the second part of Faust*.
1828. *Helena*, Thos. Carlyle. *Foreign Rev.* I: 429. Lond. (Also found in the editions of his essays.)
1836. *Dirge over Euphorion*, J. F. Clark. *West. Messenger*. I: 474.
1845. *Opening Scene*, J. Gostwick. *Spirit of Ger. Poetry*. Lond.
1853. *Opening Scene*, Bowring. *Poems*. Lond.
1853. *Angels' Chorus*, in the last scene, Bowring. *Poems*. Lond.
1853. *Scene at the Court of the Emperor*, Sarah Whitman. *Hours of Life*. Providence, R. I.
1858. *Helena*, Martin. *Fraser's Mag.* LVII: 63. Lond.

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